

Angola after 40 Years of Independence: The Way Ahead

12 November 2015

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Introduction

On 12 November 2015, Chatham House's Africa Programme hosted a conference to mark the 40th anniversary of Angola's independence. Since the 2002 Luena Memorandum of Understanding that ended one of the continent's longest civil wars, Angola has enjoyed a prolonged period of extractives-driven growth. But the new realities of low commodity prices and depleting oil resources are creating pressure for economic diversification. At this inaugural annual Angola Forum, panels drawn from government, industry and academia reflected on the domestic development and international engagement of Angola since independence. They discussed the country's economic trajectory, political developments and the importance of civil society in its future.

The meeting was held on the record.

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Welcome and Introduction

HE Georges Rebelo Chicoti, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Angola (Video Presentation)

This is an important day for Angola and is an opportune moment to reflect on the course of the country's history. This can be divided into three periods. For the first 16 years after independence Angola was at war with itself, causing extreme devastation to the country and its population. From 1991 to 2002, a peace process was put into action but significant divisions continued. Since 2002 Angola has experienced a more extensive peace, in which the people have come together, built institutions and furthered national reconciliation. President José Eduardo Dos Santos was instrumental in this shift, through his willingness to sign and implement the Bicesse Accords, despite UNITA's (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) lack of cooperation. His endeavour has been essential to establishing a democratic political system and a stable parliamentary politics, which will benefit all Angolans as they move towards a more positive future. The recent success is also evident in the long period of economic growth and the construction of bridges, schools, and railway lines.

It should be stressed that since independence Angola has spent more time at war than at peace, and is still in the process of consolidating its progress. This goal is being reached in part thanks to a shift in Angola's international relations from Cold War logics to a more open foreign policy. The Angolan civil war was heavily influenced by Cold War geopolitics, escalating the conflict and leaving a terrible impact on the Angolan people. The Angolan government naturally allied itself with the Soviet Union, who had been a key supporter of the country's independence, while the United States and South Africa supported the rebel movements.

The end of the conflict allowed the Angolan government to diversify its international partnerships outside of the binaries of the Cold War. Since 1993 this has included establishing relationships with all major regional and global powers. Angolan foreign policy is rooted in the principle of maintaining relations with all major powers including Western nations, former Eastern Bloc countries, Russia and China. The United Kingdom has always had a political presence in the country and was one of the first countries to recognize the electoral process and support the move to lift sanctions on the government. From 1993 the United States has also established ties with Angola and these continue to the present day. Angola has also contributed to the struggles for independence in Namibia and South Africa, and continues to maintain strong relationships with both governments, especially the African National Congress in its project to build a society without racial cleavages.

Angola is becoming a fully-fledged member of the international community, playing a role in combatting major global challenges. It has been a member of the UN since 1976 and has participated in the UN Security Council for the last decade. It is a priority that Africa maintains a presence on the Security Council, and more generally that the relationship between African nations and major powers shifts to a greater participation in global governance for countries such as Angola. Fundamentally, Angola's future lies in managing its international relations towards a more peaceful and inclusive world.

James Duddridge MP, Minister for Africa, United Kingdom (Video Presentation)

Angola began its journey as an independent country 40 years ago this month, and the United Kingdom was among the first to recognize its independence. British relations with Angola have strengthened since the end of the civil war in 2002, in part due to significant British investments in oil and gas. Moreover, as a vibrant and open economy, the United Kingdom is able to offer expertise and guidance as Angola seeks to diversify its economy and increase its competitiveness. The United Kingdom also supports key sectors

that the Angolan government has marked as a priority, including agriculture, power generation, financial services, and education.

The two countries are partners on the international stage on an increasing number of issues, particularly as Angola holds a position on the UN Security Council at a time of unprecedented global challenges, from conflict to international terrorism. As Angola becomes a more prominent international actor, it is pursuing its own priorities as well as offering its unique experience in building and maintaining peace to other parts of the world. This is already evident in Angola's chairmanship of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region, but could extend well beyond the area. Angola is also having a positive impact through its support for international conventions, such as the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Biological Weapons and Toxins convention. The United Kingdom has collaborated with Angola on the UN Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights, and has extended this work to include support for Angola's chairmanship of the Kimberley Process.

With regard to trade and investment, the UK business delegations travelling to Angola in the upcoming months represent a positive trend, alongside the imminent launch of a new UK Chamber of Commerce. More generally there will be a new high-level commitment to UK-Angolan relations in 2016. My own visit to Angola will be a fantastic opportunity to strengthen ties in a time when Angola is playing an increasingly significant role in shaping Africa's future. If the last 40 years are indicative, then we can look forward to some exciting times ahead.

Session One: Launch of *A Short History of Modern Angola*

David Birmingham, Emeritus Professor, University of Kent

Writing a very short book on Angola is a great challenge. This book was conceived after the death of Jil Dias, distinguished scholar of Angola who was unable to translate her great work into a book before she died. This book is my attempt to follow up this project and write a very short book on the history of modern Angola. The year 1820 has been taken as a starting point because it is the same year that Portugal regained its sovereignty from the United Kingdom and Brazil gained its independence from Portugal, both countries intimately related to the history of Angola. This discussion will look at themes in Angolan history according to groups of threes. The focus is on social and economic history and less on political history.

A range of sources written by travellers provide a fascinating insight into the 19th century history of Angola. George Tams was a medical doctor from Hamburg who went to Angola in 1830 and gave an interesting description of life in a city where slavery was still legal. The second traveller was a Hungarian called Ladislaus Magyar who lived on the Plan Alto and married the King of Bihé's daughter, leaving a record of his life on the highlands that would one day be claimed as the territory of Jonas Savimibi. Héli Chatelain, a Swiss watchmaker who had fallen on hard times, also went out to Angola in order to help set up a trade mission that was self-sustaining in the hinterlands of Luanda and Benguela.

Reading Angolan literature also provides an essential insight into Angolan history. Ralph Delgado, as the young son of the Portuguese governor of the Plano Alto wrote a book called *Love in the Tropics* that offers an interesting insight into what white male settlers did without the presence of white women. Castro Soromenho lived in the deep interior of Angola and described life on the fringes of the Portuguese colony. The third novelist of notes is Pepetela, a white Angolan from the Benguela, whose works provide insight on colonial and post-colonial Angola, two of which have been published in English, one on the civil war and one on social life in Benguela.

Three missionary societies were hugely influential with a lasting impact on Angolan politics and society. They played a huge role in the evolution of literacy and the formalization of languages. In this role they have shaped the development of Angolan national identity, especially some of the cleavages that have developed through codifying languages separately. The Baptists in the north formalized the use of Kikongo, the Methodists did the same for Kibundu in the centre and the Presbyterians in the south would codify the Umbundu language of the Ovimbundu.

In order to avoid an excessive male bias, it is worth highlighting three notable women in Angola history. The first was Queen Nzinga, who reigned in Angola in the 17th century. On one occasion, she came to meet the Portuguese governor in Luanda, who was sat on his throne, but rather than standing in his presence as expected, she sat on her lady-in-waiting to stress their equal standing. Another notable female figure was Dona Ana Joaquina, the Grand Dame of Luanda, who was said to be richer than the Angolan state. She used thousands of slaves on her own sugar plantations and is said to have impressed Livingstone with her efforts to use slaves for the development of Angola, despite the fact that most of her money actually originated from selling slaves to Uruguay and Cuba. The third woman to highlight is Dame Margaret Anstee who, after becoming deputy secretary-general of the UN, was sent to Angola in 1992 and was so instrumental in defining the peace process that it became known as 'Margaret's peace' in the slums of Luanda.

Three railways have had an impact on the history of modern Angola, and like elsewhere in Africa were part of the colonization process. There were not many railways in Angola, but the Portuguese did build one from the south coast up into the highlands. The British also constructed a railway, the Royal Trans-African Railway, intended to traverse the continent but which only reached 300 miles inland. The third railway was the Benguela railway that took 20 years to build and went as far as Cape Town, of which small parts have been repaired and put back into the service by the Chinese.

