Country/entity	Angola
Region	Africa (excl MENA)
Agreement name	The Protocol of Estoril (Bicesse Accords)
Date	31 May 1991
Agreement status	Multiparty signed/agreed
Interim arrangement	Yes
Agreement/conflict level	Intrastate/intrastate conflict

Angolan Civil War (1975 - 2002)

The conflict has involved political divisions, and agreements emanate from two dyads. Unita-dyad. Immediately following Angola's independence in 1975, a civil war broke out between the two main armed independence movements, the (then government) Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The UN-mediated Lusaka Protocol in November 1994 did not end fighting and another attempt in 1998 failed due to continuous ceasefire violations. After internal splits and the killing of their founder Jonas Savimbi, UNITA was defeated by MPLA forces in 2002.

Cabinda dyad. Additionally, in the Cabinda enclave, the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) fought a low intensity guerrilla warfare against the MPLA government since independence, but by the early 2000s, FLEC had lost significant operational power and in 2006 the group eventually declared a ceasefire.
Close
Angolan Civil War (1975 - 2002)

Stage	Framework/substantive - partial
Conflict nature	Government
Peace process	Angola: UNITA process
Parties	[Note: Signatories not listed, however parties are stated to be the Government of Angola and UNITA]
Third parties	[Note: Signatories not listed, however the Portuguese Government is mentioned as mediator and it is stated the agreement was done in the presence of observers from the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics]
Description	The final attachment of the Bicesse Accords, this protocol deals with immediate concerns for the consolidation of peace including an emphasis on ensuring the security of the electoral process and the merger of the armed forces of the Government of Angola and UNITA.

Agreement document	AO_930531_Attachment IV_Protocol_of_Estoril_(Bicesse_Accords).pdf (opens in new tab) | Download PDF

Groups

Children/youth	No specific mention.
Disabled persons	No specific mention.
Elderly/age	No specific mention.
Migrant workers	No specific mention.
Racial/ethnic/ national group	No specific mention.
Religious groups	No specific mention.
Indigenous people	No specific mention.
Other groups	No specific mention.
Refugees/displaced persons	No specific mention.
Social class	No specific mention.

Gender

Women, girls and gender	No specific mention.
Men and boys	No specific mention.
LGBTI	No specific mention.
Family	No specific mention.

State definition

Nature of state (general)	No specific mention.
State configuration	No specific mention.
Self determination	No specific mention.
Referendum	No specific mention.
State symbols	No specific mention.
Independence/ secession	No specific mention.
Accession/ unification	No specific mention.
Border delimitation	No specific mention.
Cross-border provision	No specific mention.

Governance

Political institutions (new or reformed)	No specific mention.

Elections

Page 1, I. ELECTIONS
1. Elections will take place in Angola to choose the President of the Republic and the National Assembly. The question of whether or not those elections will be held simultaneously will be decided through consultations among all Angolan political forces.
2. The President will be elected by direct and secret suffrage, through a majority system, with recourse to a second round, if necessary.
3. The National Assembly will be elected by direct and secret suffrage, through a system of proportional representation at the national level.
4. The elections will be preceded by an official election campaign period, the duration of which will be determined following a process of consultations involving all Angolan political forces. A technical opinion from a specialized international body such as the United Nations, for example, will be obtained on the question of the desirable duration of the election campaign in Angola. That opinion, however, will not be considered bindinq by any of the parties.
5. All Angolan citizens of adult age may vote, participate in the election campaign, and stand for election without any discrimination or intimidation. The definition of what is to be understood as "adult age" will be dealt with [page 47] in the election law, to be drafted following the cease-fire, after a process of consultations between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and all Angolan political forces.
6. The voting will be secret, and special provisions will be made for those who cannot read or write. Those provisions will be included in the election law, to be drafted following the cease-fire, after a process of consultations between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and all Angolan political forces.
7. All political parties and interested persons will have the opportunity to organize and to participate in the elections process on an equal tooting, regardless of their political positions.
8. Total freedom of expression, association, and access to the media will be guaranteed.
9. The parties have accepted the tripartite proposal by the delegations of Portugal in its capacity of mediator, and the United States and the Soviet Union as observers, to the effect that 1 September to 30 November 1992 will be the period within which free and fair elections should be held in Angola, the cease-fire being signed in May 1991. The parties have reached an understanding that the following tripartite declaration is to be taken into consideration in the discussion of the precise date for the holding of elections:

