



Meeting Summary

'Partners, Friends and Allies': the United States and Angola

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Ambassador Mozena arrived in Angola on 24 November 2007, with the intention to lay a foundation for a 'bridge' between the US and Angola. This was intended to be a series of steps including for instance reaching out to civil society, and the measure of success was small victories towards the stated aim.

In August 2009, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton arrived in Luanda and stayed for two days – the longest visit ever by an American Secretary of State to any African country – and initiated the strategic partnership with Angola.

The US had a long and varied history with Angola and not all chapters were positive. US support to the losing sides in the Angolan conflict – first to FNLA and then to UNITA - were potential burdens on a mutual relationship. However, it was agreed with President Eduardo dos Santos that the future of relations between the two countries was more important than the past.

The fact that the initial aim of building the foundations was exceeded so quickly, culminating in the visit by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who formalized the relationship that emerged, was due to three factors:

A change of attitude in Washington towards Angola; this included newly found appreciation of Angola's role and relevance for the US in terms of:

- Global energy security: Angola is a reliable partner with increasing production;
- Global food security: Angola has great potential to become an important exporter of food for a growing global population;
- Regional and continental stability: Angola has one of the largest, most professional and best equipped militaries in Africa, which is also healthy, mobile and has the ability to project force. Thus it lends itself to peace keeping and peace support operations throughout southern and central Africa.
- Trade and Investment: While most US investment in Angola is currently in the oil and gas sector, the potential in almost all other sectors is considerable.
- A change in Angola towards the US: During the global financial crisis, which hit Angola hard through the caving in of commodity prices (oil and diamonds), diversification of the economy became more of a priority for Angola. Angola came to recognize the US

as a serious and important player that could assist in diversifying the Angolan economy.

- A change in perceptions of the US amongst Angolans: The perceptions of Angolans towards the US have changed dramatically since the end of the civil war.

In practice these three factors resulted in a variety of agreements and initiatives including:

- A new Strategic Partnership Dialogue (SPD) framework – which is a mechanism for sustained high-level engagement and dialogue on a wide array of topics from agricultural development to energy security – one of only three in Africa;
- Signing of a Trade Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) (a precursor to a full free trade agreement which identifies and addresses obstacles to doing business);
- Accords with the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) – which helps U.S. businesses invest overseas and fosters economic development in new and emerging markets;
- Accords with the United States Trade and Development Agency (USTDA) - which promotes economic growth in developing and middle income countries, while simultaneously helping American businesses to export their products and services;
- Help cut in half malaria deaths of children through the President's Malaria Initiative (PMI);
- A new AIDS framework with the government of Angola – under the framework of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR);
- Support to the Angolan education sector;
- English language training – for instance to the Angolan armed forces and others;
- Support to agricultural sector productivity;

- Working on the possibility of a peace corps programme with potentially over 100 volunteers teaching English across the country;

While the wealth of the country is undoubtedly very high, the people of Angola are poor. For this reason it is absolutely key for the country to diversify its economy, and agriculture plays a very important role. It is a key objective of the US to bring Angola into President Obama's food security initiative.

In terms of human rights and corruption, Angola also has substantial challenges ahead, but the US is working together with civil society, individuals, and institutions to try to promote dialogue around these issues. This is a very important means to get these issues debated publicly and candidly and get them into the private and state-owned news channels. The US also has a resident advisor in the Ministry of Finance who helps promote transparency and governance.

With regards to governance, the US is also working on:

- Decentralization;
- Training courses/capacity building – e.g. in accounting;
- Support to independent media;
- Support to civil society;
- Support to the police to deal with organised crime and trafficking;

US engagement does not aim merely to talk about human rights and corruption, but to actually doing something tangible. There has been positive feedback regarding oil companies' activities from provincial levels on activities ranging from education and healthcare provision to local content, and "Angolization".

Q&A Session

Question 1:

The role of China in Angola –

Ambassador Dan Mozena:

China has a legitimate role in the development of Angola. China is not in opposition to the US, and in fact they do things that no one else does.

It is however worth remembering that Chinese activities in Angola are not a gift, but are paid for with Angolan money (Chinese loans). Some of the questions that may be raised in regard of how this money is used are:

- Whether the spending results in jobs;
- Whether there is skills or technology transfer as a result of the investment;
- Whether the money spent is for a high quality product;

The Ambassador also highlighted the Benguela railway project, which is funded directly by the Angolan government. Due to delays in payment, 4500 out of 5000 Chinese workers have returned to China. The project is at a standstill.

Question 2:

The regional role of Angola, especially with regard to South Africa and Zimbabwe -

Ambassador Dan Mozena:

Angola had a long civil war which only ended in 2002. Since about 2005 the government has prioritized putting the country back together. For this reason, Angolan politics have a strong domestic focus. However, increasingly, Angola is seeking a bigger role in the region.