Angola is also home to three key economic resources. Coffee production began to grow after the end of the slave trade in the 19th century, and Brazilian coffee producers moved to Angola when they could no longer import its labour to Brazil, though the output remained at one percent of Brazilian production. At the beginning of the 20th century, growing demand for coffee in the Western world led to a huge growth in coffee production in Angola, which would become the third- or fourth-largest grower by the 1960s. After diamonds were discovered in the 1920s, large swathes of the country were given to a company run by the Belgians and the South Africans. These diamonds would become a rival source of wealth in the civil wars. Oil is the third resource that has been both a curse and a benefit for Angola, with many oil magnates consistently seeking to bypass politicians.

It is also worth mentioning three scholars of note that have all written in French. René Pélissier has written extensively and in great detail on the wars in Angola. Christine Messiant was probably the best-known and most feared political scientist working in Angola, with a tremendous capacity for insight into the political reality. President Dos Santos was particularly distressed when she wrote an article describing his private slush fund. Lastly, Didier Péclard has recently revised and published his doctorate, and it is the best history of modern Angola in circulation.

A particularly difficult task has been identifying three dictators. Norton de Matos was the general sent to create a modern settler colony in Angola in 1912 and would return to this role after the war. He was also the commander of the Portuguese army in the First World War and later president of the Assembly of the League of Nations and Grand Master of the Portuguese lodge of Freemasons. He was extremely authoritarian in his rule and opposed to Catholic influence. The next dictator was António Salazar, who came to power after the Catholics seized power from the Freemasons in Portugal in 1926. Salazar was chosen as the leader due to his experience as a bookkeeper, and he would cut back spending on all services except the military with the idea that the colonies would finance Portugal. The third dictator is the most controversial and rests on the question of whether a democratically elected leader can be considered a dictator.

There have also been three civil wars that wracked the country. This began with colonial war from 1961 to 1974, which can be classified as a civil war due to the Portuguese reliance on their colonial subjects to quell dissent. A particularly horrific example of this was the use of Angolan subjects to walk down roads in front of Portuguese vehicles in order to detonate land mines. Despite this period, exports of ferrous scrap material even overtook coffee. This war did not end conclusively and was followed swiftly by the Cold War by proxy, as the United States, Soviet Union, South Africa, Cuba and Zaire competed for influence. Lastly there was an 'ethnic' war between the modernizing elites of three different parts of the country. Despite the label, ethnicity was not the determining factor in this conflict; rather it was defined by the competition between the businessmen, speculators and elites from each of these three areas. There were those in the north who had been trained in Kinshasa, spoke French, and were often perceived as foreigners. A second group consisted of those based in Luanda who had Portuguese as their first language. Lastly there were the people of the highlands who mobilized in an independence movement, UNITA, which survived the Cold War. This was led by Jonas Savimbi, who was probably related to the royal family of the highland and the people who worked on the railway in the region. He gained a degree of knowledge of the outside

world as he was sent by the Swiss Presbyterian mission to the University of Fribourg. By looking at the letters he sent during this period it can be observed that he consistently requested more financial assistance from his sponsors. He gave up on a medical degree and instead went to study politics in Lausanne, where he probably gained a degree and hence took the epithet 'Doctor'.

Discussant: Søren Kirk Jensen, Associate Fellow, Africa Programme, Chatham House

This book can be compared to the musical stylings of a *semba*, flowing smoothly with melancholy mixed in with cheer. The colourful life that Professor Birmingham has led also emanates through the book. The book makes it extremely clear that the complex reality of post-war Angola can only be dealt with by considering its rich past.

The works of travellers referred to in the book offer a particularly disturbing insight into Angola's history, including the short appendix on the life of William Cadbury. The reference to Angolan women was intriguing, and it seemed possible that the wealth Dona Ana Joaquina accrued through her business empire might well have made her the first female African millionaire by modern standards and a precedent to the current prominent woman in Angola.

The most interesting chapters are perhaps those that address the post-Second World War period, including the liberation struggles and the subsequent series of wars. In the book you present a more layered analysis of the conflict where you describe the colonial war, the interventionist war, the war of destabilization and the civil war in two parts. These are important distinctions to highlight to show how difficult it was to bring the war to an end. On the subject of economic resources it is worth noting the similarities between exporting coffee and oil, both of which are volatile, and neither of which have impacted on the living conditions of the majority of the population. The increase in cotton production was also crucial in aggravating working conditions and inciting some of the first anti-colonial struggles. The description of Angolan political history as a kaleidoscope was particularly apt, as was the observation that the last years of colonial rule did not bode well for a vibrant civil society or a climate of open debate, a legacy that continues until today.

The book also covers the controversial history of the 1970s, including the coup attempt in 1977. There were references to particularly interesting details surrounding this episode, such as the study groups held by Nito Alves and the fact that he himself did not lead the coup, but a faction in the army under José van Dumen. It is easy to observe parallels between 1977 and the present day by looking at the 15 activists who are being held on suspicion of plotting a coup and were arrested during a study group.

The last chapter of the book covers the period from 1992 to February of this year perhaps somewhat quickly, though this maybe an unfair criticism given the brevity of the book.

The book refers to several reoccurring themes, particularly the lack of democratic tradition. By 2002, peace and democracy was unknown to most Angolans and not a normal state that could easily be returned to. It would take six years to organize the first election, with the second following in 2012. The upcoming election in two years will constitute only the third election in Angolan history. This should put the current situation in perspective and suggests it is unrealistic to think that democratic politics could be established quickly. Land mines also pose a huge problem, with weekly incidents in rural areas, contrasting with the experience of Mozambique, which was recently declared free of mines. The book also refers to the multifaceted legacy of Christianity, describing how the churches spoke out against the violence of the colonial war and attempt to expand the role of independent broadcasting through Radio Ecclesia. The churches of Angola continue to carry out very impressive work in the present day towards deepening

democracy, especially the Archdiocese of Lubano in its efforts to promote transparency and accountability.

Oil might be seen as black gold or the devil's excrement. This book argues that it has probably been more of a curse than a blessing and like other export commodities, such as coffee, the huge revenues coming from oil production have largely failed to trickle down to the rest of the population. Nevertheless it should be noted that significant amounts have been spent on reconstructing the country, including most significantly the thousands of miles of new roads that have been built. The journey to Makupungo now takes three hours as opposed to 24 hours in 2004. Angolans themselves are also enjoying this newfound ability to circulate freely across the country.

Summary of Questions and Answers

Where are the African voices in this work? Can you see the beginning of politics in music or other cultural spheres in the meeting of traditional and modern forms in the colonial period?

This is an extremely valid criticism. This book was designed for a British public to contain content that they can relate to, though there are some African voices. Music was certainly a space for politics, exemplified by the remarkably striking and insightful Angolan protest music.

Was there any alternative to oil as the cornerstone of development, especially during the war?

Oil has both advantages and disadvantages. The obvious disadvantage is that oil-exporting states are prone to corruption and the investment of capital abroad. During the wars in Angola oil, like diamonds, was largely used to buy Ukrainian weapons. A good alternative to follow may be Venezuela which has sought to develop agriculture in tandem with the oil sector. Angola has some fertile soil, despite wide tracts of barren land that could be developed as an agricultural resource. A focus on agricultural production across the country for the sake of local and inclusive development may be a preferable alternative to building endless skyscrapers in the seemingly autonomous enclave of Luanda, or investing the money abroad.

What about three important men that have influenced Angola?

One influential man worthy of note was a poet by the name of Agostinho Neto. He had been a prisoner in Portugal, and he escaped to London, where he sought the assistance of a lawyer who was setting up Amnesty International. After this meeting Agostinho would become Amnesty's first prisoner of conscience.

Session Two: Angola's International Relations: Change, Priorities, and Influence

HE Miguel Gaspar Fernandes Neto, Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Angola

Despite the recent financial crisis caused by the plummeting of oil prices, economic development will continue in Angola and the new private investment laws will be a key instrument in ensuring growth. The Angolan National Private Investment Agency (ANIP) that was designed to encourage foreign investment in Angola is being replaced by the Agency for the Promotional and Investment of Export (APIEX). This body has the same objective of facilitating investment in conjunction with the Angolan citizens as ANIP, but builds on the Angolan experience in this process and the concerns raised by investors. APIEX will encourage or fund local and foreign investment, promote the Angolan economy abroad, support the internationalization of the economy, and facilitate the production of high-value goods and services. Aspects of the new private investment laws have been clarified under the presidential decree 182/15, specifically in an effort to reduce the strictures for moratorium and inspection of proposed investment projects. Currently, projects of up to one million dollars will be approved at the ministerial level in the relevant department in conjunction with APIEX. Projects exceeding one million dollars in the financial and mining sector will be the responsibility of the president in conjunction with the same unit. Further benefits and incentives have been designed for any potential investment over 50 million kwanzas, including the right to repatriate profits and dividends and tax benefits.