Page 2, I. ELECTIONS
9. ... "Taking into consideration the logistical difficulties in organizing the elections process, specifically the desirability that the elections be held during the dry season, and the need to reduce the high costs that the international community will have to bear in monitoring the cease-fire, the delegations of Portugal, the United States and the Soviet Union heartily recommend that the elections be held during the first part of the suggested period, preferably between 1 September and 1 October 1992."

Page 2, II. JOINT POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMISSION (CCPM)
3. In the light of the foregoing, CCPM, with headquarters in Luanda, should structure itself so as to:
3.1 Guarantee the conditions of peace Cor the holding of free, fair, multi-party, and internationally verifiable elections;
3.2 Ensure the fulfilment of all the political understandings resulting from the Peace Accords relating to the electoral process;

Page 4, IV, POLITICAL RIGHTS TO RE EXERCISED BY UNITA FOLLOWING THE CEASE-FIRE
1. ... (g) The right to present candidates in the elections;

Page 4, VI. FORMATION OF THE ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES, A. Identification and general principles

Electoral commission	No specific mention.
Political parties reform	Governance→Political parties reform→Rebels transitioning to political parties Page 5 IV, POLITICAL RIGHTS TO RE EXERCISED BY UNITA FOLLOWING THE CEASE-FIRE 1. According to the provisions contained in tho document entitled "Concepts for resolving the issues still pending between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA", and in the document on "Fundamental principles for the establishment of peace in Angola", at the time of entry into force of the cease-fire, UNITA will acquire the right to conduct and froely participate in political activities, according to the revised Constitution and the pertinent laws for the creation of a multi-party democracy, particularly including the following riqhts: (a) Freedom of expression; (b) The right to present, publish and freely debate its political programme; (c) The right to recruit and enrol members; (d) The right to hold meetings and demonstrations; (e) The right of access to the govornmont media; (f) The right to free movement and personal safety of its members; (g) The right to present candidates in tho elections; (h) The right to open headquarters and representativo offices anywhere in Angola. 2. Without prejudice to the stipulations of the previous paragraph, which permit UNITA to exercise those rights immediately, UNITA must, after entry into force of the cease-fire, satisfy the formal requirements for its registration as a political party pursuant to the "Political Parties Law" of the People's Republic of Angola. Governance→Political parties reform→Other political parties reform page 2, I 7, All political parties and interested persons will have the opportunity to organize and to participate in the elections process on an equal footing, regardless of their political positions.
Civil society	No specific mention.
Traditional/ religious leaders	No specific mention.
Public administration	Page 4, V. ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES 1. Both parties accept the principle of the extension of the Central Administration to those areas of Angola that are presently beyond the range of its authority. 2. Both parties recognize that such extension must not be made abruptly or endanger the free circulation of persons and goods, the activities of the political forces, and the execution of the tasks related to the electoral process.
Constitution	No specific mention.

Power sharing

Political power sharing	No specific mention.
Territorial power sharing	No specific mention.

Economic power sharing	No specific mention.

Military power sharing

Power sharing→Military power sharing→Merger of forces
Page 6, VI. FORMATION OF THE ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES, B. Troop strength
3. Each of the parties shall provide the Army with a total of 20,000 men, distributed as follows:
15,000 soldiers, of whom 7,500 are to be operations personnel;
3,000 non-commissioned officers;
2,000 officers.