With regards to South Africa, with the election of President Zuma, and his subsequent state-visit to Angola (the first external visit of his presidency), the

relationship between the two countries has improved. However, there has as of yet been no replacement ambassador for South Africa in Angola.

Angola sees itself as the major regional player in southern and central Africa, and not second to South Africa. Angola is keenly interested in DRC. Instability in the DRC results in instability in Angola. For this reason Angola trains elements of the DRC police and military, and seeks to work with the US and others to provide stability in the DRC (including the East).

Question 3:

With regards to engagement with Angola – does the US work through the AU and SADC?

Ambassador Dan Mozena:

The US is interested in working with both the AU and SADC, and the US was the first country to be accredited to both. Working with these bodies is part of the game plan for US engagement in Africa. However, engagement with Angola is mostly on a bilateral basis, and the relationship is surging, including on military cooperation.

Priorities are:

- Helping the Angolan Military contain HIV/AIDS;
- Teach English to Angolan soldiers and officers (with a view for future PSOs in the region);
- Support Angola with military construction through the US Army Corps of Engineers;

The relationship is set to grow and initiatives exist from the US side, particularly in the area of maritime security. This is not only restricted to securing offshore oil production, but also includes fisheries, piracy in the gulf of guinea, fighting terrorism, and countering trafficking of drugs, humans and other goods. The US and Angola share a vision to work closer together on these issues.

Question 4:

Landmines -

Ambassador Dan Mozena:

Angola was the second most mined country in the world but there has been tremendous progress. The US contributes 6.5-7 million USD per year to mine clearance which is essential for agricultural development. The UK has contributed in the past but has since reduced funding for mine clearance, it is hoped that the UK will re-engage on this issue in the future.

Question 5:

What difficulties are there in joint work? What is the role of corruption?

Ambassador Dan Mozena:

Corruption in Angola is a mine-field; however the US position is not to preach. Rather, the US approach is to progress step by step, and strengthen individuals, civil society and others. A pragmatic step-by-step approach is particularly relevant for promoting human rights, improving governance, and increasing transparency.

Question 6:

The human rights situation -

Ambassador Dan Mozena:

The human rights situation in Angola is poor, and the challenges to human rights are well documented in various reports. The US is involved in addressing these, and is working towards producing tangible improvements and results. Latest US initiatives for instance include working with Angolan authorities (police and local government) to improve the prison situation in the country. Strengthening local government is crucial to human rights in Angola as it enables citizens to communicate with authorities.

Question 7:

The relations between Angola and DRC, including border issues and the Lundas as well as the UN retreating from DRC.

Ambassador Dan Mozena:

The Ambassador reminded the audience that the UN is not leaving the DRC, but are reducing their presence. Regarding the maritime border dispute, international bodies that deal with these sorts of disputes exist, and the US are urging both parties to make use of these. With regards to illegal immigration in the Lundas, it is totally understandable that Angola would want to secure and protect its border, but it is not understandable that people who are removed are also abused.

Question 8:

Was the African Cup of Nations a good investment considering that the country is rich but the people are poor?

Ambassador Dan Mozena:

Angola spent around 1 billion USD on hosting the CAN. There is no debate about the issue. They took the decision to do this and they did it.

Question 9:

Angola is the security guarantor of Kinshasa; what is the future of relations between Angola and the DRC and between Angola and Rwanda?

Ambassador Dan Mozena:

Angolan relations with both countries have had their ups and downs. There has not been a straight decline (or improvement). However, it is hard to know at what level they are now. The US encourages Angola to foster good relations with DRC and Rwanda. However, Angola does get frustrated with the DRC and in particular the failures of the DRC towards its own population. Overall it is a one-point agenda: Angola wants and needs stability in the DRC. In this regard Angola is also open to partner with the US.

Question 10:

How much does Angola actually deliver in the social sectors in the country side and provinces (e.g. Cabinda)?

Ambassador Dan Mozena:

There are areas of tremendous development at the village, town and city levels. In many provinces there is resurgence in schools, health posts and roads. However, this does not include all provinces. In general, the further the distance from the capital Luanda, the less development there is. Some of the provinces with least development include Zaire, the Lundas, Moxico and Cuando Cubango. In all provinces there is a growing gap between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'.

In the provinces where there is development, some of the infrastructure remains unused. For instance there are new schools, but no teachers; new perfect hospital buildings but no doctors, nurses or technicians. It is easier to build schools, hospitals and other infrastructure than to train teachers, technicians, nurses and doctors.

Question 11:

The role of Brazil -

Ambassador Dan Mozena:

Alongside the US and Portugal, Brazil is a major partner of Angola. This extends to all realms, from cultural and social ties, to tourism, trade and investment. Brazil is very influential in Angola.