The level of incentive is also determined by the compatibility of investment projects with the priorities in the Angolan economy, including the amount of job opportunities created, location of investment, and its relation to agricultural and forestry production. If investment is directed according to these criteria it will spread benefit across the whole country, counter the relative lack of development of the south and encourage greater development of infrastructure.

Oil and diamonds may be the most obvious sectors for investment, although they are already well covered by companies such as BP. Other sectors that are open for investment include electricity, water, hotels, tourism, transport, logistics, construction, telecommunications and information technology. The Angolan embassy in London is very willing to assist all those with interests in this regard.

To conclude, it is worth reiterating that Angola is at peace after some difficult times. It is now possible to walk from the north of the country to the south, the roads and airports are in good condition, and the climate is excellent for investment.

Dame Margaret Anstee, UN Special Representative to Angola (1992 –93) (Video Presentation)

My interest in Angola began in the 1960s, during the start of my UN career, while stationed in Asia and South America. This interest heightened while working as the head of the UN programme in Ethiopia and through meeting Basil Davidson, whose work kept the Angolan conflict in the public eye and he even went and worked there in terrible adversity. Unlike in other African countries, where struggles for independence were usually united, in Angola the nationalist movements were fragmented before independence. Conflict was therefore inevitable in 1975, but it would not have escalated had it not been for the two superpowers arming both sides. After the end of the Cold War, the major powers did not consider the conflict in Angola a significant issue, but the war there continued. This approach was mistaken, because the stability of Angola was a crucial element in ensuring the economic and political stability of southern Africa.

There are several key lessons to be learnt from the UN mission to Angola in 1992. In particular, it should be noted that in a mission that was considered a failure, the elections themselves were very successful. It was a very moving occasion, in which people walked for days and queued overnight to be able to cast their vote. Nevertheless, after the results were announced, Jonas Savimbi withdrew his generals from the new army and re-launched his insurgency. This was allowed to happen because the UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) was not adequately resourced and had only a very narrow mandate, consisting of just 150 military and police observers, as well as a civilian component. Without armed backing it had no way of enforcing demobilization, and was restricted to very limited observation and reporting activities, leaving the precarious situation in which it was largely the two belligerents that monitored one another.

Another core policy failure was the inflexible stance on the date of the election, which had to be held between September and November 1992. This was arranged without the support of the UN and required the implementation of an effective demobilization programme that the UN could not contribute to. Unsurprisingly, when elections were held at the end of September, the basic criteria for holding the election had not in fact been established. Another key obstacle was the insistence of both parties to the conflict that the electoral system would be designed according to a winner-takes-all model, despite my own call for a government of national unity and reconciliation. This raised the stakes of the election, particularly in the context of Angola's controlled economy, which meant that most resources could only be accessed through the state. Despite these shortcomings, the UN and the wider international community were convinced that the elections would signify the culmination of a successful peace process. The resolution of the Security Council on UNAVEM merely stated that the mission was designed to ensure that elections took place and the new government was established. The fact that elections might spark new problems rather than solve them was not understood.

The lack of leverage given to me as mediator completely curtailed the mission's power and informed my own decision to leave. The international community was simply not ready to commit enough resources and impose the results of the election. These lessons would indeed be learnt in Mozambique and South Africa, both in terms of providing military support and exercising flexibility with regards to the date of the election.

On my return to Angola, the country appeared to have been changed enormously, especially Luanda, though there evidently remained significant pockets of poverty. The city had been completely transformed from the small conurbation of one million people it had been in 1992, in large part due to the influx of people taking refuge from the countryside. Angola also remains reliant on one particular commodity, oil, with the dividends unevenly distributed, adding to a massively unequal society. These apprehensions were raised during frank discussions with President Dos Santos and Foreign Minister Chicoti, and it was pleasing to hear that they shared these concerns and were eager to act on them.

The decisions taken now will define the next 40 years, and if the current leadership responds effectively to these problems it may well open up the path to sustainable development. On the other hand, if this opportunity is missed, it may generate political and economic marginalization that will sow the seeds for future conflict. There should not be complacent assumption that peace will continue inevitably without concerted action. Sustainable peace does not solely consist of the absence of gunfire, but also the betterment of the lives of Angolans making them an integral part of development in the country.

There are three main priorities for the government at the present time. There should be measures to improve income distribution in the country and efforts to eradicate poverty given the abundance of natural resources. There is also a need for diversification in the economy at a time when oil prices are falling and there is speculation on the extent of Angola's reserves. Angola has rich agricultural and

mineral resources, and the potential to develop many other productive sectors. The third priority is the need to promote democratic institutions, democratic education and a multiparty system where there is room for a responsible opposition to have its voice heard and encourage transparency in government.

John Flynn CMG; Political Adviser, Chevron; Chargé d'Affaires, Angola (1978) and Ambassador to Angola (1990–93), United Kingdom

There are several themes in Angolan international relations which are often unnoticed. For example the United Kingdom was very quick in recognizing Angola as a new and independent state. It was my role to open up the new embassy in 1977. This was initially delayed on account of a group of British mercenaries, who had been imprisoned for fighting against the government, and allegations in the British press that they suffering torture and even being killed. On my arrival, it was made clear by the prisoners themselves that they were being treated fairly and in fact had better living conditions than their warders. They would be released though with no comparable press attention.

Throughout this period Britain's role in Angola was significant as it was the only member of the UN Security Council⁵ not to be embroiled in the civil war. The other four all supported one side in the conflict, or even both. There was also a strong Cuban influence, which only finished on 17 May 1991. Their legacy is often mythologized, particularly in Cuba, yet they largely left Angola with only unhappy memories.

There are also a few other vignettes that are worth mentioning. After presenting my credentials to the foreign minister, Paulo Jorge, he argued that it was essential that BBC propaganda against Angola had to be stopped immediately. My response highlighted the fact the Foreign and Commonwealth Office had to deal with very similar difficulties with the BBC, due to their extreme independence. On the termination of my mission, Paulo Jorge would inform me that he now regularly listened to the BBC with some pleasure, on account of this discussion.

Another insightful moment emerged from my position as the only Westerner on the negotiating team for South-West Africa, later Namibia, which required bi-weekly meetings with President Agostinho Neto. These lasted for about five minutes in contrast with hour-long conversations with the South West Africa People's Organization's representatives. The rest of the conversation with Agostinho Neto revolved around world affairs, and on one occasion he asked for my opinion on the quality of life in Angola, both of the people and at the embassy. My response was frank and made it clear that though diplomats were able to import food, the situation for the people was simply horrific in part due to the negative impact of the Cuban influence. This illustrated the ease with which one could speak to Neto, despite the controversial nature of the topic.

Another scene demonstrates the debilitating impact of the Cuban presence: a young José Eduardos dos Santos, then first vice prime minister, came to the embassy asking for 14, 592 cases of Scotch whisky. This bizarre request was the result of the fact that the Angolans had been paying exorbitant prices to the Cubans for food and drink.

A final moment worth mentioning was when Agostinho Neto suggested he wanted to have good relations with all countries, even the United States, and allowed me to inform London, who then related it to Washington. The State Department agreed reconciliation would be an excellent idea, yet unfortunately this was blocked in the senate, and with that went the possibility for an early peace in 1978.

António Monteiro, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Portugal (2004–05)

The independence of Angola was a unique case. From my vantage point as chargé d'affaires in Kinshasa in 1975, the significance of the moment was clear in the fact the entire city was quiet, indoors, listening to Neto's speech celebrating the independence of Angola. It was a particularly tense period as the US-backed Zairian troops were supporting the advance of the National Liberal Front of Angola (FNLA) towards Luanda, South African armies were heading north and UNITA was rebelling, leaving the new government with only limited territory around Luanda. The Zairian support for the FNLA even led to the expulsion of the Portuguese diplomatic mission, though relations were re-established after the collapse of the movement.