Pages 5-6.

2.4 In principle, there will be three monitoring teams for each Angolan province. CCPM may modify the number of monitoring teams in accordance with the needs of each province.

J , l Consonant with the invitation from the Government, UNITA will participate in the police force that is responsible for maintaining public order.

3.2 To that end, shortly after entry into force of the cease-fire, and as a means of strengthening trust between the parties, the availability of vacancies in the ranks of the police force to be filled by personnel designated by UNITA will be guaranteed, and those personnel will be given appropriate training.
. . .
4. UNITA will be responsible for the personal safety of its highest-ranking leaders. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola will grant police status to the membars of UNITA in charge of guaranteeing that safety.
Power sharing→Military power sharing→Joint command structures
Page 7, C. COMMAND STRUCTURES OF THE ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES
Page 2, II. JOINT POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMISSION (CCPM)
1. According to the document entitled "Concepts for resolving the issues still pending between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA", and the annex to the "Fundamental principles for the establishment of peace in Angola", the Joint Political-Military Commission (CCPM) has as its mission the overall political supervision of the cease-fire process. It will have the duty to see that the Peace Accords are applied, thereby guaranteeing strict compliance with all political and military understandings, and to make the final decision on possible violations of those Accords.
2. CCPM will have the authority necessary to approve all rules relating to its own functioning, particularly its own internal regulations. Its decisions will be made by consensus between the Government of the People's Republic of Anqola and UNITA, after hearing the opinion of the Observers.
3. Angolan Armed Forces High Command
(a) The overall mission of the High Command of the Angolan Armed Forces is to detail the generic directives received from CCFA, with a view to staffing the structural units and supporting the forces;
(b) The High Command is composed [during the period] prior to the elections, of two general officers having equal rank, designated by each of the parties. Its decisions shall be valid only when signed by those two general officers;

[Summary: Page 58 contains a diagram outlining the command structure of the newly formed and merged armed forces.]
Power sharing→Military power sharing→Proportionality
Page 3, III. PRINCIPLES RELATING TO THE ISSUE OF INTERNAL SECURITY DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS

3.2 To that end, shortly after entry into force of the cease-fire, and as a means of

Human rights and equality

Human rights/RoL general	No specific mention.
Bill of rights/similar	No specific mention.
Treaty incorporation	No specific mention.
Civil and political rights	Human rights and equality→Civil and political rights→Freedom of movement Page 4, IV, POLITICAL RIGHTS TO RE EXERCISED BY UNITA FOLLOWING THE CEASE-FIRE 1. ... (f) The right to free movement and personal safety of its members; Page 4, V. ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES 1. Both parties accept the principle of the extension of the Central Administration to those areas of Angola that are presently beyond the range of its authority. 2. Both parties recognize that such extension must not be made abruptly or endanger the free circulation of persons and goods, the activities of the political forces, and the execution of the tasks related to the electoral process. Human rights and equality→Civil and political rights→Freedom of association Page 1, I. ELECTIONS 8. Total freedom of expression, association, and access to the media will be guaranteed. Page 4, IV, POLITICAL RIGHTS TO RE EXERCISED BY UNITA FOLLOWING THE CEASE-FIRE 1. ... (c) The right to recruit and enrol members; Human rights and equality→Civil and political rights→Vote and take part Page 4, IV, POLITICAL RIGHTS TO RE EXERCISED BY UNITA FOLLOWING THE CEASE-FIRE 1. ... (f) The right to free movement and personal safety of its members; Human rights and equality→Civil and political rights→Thought, opinion, conscience and religion Page 1, I. ELECTIONS 8. Total freedom of expression, association, and access to the media will be guaranteed. Page 4, IV, POLITICAL RIGHTS TO RE EXERCISED BY UNITA FOLLOWING THE CEASE-FIRE 1. ... (a) Freedom of expression; (b) The right to present, publish and freely debate its political programme;
Socio-economic rights	No specific mention.

