

## **Appendix- Angola: recent chronology**

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4 February 1961: The MPLA, founded in December 1956, organises a series of demonstrations demanding the release of political prisoners. The protests are repressed by the Portuguese colonial authorities.

15 March 1961: The União dos Povos de Angola (UPA), initiates armed struggle in the north, culminating in the deaths of thousands of people on both sides.

30 January 1962: The United Nations General Assembly votes almost unanimously against the repressive measures undertaken by Portugal and for the beginning of economic, social and political reform in Angola.

28 March 1962: The UPA and the small Angolan Democratic Party, merge to form the FNLA led by Holden Roberto.

4 April 1962: The FNLA announces the creation of the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile (GRAE), which is recognised by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in May of the same year.

July 1964: The OAU recognises the MPLA.

March 1966: The FNLA's former foreign minister, Jonas Savimbi, sets up the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA).

July 1968: The OAU reneges on its recognition for the GRAE, in favour of recognition for both the MPLA and the FNLA.

December 1972: The Soviet Union cuts its support for the MPLA.

25 April 1974: The authoritarian Portuguese regime is overthrown by a military coup d'etat.

June-August 1974: General build-up of military capacities by all three movements. Cuba, the Soviet Union, the United States, and Zaire are increasingly dragged into the Angolan quagmire in an attempt to bolster their respective ally.

15 January 1975: The Portuguese sign an independence agreement with the liberation movements, providing for Angolan independence on 11 November 1975 and the setting up of a provisional government of national reconciliation made up of representatives from the three movements, until the holding of elections within of a nine month period. The accord soon breaks down, as particularly the FNLA and the MPLA embark on renewed conflict.

14 October 1975: South African forces invade Angola from the south, aiming to prevent the MPLA from declaring unilateral independence on the agreed date. The invaders were defeated and withdrew by the spring of 1976.

11 November 1975: The MPLA unilaterally declares Angolan independence.

30 June 1976: United States Congress passes the Clark Amendment, prohibiting covert support for the Angolan parties.

27 May 1977: A pro-Soviet: coup led by MPLA hardliner Nito Alves is put down with assistance of Cuban troops.

10 September 1979: On the death of Agostinho Neto, José Eduardo dos Santos takes over as president of Angola.

August 1981: A build-up of South African troops on the Angola-Namibia border signals the onset of Pretoria's regional destabilisation. Aided by South Africa, UNITA emerges as a potent threat to the MPLA.

16 February 1984: Following numerous border clashes between Angolan and Cuban forces and South African, troops, Pretoria and Luanda sign the Lusaka accord under the mediation of Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda. While South Africa pledges to with-draw from southern Angola, the Luanda regime undertakes to curb SWAPO activities in the area. Neither side complies fully with its obligations.

10 July 1985: The US House of Representatives repeals the Clark amendment. Soon after, American military aid begins to reach UNITA.

September 1985: The MPLA begins a series of military campaigns in the south of 24 April 1990 the country against UNITA. In October, the MPLA Withdraws from talks on the implementation of resolution 435 on Namibia, in protest against a meeting between American citizens and the UNITA leadership in the Jamba.

January 1986: UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi, is received by president Ronald Reagan in the White House.

July 1987: The MPLA launches a large-scale offensive against UNITA positions in the south. The battles of Cuíto-Canavale in the latter part of the year, pitching Angolan-Cuban forces against UNITA/South African ones, leads to a victory by the former around the spring of the following year.

3 May 1988: With Cuíto-Canavale as a backdrop, Angolan, Cuban and South African representatives met in London under American mediation to begin talks on 10 December a peace settlement. These talks culminated in the signing of the December 1988 New York accords, providing for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops by May 1991 a few months and for Namibian independence on 21 March 1990.

6 January 1989: The Bush administration, in a letter to Jonas Savimbi, states its unwavering commitment to UNITA until a peace accord is struck in Angola.

22 June 1989: Under the mediation of Zaire's long-standing dictator, Mobutu Sese Baker, and in the presence of 18 African heads of state, José Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi shake hands on a peace agreement. The Gbadolite agreement breaks down as both sides realise that Mobutu lied to them as to the terms of the agreement; the MPLA thought UNITA had accepted a peace agreement, the establishment of a government of national reconciliation and the holding of elections. In the wake of a failed peace initiative, fighting intensified with finally agreed both sides seeking military advantages that would transfer into a strengthened a position at the negotiating table.