No other country gained independence in such conditions. Due to the conflict, the wealthy elite and the administrators all left the country, creating a huge dearth of human resources in Angola. Angola also began with a very introverted and parochial foreign policy through its association with the Soviet bloc, including at the UN. This orientation lasted until the mid-eighties when Angola began to have more open international relations through its involvement in negotiations concerning Namibian independence. This coincided with a shift away from a controlled economy to a market economy, which was facilitated, according to one high-level government official, by the fact that the MPLA's (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) communism had always been pretence. This second phase of engagement led to the Bicesse Accords and, regardless of the return to war, the successful elections and their widespread enthusiastic reception began a path for transformation. The period after 1992 was marked by ambiguous change, with encouraging shifts to a multiparty democracy contrasting with the continuation of war. A particularly positive aspect of the international community's role was the close cooperation between Russia and the United States, as well as Portugal, in their policies toward Angola. The two Cold War rivals were able to work together and ensure UN support to the government's efforts to build peace and enforce the sanctions that allowed the government to defend itself.

After 2002 there was a fundamental shift in Angola's developmental trajectory and a marked expansion of its democratic politics, including elections in 2008 and 2012. This also coincided with the latest phase in Angola's international relations, which has three main aspects. First, Angola remains incredibly loyal to its allies, maintaining ties with Cuba and Russia, which had been key supporters at crucial moments, paralleling Nelson Mandela's policy of keeping ties with Libya's Muammar Gaddafi. The second aspect is Angola's new engagement with all big countries and blocs, including the very special relationship with China, but also the EU, the second-largest trading partner in sub-Saharan Africa. Angola has even developed a partnership with the United States, despite some difficulties and years of previous tensions. The country has also engaged in wider South-South cooperation, including with Brazil, the first country to recognize Angolan independence. The third theme of Angolan international relations has been the policy of regional integration, especially in the Great Lakes area.

Lastly, it should be noted that the relationship between Portugal and Angola is very special. It is built on a unique familiarity between the two nations, due to the number of Angolans living in Portugal and vice versa, although this has also had a negative side, characterized by a tendency to interfere in each other's affairs. Predominantly a sense of solidarity and closeness prevails. For example, upon my appointment as foreign minister in Portugal, due to my birth in Angola, the Angolan press reported that an Angolan had been appointed to the position.

Summary of Questions and Answers

What is the best way to contribute to Angola's progress?

Miguel Gaspar Fernandes Neto

The best way to help Angola is to invest in projects there and synchronize it with the work of government institutions. There are no restrictions on foreigners coming to Angola with investment, as long as such projects match the government's priorities. The Angolan embassy to the United Kingdom is more than happy to assist with any prospective investors.

John Flynn

Africa still tends to look for investment outside Africa; however there is perhaps a greater opportunity in the potential of Africa-Africa investment. Overcoming the disagreements and suspicions that hinder this process will be essential to further progress.

António Monteiro

Portugal is always among the top-two investors in Angola, yet more competition would be much appreciated. It is a great market and the more investment the easier it will be to diversify the economy.

Is the biggest inequality in Angola between the coast and inland, rather than between the north and the south?

Miguel Gaspar Fernandes Neto

It is true that the uneven development of Angola has followed the dividing lines of the former colonial power. The focus was indeed on the coast around Luanda and Benguela. The area inland, as far as the border with Zambia, is the most poverty-stricken and has been the most affected by the conflict. The government has focused on development in the coastal region, but is now working to improve these areas as well.

Can the panel comment on Dame Margaret's three priorities: diversification of the economy, redistribution of wealth and development of democracy?

António Monteiro

Margaret's three points are absolutely correct, and the government of Angola is quite aware of them. The government's commitment to the fight against poverty is clear in the continued funding of measures to tackle poverty, despite cuts everywhere else. Diversification is often spoken about as an immediate necessity, but it is a slow process and this must be recognized and accounted for. Hopefully the current crisis will also encourage moves in the right direction. Democracy is also laying down deep roots in Angola. There are imperfections, like everywhere else, and it is inappropriate to use external models to evaluate and impose a political system on another country. It is essential to respect that there are different forms of democracy and countries must choose a model that fits their context. Yet the basic constituents of democracy are there: a healthy multi-party system, freedom of the press, a functioning parliament and elections to be held in 2017. Perhaps there are limitations on account of the long period of warfare, and it is essential to recognize that Angola has only had a few years of peace. In this context peace and stability must come first to allow sustainable development. Angola has indeed had other exports apart from oil, showing its capacity for diversification. These included coffee, cotton and diamonds, but also agriculture, including my father's own business, which exported manioc and other agricultural goods.

Miguel Gaspar Fernandes Neto

One of the biggest issues is the fact that many people fled to the north during the war and the abandoned land has posed a huge problem for development in the south. There is in fact a lot of potential in agriculture and it is one of the key priorities in the Angolan development plan to diversify the economy. Investment in agriculture will be particularly crucial to combatting poverty.

John Flynn

Brazil's experience provides lessons for diversifying the economy and redistributing wealth. Brazil became a world power when Brasilia grew to be a major city as it encouraged investment in the interior rather than in Rio di Janeiro. Angola also has a lot of industrial potential but the flow of people and capital often stops at Luanda, so the key issue for Angola is to move the economic centre of gravity inland.

It is worth highlighting one of my final discussions with Agostinho Neto. At one point he claimed the biggest problem he faced was the exit of the Portuguese, which left the Angolans desolate and naked. They were forced to rely on offers of assistance from others, the Cuban *cooperantes* in particular, who often only had very quick placements. After that point London changed its stance on Neto. In fact after he had a heart attack and he went for treatment in Moscow, the British government extended the offer to pay for his treatment in any Western country, as long as he did not go back to Moscow. Though he acknowledged this token, it was sad to hear the very next year that Neto had died of heart attack in Moscow, a great tragedy. Though José Eduardos dos Santos had good intentions as his successor, he has also faced difficulties, especially his family.

Session Three: Angola's Economic Trajectory

Theodore Giletti, Director, Banco Angolano de Investimentos

This talk will cover the financial sector and discuss how to secure financial stability and ensure a fully functioning financial system in Angola. The goal is to develop a diversified financial sector, improve education and ameliorate local culture in line with best practice. The culture in Angola must be Anglicized to build market confidence, foster development and transparency in the financial sector, and implement good-governance practice. The robustness of the legal system and a track record in law enforcement is essential to eliciting investor confidence. The foreign investment programme must be efficient in its execution, and the recent changes are welcome in this regard and will encourage greater dynamism and investment. To further this trend the Angolan Banker's Association should take a more active role on developing private-sector participation and building Angola's external image from United States to Europe.

The GDP of Angola has risen sharply from \$10 billion in 2002 to over \$120 billion now. The population has similarly exploded to 24 million. Financial penetration has deepened, with the number of people with banking relationships at 30 per cent, up from 10 per cent. Despite these developments, there is a pressing demand for human resources, as for the last 40 years a large proportion of the population has been outside of the workforce.

The financial sector is now mushrooming; there are over 25 banks in operation, although there may be some consolidation with four banks having recently attained licenses. There are about 1,600 branches across the country, and the Banco Angolano de Investimentos (BAI) alone has around 130. The Banco Nacional de Angola has been excellent in its effort to develop oversight and supervision, in terms of corporate governance, internal control, consolidating credentials, supervision, code of conduct, ethics, and conflicts of interests, and developing requirements regarding external orders. The International Monetary Fund's recent Article IV consultation has been very positive about developments in Angola, and the implementation of sound policy. Angola will also be implementing International Financial Reporting Standards to replace the local Contabilístico das Instituições Financeiras system. Interestingly the United States has declined to follow such regulations. It has also been announced that Angola will be a signatory to the Foreign Account Tax Compliance Act, a programme to deal with the US Treasury designed to deal with the foreign capital of US citizens. The Financial Action Task Force is sending groups at the end of this year and in the next quarter to consider the financial institutional sector. Angola does have some deficiencies, although it is unclear what they are and it seems like they are being resolved. There has also been progress in adherence to international standards for banks, Basel III, dealing with credit default risk, capital adequacy, leverage funding and liquidity issues.