Rights related issues

Citizenship

Rights related issues→Citizenship→Citizens, specific rights
Page 1, I. Elections

5. All Angolan citizens of adult age may vote, participate in the election campaign, and stand for election without any discrimination or intimidation. The definition of what is to be understood as "adult age" will be dealt with in the election law, to be drafted following the cease-fire, alter a process of consultation between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and
all Angolan political forces.
Rights related issues→Citizenship→Citizenship other
Page 6,
VI. 1''0RMATION 0 ' TIIE ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES
A, Identific tion nd goneral prlnc!ple
Whereas the peace procass bot.woen the Government of" the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA
presupposes the need to form armed forces,

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA agree to the following:

1. An Angolan Armed Forces shall be formed.

2. The Angolan Armed Forces:

. . .
(c) Shall be composed exclusively of Angolan citizens; furthermore, its organizational structure is unitary for the entire territory;

Democracy

Page 3, III. PRINCIPLES RELATING TO THE ISSUE OF INTERNAL SECURITY DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS
1. All Angolans shall have the right to conduct and participate in political activities without intimidation, in accordance with the revised Constitution and pertinent laws for the creation of a multi-party democracy, and the provisions of the Peace Accords.

Page 4 IV, POLITICAL RIGHTS TO RE EXERCISED BY UNITA FOLLOWING THE CEASE-FIRE
1. ... (d) The right to hold meetings and demonstrations;

Detention procedures

No specific mention.

Media and communication

Rights related issues→Media and communication→Media roles
Page 1, I. ELECTIONS
8. Total freedom of expression, association, and access to the media will be guaranteed.
Rights related issues→Media and communication→Media logistics
Page 4, IV, POLITICAL RIGHTS TO RE EXERCISED BY UNITA FOLLOWING THE CEASE-FIRE
1. ... (e) The right of access to the government media;

Mobility/access	Page 4, V. ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES 2. Both parties recognize that such extension must not be made abruptly or endanger the free circulation of persons and goods, the activities of the political forces, and the execution of the tasks related to the electoral process.
Protection measures	No specific mention.
Other	No specific mention.

Rights institutions

NHRI	No specific mention.
Regional or international human rights institutions	No specific mention.

Justice sector reform

Criminal justice and emergency law	No specific mention.
State of emergency provisions	No specific mention.
Judiciary and courts	No specific mention.
Prisons and detention	No specific mention.
Traditional Laws	No specific mention.

Socio-economic reconstruction

Development or socio-economic reconstruction	No specific mention.
National economic plan	No specific mention.
Natural resources	No specific mention.

International funds	No specific mention.
Business	No specific mention.
Taxation	No specific mention.
Banks	No specific mention.

Land, property and environment

Land reform/rights	No specific mention.
Pastoralist/ nomadism rights	No specific mention.
Cultural heritage	No specific mention.
Environment	No specific mention.
Water or riparian rights or access	No specific mention.

Security sector

Security Guarantees	No specific mention.
Ceasefire	Security sector→Ceasefire→General commitments Page 1, I. ELECTIONS 6. The voting will be secret, and special provisions will be made for those who cannot read or write. Those provisions will be included in the election law, to be drafted following the cease-fire, after a process of consultations between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and all Angolan political forces. Page 5, VI. FORMATION OF THE ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES, A. Identification and general principles 4. The process of formation of the Armed Forces shall begin with the entry into force of the cease-fire and end on the date of the elections.

Police

Page 3, III. PRINCIPLES RELATING TO THE ISSUE OF INTERNAL SECURITY DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS

2.1 The neutrality of the police, whose functions and activities are the responsibility of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, shall be the object of verification and monitoring by teams of monitors composed of two members designated by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, two members designated by UNITA and one expert in police affairs to be designated by and subordinate to the United Nations command structure.