Late 1989: The MPLA embarked on another strong offensive against the UNITA held town of Mavinga. After what initially looked like a success for the government forces, the tables began to turn in UNITA's favour as first South African and then American assistance bolstered the movement. By early 1990, a stalemate was reached in the battlefield. It was clear that there was no military solution to the war.

24 April 1990: The first round of direct talks between the belligerents took place secretly near the southern interior portuguese city of Évora. The Portuguese government was at this point providing its good offices to facilitate the negotiations.

16 June 1990: The second round of MPLA/UNITA direct talks takes place in Oeiras just outside Lisbon.

27 August 1990: Another unfruitful round of MPLA/UNITA talks.

24 September 1990: Round four of the peace talks place under de facto Portuguese mediation and in the presence of American and Soviet observers.

11 November 1990: Fifth round of talks at Sintra.

10 December 1990: The MPLA Party Congress votes positively on revising the constitution to introduce multi-party politics and the constitution is formally changed a few months later on 6 May 1991. The constitution is again revised on 16 September 1992 to introduce institutional alterations to the state apparatus and to guarantee a separation of powers between the legislative, the executive and the judiciary.

December 1990: Shevardnadze in a meeting with his American counterpart, James Baker, gives the United States carte blanche to resolve the Angolan conflict. Both sides are threatened with repercussions should they be seen as blocking a peace agreement. In order to overcome the lethargic nature of the negotiations the Washington document is agreed upon, one of the most important of the clauses being UNITA's guaranteed political existence after the entry into force of a cease-fire.

4 April 1991: Following great reluctance, especially by the MPLA, both belligerents finally agreed to hold a sixth round of talks. This was to be a non-stop session until a peace accord was outlined by the two delegations on 1 May.

31 May 1991: The Angolan head of state, José Eduardo dos Santos, and UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi, formally signed the Angolan peace accord in Lisbon.

January 1992: President J. E. dos Santos calls a multi-party conference. The conference was abruptly called off by the president when the small parties began to demand an institutionalised conference with powers over the state.

March 1992: Two respected UNITA figures, Miguel N'Zau Puna and Tony da Costa Fernandes, leave the movement amid public revelations of foul play amongst the many of the guerrilla organisation.

March 1992: The MPLA begins creating the special anti-riot police made up military personnel.

10 August 1992: Start of official election campaign.

August 1992: Significant clashes between UNITA and MPLA supporters occurred in the cities of Malange and Bié.

28 September 1992: The creation of the new single army is announced.

29-30 September 1992: Angola's first ever free multi-party elections took place.

3 October 1992: Jonas Savimbi claims on Radio Vorgan that the elections results were marked by widespread and systematic fraud.

5 October 1992: UNITA officers abandon the newly-created Angolan armed forces.

8 October 1992: UNITA demands the postponement of election results until investigations are carried out. Miss Anstee intercedes successfully with president José Eduardo dos Santos to delay publication of results to allow time for an investigation into Mr. Savimbi's claims.

16 October 1992: The representatives of all the parties in the National Electoral Commission signed a statement agreeing with the final conclusions of the investigations into electoral irregularities, which stated that no conclusive evidence of widespread fraud had been found.

17 October 1992: Following the investigations into electoral fraud, the United Nations secretary-general's special representative, Margaret Anstee, declared that the elections had generally been "free and fair". Following Miss Anstee's declaration, UNITA forces surreptitiously began to conquer territory.

30 October 1992: A shoot-out between UNITA and MPLA soldiers took place at Luanda airport. The following day serious fighting broke out in Luanda itself between the two rival belligerents. Hundreds of suspected UNITA sympathisers and many of the movement's top cadres were killed by anti-riot police and armed gangs.

1 November 1992: The United Nations secretary-general demands an immediate end to the hostilities - to no avail.

November 1992: The newly-elected parliament took office. It only began to function fully in February 1993.

December 1992: Government of national unity sworn in.

January 1993: Attacks on the Bakongo in various cities but especially in Luanda.