BAI is probably the largest or second-largest bank in Angola, established in 1996, and currently has over 600,000 clients in the country. Having started with \$32 million in capital the bank has grown to over \$1 billion in shareholder funds, showing the very real possibilities for investment in Angola. BAI is the only bank in Angola that is authorized by the US Department of Agriculture to finance agricultural exports from the United States to Angola. It has a line of credit from the US EXIM Bank, and a credit rating from Fitch and Moody's, the first company in the Angolan private sector to gain such international credentials.

BAI has established a banking school, BAI Academy, to help teach people in the financial sector, and this also provides opportunities to people outside the organization. In addition to that, BAI has set up the first-ever private equity group operating in Angola, in collaboration with Norfund, a Norwegian government private equity group. BAI has invested over \$39 million, and raised over \$30 million in a co-

investment fund. There is now a round of fundraising for a second fund that has already raised \$62 million in the first close and is expected to reach \$100 million next year.

Problems do remain, including combatting money laundering, improving compliance, expanding information technology and services, dealing with the lack of human resources and ameliorating the overall business climate. The World Bank Doing Business Index still shows Angola as ranked 181 of 189 countries. This is not acceptable and the major obstacle to this is the capacity and ability to adjust. There are also strong international pressures on operations, including the United States striving to enforce compliance standard. This push to regulation may generate financial exclusion and have a negative impact on the financial sector overall.

There needs to be a much more engaged approach from individual banks, the Angolan Banker's Association, banking associates, the Ministry of Finance, the central bank and international groups. UK and US government organizations also have a role to play in providing their support and cooperation, and acting as a role model. The Central Bank must continue its work in strengthening bank supervision in the financial sector and the Angolan Banker's Association must work on building Angola's image to boost investor confidence. If these problems are tackled effectively it should allow the Luanda Stock Exchange to start trading equities and not just securities. In fact one of the benefits of the BAI equity funds is that, as they go through the exit stage, these funds are going through with fully audited accounts and a track record of fully audited accounts, making them potential candidates to be listed on the stock exchange.

Darryl Willis, Regional President, BP Angola

Angola is best described using the word potential, in terms of both the country and the people. In particular Angola is seeing tremendous growth in the oil business. In 1975, Angola as a country was producing 200,000 barrels of oil and gas; today it produces 1,835 million barrels, most of which has been put online in the last decade. The dynamic of the oil-and-gas industry has changed, however, as the price has dropped from \$100 to \$50 a barrel, setting a challenging scenario for the country of Angola.

At the beginning of 2015, there was the belief that the fall in oil prices would be temporary, as they had been in 2008. Yet that previous fall was a reaction to meltdown and shock, but this time the issue is supply shock, created by oversupply in the United States, and higher than expected oil production in Saudi Arabia and Iraq. Therefore supply is far greater than demand, and it is likely that the price will be in the \$50 range for the rest of the decade.

In 2014 oil generated 70 per cent of Angola's state revenue, 40 per cent of its GDP and 90 per cent of its exports, making it a true oil-dependent economy. Despite the complete dominance of oil in the Angolan economy, it employs only one per cent of the population.

BP has been in the country for 20 years and has invested over \$30 billion. The company produces 15 per cent of oil and gas in the country. This significant presence is likely to continue, with a further investment of over \$10 billion, because Angola is a country that is important to the company and the Angola branch is one of its largest and best businesses.

The country is coming to grips with the new reality of oil prices. Through conversations with the minister for petroleum, the heads of Sonangol, the vice-president, and some of the heads of industry, it is clear that people have understood that the price has fallen and are responding proactively. A positive factor is the fact that Angola has a lot of potential in other sectors with which it can diversify its economy, such as gas which is a much cleaner fuel. There are opportunities to produce solar power and hydroelectric power.

The potential of agriculture in Angola is also clear, as well as the opportunity for the mining sector beyond diamonds. Tourism is also a key sector that will be worth developing, as the country is beautiful and offers many destinations, including, Soyu, Moshiko and Lubango. Namibe has already become a great tourist destination, and Luanda can emulate this success.

The challenge then is to quickly implement a programme for diversification. One executive mentioned the fact that BP often propounds diversification when the oil price is low and leaves the conversation when the price rebounds, and it is clear that this time has to be different. This has to be an opportunity to structurally change the oil industry and make it more competitive, while contributing to the conversation on how to make the Angolan economy more diverse so that it is not entirely dependent on oil and gas. There is thus plenty to do within the oil and gas sector as well as in other sectors.

This means turning to focus on smaller accumulations of oil and gas in the north, which may total over 50–100 million barrels, and understanding how to develop those fields. The next big opportunity that needs to be explored is gas, of which there is a lot in the south, but the challenge remains to create the power, markets and structures needed to utilize the gas. Diversification needs to be pursued by development in other sectors, including minerals, tourism, information technology, transportation, power and agriculture. Angola remains rich with resources and options. The last 40 years have been challenging for Angola and the key is to ensuring that the next 40 years are far better. The country remains full of possibilities and talented people and, though there will be obstacles to overcome, it should be possible to work together, swiftly, to ensure a bright future for Angola.

John Kolodziejski, Editor, *Universo Magazine*, Sonangol

While working in Angola in the 1980s it seemed clear to me that the Cubans' presence was immensely popular. They worked as doctors and dentists, assisted in constructing houses and provided a real inspiration to the people.

Recent developments in infrastructure in Angola will be especially beneficial in the long term. For example the Cambambe dam, previously operating at a capacity of 180 megawatts, will be upgraded to 960 megawatts next year. Construction on the Capanda dam was begun by the Soviet Union and Brazil in 1987, but its first turbine only started working in 2004 and it eventually reached full capacity in 2007, after being raided twice by UNITA. The Lauca dam is a particularly exciting prospect and will be coming on stream with over 2,000 megawatts, four times the capacity of Capanda. In June, another dam was announced with a capacity of 2,172 megawatts, to be built by the Chinese, and completed within six years. These developments will benefit Angola for a long time to come. There is a lot of scope for development as Angola has massive hydropower resources of around 80,000 megawatts and they can also be combined with irrigation projects. The availability of this energy will completely transform the investment environment, though transmission is another challenge that needs to be overcome.

The widespread construction of roads has facilitated travel across all of Angola, as exemplified in the reach of tourist companies and the ability of organizations like National Geographic to traverse the country. Railways are also in place and have gradually been growing, as can be viewed on Google Earth. The potential for tourism and the hotel industry is indeed huge, and the presence of National Geographic will encourage the arrival of pioneer tourists to complement the cruise ships that have already started stopping in Angola. There are also opportunities to visit exotic minorities, such as the Mbweles in the south. It is worth mentioning that Mbweles are even coming to Luanda, an improbable occurrence just 20 years ago, and clear evidence of Angola's increasing integration.

The massive improvement to ports has been part of a great leap forward for Angola. In Luanda this has involved overcoming what was previously a huge bottleneck. In 2007 it took 91 days to bring a ship into port and now it takes just two. This is due to major reforms: streamlining customs, transforming the unloading system, setting up railways inside the port of Luanda so that containers are removed to dry ports immediately and congestion is reduced immediately. The number of containers passing through Luanda has increased from 150,000 to 530,000 in just a few years, and is reaching capacity. The response has been to begin work on a brand new port in Dande. Other ports have been revamped including, Namib, Benguela and Lobito, an especially good place to do business.

The construction of new airports has also contributed to the integration of the far east of Angola. The ability to leave Luanda is particularly beneficial as the capital becomes increasingly congested and difficult to move around.

Economic diversification is also a high priority. The oil sector has been proactive in this regard, especially in encouraging local content and production. A particularly astute government policy has been to ensure that 85 per cent of staff of all companies, at all levels, is of Angolan origin, which encourages training and education of Angolans, at a time when there is a massive demand for qualified Angolans. Agriculture is developing more slowly, and the Brazilian input has been especially positive in this sector. For example, Biocom sugarcane production, connected via rail-link, should begin producing 200,000 tonnes of sugar, enough to meet all of Angolan demand. It will also produce ethanol.

Summary of Questions and Answers

Does the Angolan government have a clear understanding of what sectors it should prioritize in its effort to diversify?