2.2 Within the sphere of their authority, the monitoring teams shall have as their specific mandate the duty to visit police facilities, examine their activities, and investigate possible violations of political rights committed by the police. These teams may move freely throughout the entire territory of Angola.

... 3.1 Consonant with the invitation from the Government, UNITA will participate in the police force that is responsible for maintaining public order.

3.2 To that end, shortly after entry into force of the cease-fire, and as a means of strengthening trust between the parties, the availability of vacancies in the ranks of the police force to be filled by personnel designated by UNITA will be guaranteed, and those personnel will be given appropriate training.

4. UNITA will be responsible for the personal safety of its highest-ranking leaders. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola will grant police status to the members of UNITA in charge of guaranteeing that safety.

Armed forces

Page 4, VI. FORMATION OF THE ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES, A. Identification and general principles

Whereas the peace process between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA presupposes the need to form armed forces, The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA agree to the following:

1. An Angolan Armed Forces shall be formed.

2. The Angolan Armed Forces:

(a) Shall have as their overall mission the defence and safeguarding of independence and territorial integrity;

(b) May, in compliance with provisions of law, perform other missions of general interest that are the responsibility of the State, or collaborate in tasks related to satisfying the basic needs and improving the quality of life of the population, without prejudice to the aforesaid overall mission;

(c) Shall be composed exclusively of Angolan citizens; furthermore, its organizational structure is unitary for the entire territory;

(d) Shall have such composition, high command structure, troops, mechanisms, and equipment as determined in accordance with foreseeable external threats and the country's socio-economic conditions;

(e) Are non-partisan and obey the competent organs of sovereignty, within the principle of subordination to political authority;

Page 5, VI. FORMATION OF THE ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES, A. Identification and general principles

2. ... (f) Swear publicly to respect the Constitution and other laws of the Republic.

3. Members of the military on active duty shall enjoy active voting status, but may not use their duties or the structural units of the Angolan Armed Forces to interfere in any other partisan political or union activities.

4. The process of formation of the Armed Forces shall begin with the entry into force of the cease-fire and end on the date of the elections.

5. The process of formation of the Armed Forces shall evolve simultaneously with the assembly, disarmament, and integration into civilian life of the
troops that are gradually being demobilized as a consequence of the cease-fire.

6. Recruitment into the Angolan Armed Forces during the period prior to the elections shall proceed in accordance with the principle of free will, drawing from the ranks of troops that are now part of FAPLA and FALA.

7. It is mandatory that all military personnel incorporated into the Angolan Armed Forces prior to the date of the elections, attend professional training courses with a view to achieving unification in terms of doctrine and procedure that is conducive to the development of an essential esprit de corps.

8. The neutrality of the Armed Forces during the period prior to the holding of the elections shall be guaranteed by the Angolan parties acting within the framework of CCPM and the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Armed Forces (CCFA).

9. By the time the elections are held, only the Angolan Armed Forces shall exist; there may be no other troops whatsoever. All members of the present armed forces of each party who do not become members of the Angolan Armed Forces shall be demobilized prior to the holding of elections.

10. Both parties agree that individual rights acquired by military personnel of the Angolan Armed Forces during the period prior to the elections shall continue to be assured, and that the structural units created up to that point to consolidate those same Armed Forces shall be safeguarded.

11. The units of the Angolan Armed Forces shall be formed beginning at the platoon level.

Page 5, VI. FORMATION OF THE ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES, B. Troop strength

