

British-Angola Forum

Conference Report

Towards Sustainable Peace
A Challenge for Angola and the
International Community

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Introduction

There were marked contrasts between the first BAF conference, held in September 2001, and the second one, held at Chatham House in November 2002. In the first, the background was the very recent tragic events in the USA, and the third Angolan civil war showed few signs of abating. Prospects of any kind of peace, let alone a sustainable one, seemed far distant. By contrast, the year 2002 had seen UNITA defeated militarily, its charismatic leader killed, and the remaining leaders signing a ceasefire and reorienting their organization towards political activity. Some 85,000 opposition soldiers were being demobilized, and previously inaccessible areas of the country were being opened up.

All these changes had significant implications for Angolans, and for the conference. The immediate issues were assisting the internally displaced, humanitarian feeding of those in inaccessible areas, and landmine clearance. The longer-term issues were democratization, national reconciliation, land reform, United Nations and Bretton Woods assistance, transparency, corruption, gender relations, civil society, elections, and above all the construction and sustaining of peace.

The November 2002 conference brought together two hundred participants including Angolan and British government representatives, though not the Angolan finance minister nor the IMF Resident from Luanda. The capacity of significant actors, especially the Angolan government, to meet the challenges was fiercely debated. Donor countries, representatives from the United Nations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) all stressed the importance of transparency and accountability in government practice as a condition for investment, as well as the importance of free and fair elections. Basic liberties, freedom of expression throughout the provinces, a revision of the constitution and an electoral law with an election date were all urgent requirements. But the key question was 'Who spends Angola's peace dividend?'

Angolan representatives listening to criticism of their efforts so far made the following points:

- Human rights research and assistance from the outside world tended to discredit or antagonize the government.
- Oil company wealth did not foster the development of human resources.

- Angola needed help with investment and release of credits, rather than complaints about good governance. In particular, no government could be expected to be transparent about its military budget.

Although the Angolan government was aware that it needed international assistance and expertise, it was wary of the conditions demanded in return and critical of the past role of the United Nations. The international community wanted greater transparency to demonstrate the commitment of the Angolan government to spending its own money on its own citizens before appealing to outsiders. Since so many things needed to be achieved urgently, however, the international community did know that there was a lack of capacity in Luanda to solve all the problems and a real need for outside help in assessing their extent.

Baroness Amos opened the conference with a plea for the government of Angola to devote a greater portion of its resources to social spending and to meeting the needs of the people. She said British policy towards Angola stressed *partnership* in the New Partnership for Africa's Development as well as bilateral relations. Reform in the political, economic, judicial and security sectors presented a challenge but was essential in moving cooperation forward. In London's view the conditions for lifting sanctions on UNITA had now been met.

Ambassador Mussagy Jeichande, the former head of United Nations Office in Angola, pointed out that the Angolan government wanted to limit the role of outsiders and had downgraded the UN presence. This inhibited involvement with the demobilization and rehabilitation of ex-combatants, with the resettlement of refugees and internally displaced people and with the reform of Angolan government practices. Any help with capacity-building which enhanced in the public service would make a substantial contribution to development. Equally vital would be agricultural training of peasants returning to the land as de-mining speeded up.

Fernando França Van-Dúnem, the former prime minister, completed the introductory survey by reviewing thirty years of Angolan history. He emphasized the importance of 'the African family' and pointed out that for the government, drafting policies was easier than implementing them. With its vast reserves of natural resources, and its capacity to exploit

them, postwar Angola had a better future ahead of it, but further foreign investment was needed. Wounds opened by the 27-year civil war needed healing through a national reconciliation process; prerequisites were the finalizing of the Lusaka Protocol (the peace agreement of 1994 which had collapsed by 1998 but was the basis for the renewed peace of 2002) and the Memorandum of Understanding (the agreement between the government and UNITA after their ceasefire in April 2002). The quartering, demobilization and disarmament of Unita's soldiers had ended, as had the selection of ex-UNITA soldiers for the national army (FAA) and national police. Reintegration of demobilized soldiers was currently under way.

Mr Van-Dúnem did not feel that the process of national reconstruction was receiving the 'appropriate treatment' from the Angolan government, which meant 'a real challenge for Angola in terms of [the] material and human capacity that the country lacks. Most of the infrastructure is destroyed; schools, roads, rail-track, hospitals, clean water, and basic sanitation are needed. But it is clear that it is impossible to address these issues all at once.' Therefore, the process of national reconstruction would require support from the international community, particularly Angola's partners within the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Landmine clearance was a number one priority because a large part of the Angolan population lived in rural areas and agriculture was crucial for the development of the country. A new land law, independent courts, and constitutional revision of the Angolan political system were therefore needed.