Theodore Giletti

There is a clear, realistic, well-planned and up-to-date government plan that should be consulted. In fact the International Monetary Fund applauded the alacrity and swiftness of the approach in responding to the downward movement in oil prices. The private sector must play a role as well. For example the BAI private equity fund has already put significant investment towards agriculture, but will also invest in waste treatment, the oil-and-gas sector, building materials, as well as digital print media and advertising. There are opportunities, but the private sector must look to exploit them effectively and synchronize them with government plans.

What is your prediction for the level of oil production over the next few years? Can you comment on the criticism of the government by the CEO of Total that tax policy has had a negative impact on oil production?

Darryl Willis

Current production is around 1.8 million barrels per day and this has actually grown with this quarter. Angola aspires to reach two million barrels per day, a prospect that was based on the assumption that there would be large reserves in the Kwanza and Benguela basins, in a similar pattern to Brazil. Unfortunately despite the industry spending \$15 billion in oil exploration, there has been very little oil found, but quite a lot of gas and CO₂. Therefore the desire to increase production may be difficult to fulfil. The key opportunity is in the Congo Basin in the north, where there are many small accumulations of oil and gas, known as marginal fields. Effective coordination between industry and state should lead to finding a way to develop these marginal fields. There is also a lot of potential in the south to extract gas, but this has so far been inhibited by the economics of the situation, and conversations with the

government are taking place to overcome these obstacles. The crucial factor is to begin exploitation of marginal fields as quickly as possible, as otherwise production may start to decline significantly.

How has BP managed its corporate social responsibility projects and how these will impact on diversification?

Darryl Willis

Corporate social responsibility has been incredibly important to BP for the last decade, and it will still remain so even with the oil price at \$40. This will not be compromised; during my tenure in Angola there have been many social projects, such as building schools and hospitals, and those projects will continue.

Session Four: The Role of Civil Society

Dr Aslak Orre, Senior Researcher, Chr. Michelsen Institute

The significant achievement of Angola in gaining its independence should not limit scrutiny of the current regime. It is necessary to identify the mode of rule and ascertain its weaknesses in order to avoid its complete collapse. Crucially it should be stressed that there is no reason economic growth and democratic development cannot complement each other in Angola. This argument runs counter to propositions concerning post-conflict transitions that have suggested a focus on rule of law, a well-functioning state and economic development must precede efforts to encourage democratic politics in order to avoid civil strife and the creation of illiberal democracy.

Angola has experienced a sustained period of economic growth yet remains an illiberal democracy, if a democracy at all. Therefore the time has come to encourage democracy in contrast to a focus on economic development. In fact Angola needs both more growth and more democracy, and lack of democratization actually impedes further democratic growth.

The Angolan constitution is largely liberal and democratic, but has some serious shortcomings. Most of all, it delegates far too much power to the president, as head of state, head of government and commander of the armed forces. The executive has the power to appoint far-too-large a proportion of public officials to allow for the development of independent and autonomous institutions. Angola has made an important commitment to fostering democracy in the shape of the majestic new building constructed for the national assembly, opened yesterday. However this pompous gesture does not affect the actual power of the legislature. Instead the executive has ensured the national assembly remains weak and servile. This was underlined in the constitutional decision of 2013 that made clear that the legislators in the national assembly could not hold any member of government to account.

It should be noted that opposition parties in parliament have never fully accepted the latest electoral results and have challenged the legitimacy of every step in the electoral cycle from voter registration to announcing the results. Angola's democratic credentials are therefore deeply questionable. There are several other areas where Angola's recent past has not followed a democratic trajectory, which has potentially serious repercussions for economic growth.

Firstly, the presidential dominance of the political system is incompatible with the pluralism usually associated with democratic development. Executive dominance is clear in the fact that Angolan journalists are unwilling to investigate or write on the president's economic interests and those of his family and close collaborators. Moreover there is no mechanism to ensure a transition from President Dos Santos to a successor. It is extremely important to avoid one person being invested with so much power again, yet under the current constitution this is perfectly acceptable. To counter this trend will require fostering democratic debate to settle the issue of transition in a consensual manner, which will also avoid uncertainty and instability that might otherwise damage economic prospects.

Secondly, the judiciary, though it has undergone important professionalization, is still too dependent on the executive to function effectively. The economic ramifications of this are clear in Angola's very low ranking on the Doing Business Index. Reforming the judiciary is a crucial step in the restoration of business credibility, combatting corruption and impunity, and addressing the arbitrariness of taxation licenses that create hurdles for investment.

Thirdly, Angola is one of the most centralized countries in the African continent. The president appoints indirectly or directly every senior civil servant at all levels, from provincial governors almost down to the village level. The decentralization reforms that would have included elections for local government positions have never happened, despite a constitutional guarantee that they would occur. Political centralization correlates with economic and structural centralization, in which a congested overcrowded Luanda sits amid a vast, underdeveloped and unnoticed hinterland.

Fourthly, Angola is marked by extreme economic inequalities that a democratic majority would be unlikely to support. Even Angola's former finance minister, Manuel Nunes Jr, insightfully declared last week 'that in order to achieve a sustained economic growth, one does need inclusive political, economic, and social institutions'.

Fifthly, the need for diversification remains a key problem. Research from the Chr. Michelsen Institute and the Catholic University makes this clear: 'Angola's government completely failed to stimulate economic diversification during the peak period of high growth, making it much more difficult now when investment resources are much scarcer.' The same research argues that the lack of economic diversification is intimately linked to the neo-patrimonial politics of the regime and oil dependence. Other international studies of petro-states have found that the political and economic elite often do not want diversification, as it may threaten the monopoly of power as it would allow other groups to accumulate resources independently from the oil extraction under their control. This may perhaps also be the case in Angola.

Lastly, lack of respect for human rights remains a big problem in Angola. There have been too many reports of extra-judicial killings, unlawful imprisonment, and other human rights abuses by the state security apparatus. A particularly concerning example is the continuing lack of investigation into allegations of massacres in Huambo province in April of this year. Even if there had been a far smaller death count, it is the duty of any democracy to conduct an independent and unfettered investigation in the matter, but this has not occurred in Angola. When and if rumours of generalized impunity spread, it may isolate Angola from investment opportunities. Perhaps there are investors and international actors willing to ignore such injustice, but these may not be the partners Angola needs.

In conclusion, economic growth is welcome, but democratic development is a necessary ingredient to ensure that it continues. It will require dismantling the twin burdens of over-centralization and complete dependence on oil extraction. As Angola celebrates 40 years of independence, it is important to recognize that 40 years from now there will be no oil economy to rely on and no president who has been incumbent for almost 40 years. Indeed Angola will be a very different place.

Fr José Manuel, Roman Catholic Chaplain, London School of Economics; Co-founder, Mosaiko-Institute for Citizenship

Mistrust pervades the interaction between government and society in Angola. This stretches back to the colonial era, when Angola reached independence amid war. In the process, UNITA, FNLA, and MPLA all reproduced the exclusive politics of the colonial power in their own rules and struggles. The nationalist movements originated with a messianic narrative for the cause, but eventually began to seek power for the sake of power, which leads to harsh repression and the opposition operating according to the same mode, continuing the vicious circle. Political parties, whether the holders of power or contenders, have often sought to repress, exclude and annihilate opposition rather than accommodate dissent. Though it is clear that Angola has progressed significantly in the last 40 years in terms of relations between government and society, one must acknowledge that there is a long way to go with many challenges.

All faith groups in Angola have contributed in their own way to bridging the gap between government and society. The Catholic Church has been playing a significant role that is consistent with its position as the oldest faith with the largest number of adherents.

The Mosaiko Institute for Citizenship was founded in 1997 by Dominican missionaries, including myself. It was the first non-profit institution to specifically take human rights promotion as its primary mission. Mosaiko tries to bridge the gulfs between different political interests through a process of dialogue and trust, ensuring a win-win situation, upholding the parties' rights and responsibilities, and encouraging commitments to social justice and human dignity. Mosaiko endeavours to bring government and society together so that they amount to more than the sum of their parts. Mosaiko's accumulated experience suggests that cooperation, rather than mistrust will generate more positive and sustainable outcomes.