1. The parties agree that the troop strength of the Angolan Armed Forces by the time* of

DDR	Security sector→DDR→DDR programmes Page 8-9, VI. FORMATION OF THE ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES, E. Demobilization The accommodation of the demobilized forcos constitute» a national problem that, must be studied jointly by the two parties and submitted to CCPM for review and a decision. The same treatment should be given the problem of people who have been physically disabled by the war.
Intelligence services	No specific mention.
Parastatal/rebel and opposition group forces	Page 3, III. PRINCIPLES RELATING TO THE ISSUE OF INTERNAL SECURITY DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS 3.2 To that end, shortly after entry into force of the cease-fire, and as a means of strengthening trust between the parties, the availability of vacancies in the ranks of the police force to be filled by personnel designated by UNITA will be guaranteed, and those personnel will be given appropriate training. 4. UNITA will be responsible for the personal safety of its highest-ranking leaders. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola will grant police status to the members of UNITA in charge of guaranteeing that safety.
Withdrawal of foreign forces	No specific mention.
Corruption	No specific mention.
Crime/organised crime	No specific mention.
Drugs	No specific mention.
Terrorism	No specific mention.

Transitional justice	
Transitional justice general	No specific mention.
Amnesty/pardon	No specific mention.
Courts	No specific mention.
Mechanism	No specific mention.
Prisoner release	No specific mention.

Vetting	No specific mention.
Victims	No specific mention.
Missing persons	No specific mention.
Reparations	No specific mention.
Reconciliation	No specific mention.

Implementation

UN signatory	No specific mention.
Other international signatory	No specific mention.
Referendum for agreement	No specific mention.

International mission/force/ similar

Page 2, II. JOINT POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMISSION (CCPM)
5. CCPM shall be composed of representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and of UMITA as members, and by representatives of Portugal, the United States and the Soviet Union as observers. The United Nations may be represented, in the capacity o£ invited guest.
5.1 Members and observers shall be supported by assistants and technical advisers for the areas assigned to them, namely:
(a) Joint Cease-Fire Verification and Monitoring Commission (CMVF);
(b) Joint Commission for the Formation of tho Angolan Armed Forces (CCFA);
(c) The Political Commission.
6. The meetings of CCPM shall be presided over, alternately in accordance with the principle of rotation, by Uiu Government of the People's Republic of Angola and by UNITA, without prejudice to the principle of consensus in the decision-making process.

Page 3, II. JOINT POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMISSION (CCPM)
7. It shall be the responsibility of CCPM to draft its internal regulations, as well as to determine its budget.
8. The mandate of CCPM ends on the date the elected Government takes office.

Page 3, III. PRINCIPLES RELATING TO THE ISSUE OF INTERNAL SECURITY DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS
2.3 The monitoring teams are subordinate to CCPM, and must submit reports of their activities to that body.
2.4 In principle, there will be three monitoring teams for each Angolan province. CCPM may modify the number of monitoring teams in accordance with the needs of each province.

Page 4, V. ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES
3. Both parties agree to leave for a later date the study of the actual implementation of such extension, which will be carried out within the framework of CCPM by competent teams composed of representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA. Those teams may have recourse to international technical advisers.

Page 6, VI. FORMATION OF THE ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES, C. Command Structures of the Angolan Armed Forces
2. Joint Commission for the Formation of the Armed Forces
(a) CCFA, which is directly subordinate to CCPM, constitutes the transitional body, until the date of the elections, between the political-military echelon and the Angolan Armed Forces echelon;
(b) CCFA is to be composed of representatives of FAPLA and FALA as members, assisted by representatives of the country(ies) selected to advise them during the formation process of the Angolan Armed Forces;
(c) The duties of CCFA shall be as follows; however, other duties may be assigned to it by CCPM:
Propose to CCPM the rules applicable to he Angolan Armed Forces;
Propose to CCPM the budget to be allocated to the Angolan Armed Forces [for the period] prior to the elections;

Page 7, VI. FORMATION OF THE ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES, C. Command Structures of the Angolan Armed Forces
2. Joint Commission for the Formation of the Armed Forces
... (c) ... Undertake strategic planning for the Angolan Armed Forces [during the period] prior to the elections;
Propose to CCPM the criteria for selecting personnel from FAPLA and FALA for purposes

Enforcement mechanism	No specific mention.