Peace-building, democratization and elections

The minister responsible for peace was unfortunately unable to attend. In his absence the Minister for War Veterans, **Pedro Vandúnem**, gave details of his plans for rehabilitating ex-combatants. He spoke of professional training, land allocation, house construction, medical benefits, and even small cash allowances. A pilot project initiated eighteen months earlier had failed, however, since the government had not invested funds in it. The minister made an appeal for international funding to support his ideas.

Chris Alden of the London School of Economics also pondered on this theme, wondering whether reintegration was such a high priority for long-term peace, given that UNITA was no longer a threat. He saw the greater priority for the Angolan government being national reconciliation, given that soldiers had great expectations for their future lives from the prospect of peace and stability, and he questioned whether public works or formal training programmes would not create dependency. Rather, he thought that micro-credit would provide a better start.

On the question of democratization three Angolan politicians made significant contributions. **Isaias Samakuva** of UNITA said that after only one multiparty election (that of 1992) conditions for true democracy were still absent. The rule of law, a respect for human rights and for political pluralism would help with democratization as well as in overcoming poverty and discrimination. Popular representation at local level, national debate within civil society and a strong opposition were the keys to national reconciliation.

Bornito de Sousa, the MPLA parliamentary leader, accepted the need for open debate and increased transparency, and acknowledged the long democratic path that would have to be travelled. He thought power-sharing in the National Assembly had been effective, and hoped that assembly members who had been working on a new constitution would produce results. Technical questions remained: the relative power of president and prime minister, the choice of a single or double chamber, elected versus appointed governors, and the choice of a system of local government. A deepening democracy would promote balanced development, a more equitable income distribution, national harmony, reconstruction and rehabilitation of lives and infrastructure in the country.

Dr Vicente Pinto de Andrade pointed out that Angolan parties did not yet trust one another, were wary about the progress of the peace process, and were uncertain whether the government was fully committed to the democratic process. He urged continuing international support to help Angolans achieve peace and democracy: the United Nations and other outside players should follow very carefully the unfolding of democracy in Angola since there was now no referee on the ground. He regretted that donors could not fund political parties to

overcome dependence on government funding nor monitor attempts by the government to impose its own agenda on others. Equally seriously, the judicial system would need a great deal of help to establish itself and the human rights situation would need long-term attention.

On the question of elections **David Kramer**, of the National Republican Institute, spoke of a 2001 survey which had concluded that conditions for free and fair elections would take at least one to two years to put in place. An election required media freedom, a new constitution, an electoral register, new electoral laws and a national electoral commission to replace the one that had disappeared after 1992. **Marco Carmignani**, of the United Nations Electoral Assistance Division, doubted whether government commitment to elections matched up to international standards.

Dr Onofre dos Santos described the vital role of the United Nations in ensuring the success of the electoral commission of 1992. He predicted that international support would again be needed. His list of necessary pre-election tasks included settling internally displaced persons (IDPs), demining farm land, rebuilding transport infrastructure, rewriting the constitution and the electoral laws, in addition to humanitarian aid for basic survival. Donors and outside experts would be required to strengthen the new electoral commission, to set up a census and a voter registration process, and to provide civic education for voters. He echoed Dr Pinto de Andrade's call for outside funding for political parties through a trust fund. Elections would require the training of personnel.

The economy

Teresa Cohen, the MPLA MP, described the role of the National Assembly in supervising government expenditure. MPs analysed within their respective parliamentary groups questions relating to the government budget. Here, as well as at working commission level, they could openly express their views. Within the working commissions, MPs tried to gain consent from the other parties; 'only in extreme situations' had the majority voted on its own.

Teresa Cohen looked to the recently created audit courts to ensure spending discipline as well as improvement of the educational and health sectors – especially primary education for the country's development, and healthcare in the areas affected by the war.

Douglas Mason, of the Economist Intelligence Unit, ably stepped into the breach left by the absence from the London conference of both the Angolan Finance Minister and the IMF Resident at Luanda. He pointed out that the crossroads which Angola had reached was as much economic as political. After 27 years of a war economy, a post-conflict period offered an opportunity for reconstruction, growth and poverty reduction instead. But, he warned, big opportunities were only potential ones and depended on the policy choices established by Angolan authorities. He presented three fundamental questions:

- What practical steps were needed to launch Angola on the path of economic recovery and poverty reduction?
- Were the Angolan authorities doing all that they could to bring about that goal?
- What could the international community do to help?