Mosaiko accomplishes its goals in a number of ways by bringing together government and civil society representatives at different levels. Mosaiko brings together representatives from government and civil society to train them in matters relating to human rights, and highlights the need for cooperation, even when dealing with single groups, such as court officials, police officers or soldiers.

Mosaiko also publishes a range of books, magazines, and pamphlets, as well as broadcasting two weekly radio programmes and curating an accessible and informative website. This information is designed to change opinion and behaviour with regards to human rights, among government organizations in particular. At the same time, some output is prepared in conjunction with government institutions, as exemplified in the Human Rights Diary, which was a collaboration between the Ministry of Health and Mosaiko.

Mosaiko also organized for the ministers of trade and education to come on the radio and discuss issues relevant to the fifth annual week on inequality and equal opportunity. This was also connected to the results of the research conducted by the Catholic University, who regularly publish on social and economic conditions in Angola, and they have isolated inequality of opportunity as a key problem.

Mosaiko's protection work includes advocacy, litigation and efforts to establish a precedent. In many parts of the country Mosaiko appoints civil society leaders to local courts as semi-official legal representatives so that in the absence of lawyers there can still be legal representation at each trial. Through its lawyers and semi-official legal representatives, Mosaiko has argued thousands of cases in Angolan courts, resulting in the releases of unjustly jailed prisoners, concessions of government benefits, provision of fair and decent housing, promotion of union and labour rights, access to education, workplace health and safety, reduction of police abuse and domestic violence, and reduction of land conflict. In addition abusive police officers have been jailed and commanders of municipal forces have been demoted or transferred. Mosaiko has therefore had a very positive impact, and the lessons learnt from these cases have spread through all of Mosaiko's human rights promotion activities.

Mosaiko also conducts social research to support its own efforts and those of other organizations seeking to promote social justice. There has been closer and closer collaboration with the Catholic University and this has led to the creation of the Centre of Resolution for Extrajudicial Litigation. This came about thanks to sustained dialogue the Ministry of Justice through the secretary of state for human rights, and the publication of two reports by Mosaiko, the first covering access to justice in Angola, and the second one dealing with human-rights education in Catholic schools. There were intentions to cover public schools in this latter report, but this fell through due to complications with the Ministry of Education.

Mosaiko's mission is intended to be sustainable and long-term in its scope, and has been designed to prioritize the most vulnerable and marginalized members of society, such as women, orphans, the illiterate, the unemployed and those engaged in low-waged informal labour. Its methodology consists in identifying the most pressing problems and then creating inclusive and participatory spaces for reflection and debate to design a solution that guarantees ownership of the process involved in it. Any achievements in this project are disseminated as widely as possible to contribute to the development of a strong public opinion and a civil society with a spirit of social activism. Mosaiko functions primarily as a facilitator, to foster a supportive environment for diverse actions and initiatives, rather than seeking to replace the state or other civil society initiatives.

Angola is a fascinating country, with many contradictions, positives and challenges. To effectively engage with Angola requires intimate knowledge of the operation of the country. The government of Angola listens, but it is important to know how to address it and recognize that informality, bureaucracy, and traffic of influence remain big rooted problems. It is important to learn how to coax cooperation rather than use aggression to ensure the best possible engagement.

Nick Roseveare MBE, Chief Executive, Mines Advisory Group

The Mines Advisory Group (MAG) has been in Angola for 21 years, clearing landmines and debris from the war, both before the end of the conflict and afterwards. During this time Angola's experience was critical in influencing the signing of the Mine Ban Treaty. At the same time, Mozambique's notorious struggle with mines was also influential. MAG was very proud to share the Nobel Peace Prize for that work in 1997. The organization has worked in over 40 countries around the world since its establishment, and has even managed to move on from many of them. Similarly, through the work of the Halo Trust and the Mozambican national authorities, the country is on the verge of being declared mine-free.

MAG, alongside the Halo Trust and Norwegian People's Aid, is committed to continuing to work in Angola, and MAG certainly is hoping to stay until the job is complete. Moxico province is the focus of current efforts, with the main office based in Luena and the sub-office in Luanda, an effort towards decentralization. Moxico province borders on the DR Congo and Zambia, and has important transport arteries, roads and railways that connect it with the rest of southern Africa. Landmines are categorized as an area-denial weapon, designed to obstruct anyone trying to traverse or occupy a particular piece of land. There may be a military justification for the resort to this weapon in war, though this seems very disagreeable. But in a post-conflict environment area-denial for civilians and subsistence agriculture on land is an unnecessarily deadly recipe

Many houses and villages are rebuilt in areas that are subsequently identified and demarcated as hazardous areas, and people must live their lives on top of it. It is naive to think that the problem has been solved just because Angola has been independent for 40 years, and the amount of publicity the land mine issue has received in Angola, including from Princess Diana and Prince Harry.

Angola has progressed in many ways through the establishment of peace, enormous economic and infrastructural development, and increasing integration with the regional and global economy. However a lot of the most positive changes have come in Luanda and areas with key natural resources, and enormous resources have been deployed towards clearing these areas from mines. This is not a criticism in itself as prioritizing assets that are key to the development of the country has been essential to the progress of the national economy. Nevertheless, as international humanitarian interest fades in Angola, there is a lot of work that remains to be done. Currently many hundreds of thousands of Angolans live in fear of cultivating their land or building a house, while their children play in at risk areas, and more than likely

more Angolans will continue to suffer. Risk education, risk awareness and clearance have already played a big role in reducing the number of accidents dramatically, but these do continue to occur on an almost daily basis

The land in remote rural villages is rarely of particular economic significance or a target of foreign investment. However, it is the source of subsistence and livelihood for a community. Unfortunately it is now also a threat to their life that few people are willing to address. Though the recent national budgetary allocations of the Angolan government for demining activity, channelled through the army and national demining entities, it has, whether wrongly or rightly, prioritized land around national assets, infrastructure projects and commercial investments. International donor funds have largely been directed to the rural areas, through funding MAG and other non-profit organizations, whose priorities are to facilitate the safe farming of agricultural land, safe places for children to play in, roads to reach markets and safe land for people to build their house on. These are very basic necessities.

Most people walk or cycle to market as they do not have enough money to buy cars. This means they walk along the side of the road, where most mines have accumulated and therefore putting them at greater risk.

The competition between demining groups is probably good and has fed into the significant progress that had been made. Nonetheless, the total area of land cleared by MAG in 20 years of work in Angola is equivalent to the area of land that is still considered hazardous in Moxico. The national figure is six times the size. MAG has therefore made some progress, thanks to strong, but oscillating, levels of funding, but the challenge that remains still dwarfs these gains. The United States, EU and Japan have been the principal funders. Despite the fact that the United States has not signed the Mine Ban Treaty, it has funded the programme more than any other country in the world. Unfortunately the EU is closing its dedicated funding line next year, which will jeopardize the operations of MAG and other charities in Angola and elsewhere.

If MAG is able to stay, it will still take another 20 to 30 years at the current rate of progress to make Angola safe. This means that people will live the entirety of their economically productive life in confirmed dangerous areas. This is not acceptable and is detrimental to such people, Angola's economy and our own interests. There has been talk today of spreading economic growth across different regions, including Moxico. Yet so far there is no peace dividend for many people, who remain trapped in poverty through land mines, and are at risk of being left behind

Summary of Questions and Answers

What has been the role of traditional leaders, the sobas, in advancing democratic development? What assurances will you give to prospective investors in agri-business?

Aslak Orre

The *sobas* are a very important part of Angolan society, too often ignored by farmers. The Angolan government has over 44,000 *sobas* on its payroll, who are supposed to receive a small monthly stipend, generating a link between government and traditional authorities. *Sobas* are in turn deeply embedded in the communities from which they originate, often making them the middle men between the rural villages and the state, though there are also others, and they are usually male. They are therefore vital for any operation one wishes to carry out in these areas, including clearing mines.

This is a tradition that began with Portuguese colonial authorities to maintain connections in remote areas and ensure some sort of loyalty. Often monetary payments convinced *sobas* to override the wishes of the local community and instead comply with colonial directives, essentially becoming the representative of the state. This trend has continued under the post-independence government, finding that the *sobas* are useful bottom-level officials of the government when no other options are available. Yet once traditional authorities are on the payroll they tend to become the political, usually party-political, instrument of the state, often explicitly affiliating with the MPLA. Many people in local communities without the same affiliation have been concerned that this undermines their role as a local representative. *Sobas* therefore have a complicated role, sometimes contributing constructively to the community and other times acting as stooges of powers from afar.

Nick Roseveare

With regards to MAG's activity, and other demining groups, the *sobas* remain a crucial constituency to consult, among others, to determine priorities. Though MAG may know the hazardous areas that have been mapped, the community consultation is essential to ensure that the work of demining charities corresponds to their needs.

With regards to the prospects of agri-business, it should be made clear that there are many competent entities in Angola demarcating land. There are improved techniques of working to accelerate release of land to productive use, without clearing every square metre. If the ambition is to diversify the economy and make agriculture central to Angolan development, it will be essential to invest in this area. Investment cannot only be in infrastructure, commercial development, exploitation of natural resources or state-run agriculture, but in the rural economy as well. There is of course a humanitarian justification for demining in order to save lives, which unfortunately the British government has ignored. There is also a broader reason, because demining forms a key part of development by allowing land to be released back into productive use. This in turn facilitates household communities and economies to grow and surpluses to be sold into Zambia and other parts of the Angolan economy, generating wealth for poor households. Demining is thus an investment in the future rural economy.

José Manuel

Unfortunately traditional leaders have often been manipulated by whoever is control of the region, whether the MPLA, UNITA or the Portuguese, and they often do not represent the local community

What is the broader work of the churches in Angola, and how does the work of Mosaiko feed into the pastoral letter set out by the bishop's conference that seems to have lost its momentum? Are they following up on a pastoral letter that called for economic justice and scrutiny of budget expenditure?

José Manuel

There has been a shift in the Church since the onset of peace, as priorities have shifted to empowering people and combatting social inequalities. The Church has frequently been the provider of services such as education and health, so once peace was attained, bishops became far more concerned with building schools and hospitals. This has required engaging with government to access resources and money, but has led to the churches presenting a less challenging voice on social and political issues. They have however issued two recent letters on corruption and inequality to mark 40 years of independence. They therefore continue to play role but it has been transformed in the changing political context.

How can official public interest be reignited in Angola?

Chi Onwurah MP, Chair, All-Party Parliamentary Group on Angola, United Kingdom

The All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Angola is designed precisely with this goal in mind, to engage and inspire members of parliament and peers. This includes plans to travel to Angola and release a report, alongside an event. Anyone with ideas for events to host in parliament should inform the APPG. The APPG has also written to the Angolan government, looking for ways to engage on human rights, including Luaty Beirão.

Why will it take so much longer to clear mines in Angola than Mozambique?

Nick Roseveare

The speed at which Mozambique has achieved its commitment under the Mine Ban Treaty has been impressive. MAG has not worked there; the Halo Trust and Norwegian People's Aid have carried out this impressive work. The estimation that it will take a further 20 years to clear Angola of mines is based on a number of variables. Demining action is quite simple, the more money you apply, the more technical or non-technical survey work can be done, the more mine clearance teams can be deployed, and the more square metres of land and kilometres of road that can be covered. With less money, there is less capacity and work-rate suffers. Mozambique received excellent flows of funding, while Angola is suffering a loss of international donor interest, and the government itself is not prioritizing rural and humanitarian initiatives. This is why Angola's mine clearance will take longer than Mozambique, unless national policy or international donor funding changes.

How have you overcome difficulties of communication with the government?

José Manuel

Big problems require big solutions. A few years ago a local leader of a commission of human rights, was given a lift by several policeman when trying to move municipalities and was killed. The officers claimed they had been attacked, but the details they provided were scarce. Eleven years ago, Mosaiko responded by setting into motion proceedings to clarify the case and yet it is still not solved. One of the policemen involved died, and the other policeman was transferred and the prosecution lost contact with him. The police tried to argue that even in developing countries cases go unsolved, so it is not an issue that the outcome is still unclear. The only solution is to keep applying pressure to the government, working with the prosecution at all levels. It is also important to keep working with local communities with a focus on rebuilding trust and empowerment, to mitigate the intimidation felt by the killing of a leading human rights promoter. This is a complex process, but must be faced to achieve a solution.

What is the role of civil society in decentralization, particularly in the context of the new law on the functioning of civil society organizations and NGOs?

Aslak Orre

A year ago there was a lot of attention of civil society on decentralization and the role of NGOs. Since then a new law creates a lot of restrictions on NGO activity in Angola, especially the way they are able to retrieve money from foreign donors. Another crucial problem is the indefinite postponement of local elections, until the president sees fit to call them. This has side-tracked the role of civil society in decentralization.

Is it fair to compare 14 years of peace in Angola, in terms of democracy, human rights, and corruption, with the situation in the United Kingdom?

Aslak Orre

It is possible to compare anything. All governments are measured against the same standards of democracy that were developed through antiquity in a long historical process. The Angolan government, having also committed to these standards, should be evaluated according to these universal norms.

Can you comment on the argument that oil-producing countries find it harder to diversify their economy?

Aslak Orre

I think it is worth repeating that the growth period was a missed chance to diversify. Diversification is now going to be much harder even though the government itself is now really pushing for diversification, with government ministers including the topic in all speeches, whether relevant or irrelevant.

Concluding Remarks

Dr Alex Vines OBE, Director, Area Studies and International Law and Head, Africa Programme, Chatham House

David Birmingham began by making it very clear why history matters. And the way ahead requires history to understand the context of the way ahead, by drawing out the key themes of this book. His Excellency Miguel Gaspar Fernandes Neto emphasized the fact that Angola has spent most of its post-colonial history at war, with the government focused on crisis-management in conflict, and Angola has only recently left this position.

It is clear that the last decade has seen a shift in Angola's strategic partnerships, as Ambassador Montero showed, building relations with the United States, Brazil, China and the EU, though Portugal has been by far the most prominent European actor. Other partnerships have been important. Cuba from my experience has been a positive collaborator. During the Battle of Luanda, it was Cuban doctors that saved a lot of UNITA soldiers and representatives. There have thus been different perspectives presented here on Angolan history. As David Birmingham already made clear the country's history is highly contentious.

The United Kingdom also has a partnership with Angola. But interest in issues like demining has foundered. Funding for this project was cut by the Labour government and was unrelated to the current swathe of cuts. The British government decided that, as Angola was a middle-income country, it was not appropriate to invest British taxpayer money in that regard. My efforts to contradict this view were rejected by then Secretary of State for International Development Hilary Benn. The United Kingdom did have a trade envoy to Angola, though this position is currently vacant and it is not clear if or when there will be another appointment. The relationship clearly has ups and downs.

Investors continue to be interested in Angola, even if the oil price has fallen to under \$50 a barrel. This is clear in the recent sale of the Eurobond, of \$1.5 billion, that was four times oversubscribed. These are long-term markets and the Eurobond is a statement of continued investor interest. It is important to recognize this in the face of recent negative press that claimed the Eurobond would be delayed, that markets are not interested in Angola, or, according to one academic, in a 'storm' that no-one wants to be involved in. There is in fact widespread agreement on the potential of Angola in terms of resources and people. There is also a general consensus on the need for economic diversification. There is also the need for political diversification, and for different narratives to emerge to hold the government to account, as was made clear in the last session.

Low commodity prices, whether for diamonds or oil, are a reality. Reforms in Angola generally happen in a cycle of low commodity prices. This was the case with the reforms to the constitution in the 1990s, which came not only because of the end of the Cold War, but also because of low oil prices. The government is braver and more visionary when commodity prices are constricting. Particularly encouraging is the fact that the Angolan government is currently more open to conversation, and look for new ideas, as exemplified by Minister Chicoti's intervention in this conference.

It all comes back to people, visions and people's visions of Angola throughout history. As Professor Birmingham articulated well; there are good, bad and ugly visions of Angola's future.

There was the good vision of Agostinho Neto and his vision of where he wanted Angola to be, or the vision of Mosaiko for a more inclusive and developmental Angola. There is also the vision of Dame Margaret

Anstee, which she discussed today and the last word should be hers: 'Forty years on the old rallying cry for independence remains relevant today: *la lotta continua!*'