In the first place, recovery needed an absolute commitment to economic stability within an adequate macro-economic framework. This precondition was still awaited. The Angolan economy was marked by serious and persistent fiscal and monetary imbalances, by hyperinflation and by distortions arising from the oil sector. There was an inadequate linkage between oil revenue and the non-energy sectors of the economy in which the majority of the population earned a livelihood. The main causes of macro-economic instability in Angola, however, were fiscal and monetary. They related to the existence of vast off-budget and unrecorded expenditure, all conducted outside normal accounting channels. This pointed to the need for financial and fiscal transparency as a condition for recovery. To add to the complexity, state revenues in Angola were unusually and very severely fragmented. Control rested with three main institutions – the national oil company Sonangol, the central bank and the office of the presidency. The ministry of finance played only a junior role. Financial disclosure by these institutions was insufficient and coordination inadequate. The lack on disclosure of state revenues related to different sources:

- Revenue streams from oil production;
- Signature bonuses by foreign oil companies;
- An extremely large and costly portfolio of oil-backed loans from Western investment banks at commercial rates of interest.

Some of these funds did not appear in the budget and were never recorded or kept by the Treasury. They could, however, be traced through the 'oil diagnostic' undertaken by KPMG at the behest of the International Monetary Fund. Good-quality data could now bring oil revenues into normal accounting channels and Mr Mason commended the decision made by the Angolan authorities in November 2002 to release this data. He also drew attention, however, to the ongoing discussion on whether roughly \$1bn per year of Angolan state resources had gone missing. If one accepted the reason given by the Angolan government, that accounting problems explained the discrepancies and that the funds were used for legitimate purposes, then future practice were far more important than past error. The Angolan authorities had flagged this area for attention since large accounting lapses pointed to a serious problem in financial and fiscal control and were a major obstacle to macro stability.

The Angolan state budget contained insufficient clarity about state resources and little analytical description of the government's spending objectives. Greater transparency would help all concerned. The pressing priority was for a massive increase in the delivery of social services by government institutions. To address postwar priorities the ministries of health and education were in particular need of funds. Such social assistance must be an Angolan-owned process with adequate material and human resources. It could not be left to the international community.

The key factor to stress was that Angola was an oil-dominated economy, with over 60% of gross domestic product deriving from the energy sector. This capital-intensive sector neither generated sufficient employment nor contributed to poverty reduction. Growth therefore needed to be encouraged by creating conditions for the reduction of labour-intensive poverty. This entailed a supportive institutional and policy environment, which included and emphasized security of land tenure for small-scale agriculture. Douglas Mason urged 'a transparent and predictable environment in which business, particularly small business, could survive and thrive'.

On the question of whether enough was being done by the Angolan authorities, Mr Mason pointed to what he interpreted as encouraging signs of improved economic governance. Compared with two years earlier (before an IMF 'Staff Monitoring Programme' had been established), inflation was down from 350% to

about 115% and a floating exchange rate was being maintained. Prices had been partially liberalized and a privatization programme begun. Some progress on financial transparency, including more regular release of data by the ministry of finance, had unfortunately not matched the government's undertakings to the IMF economic reform and commitment to reconstruction. The uncertain intentions meant that:

- Macro-economic stability had not been achieved;
- Fiscal and financial transparency had not been established;
- There had been no substantial increase in spending on the social sectors.

Mr Mason added that there was a need in this case to combat the myth that IMF reforms invariably sought to cut social expenditure. In Angola's case the IMF and the rest of the international community wanted *more* social expenditure. Signs of serious commitment by Angola would be renewal of its engagement with IMF, addressing better economic governance, and recognition that despite Angola's importance as an oil producer, the IMF was not going to lower the bar on issues that stood in the way of a new agreement. Compliance coincided within enlightened self-interest for a government facing elections under present circumstances.

Mr Mason asked what the international community could do to help. Post-conflict assistance in Angola was obviously needed, given the severity of the war. There existed considerable international goodwill towards Angola combined with a desire to give such assistance. The international community, however, not unreasonably would only offer assistance from its own taxpayers when it had evidence of Angola's commitment to economic reform. Devoting a greater portion of oil wealth to the benefit of the wider population would be a first requirement. Assurances that state resources were accounted for would be a second, and the inadequacies of such assurances might explain delays in scheduling a donors' conference. Without transparency and social investment Angola might not see a peace dividend. The humanitarian consequences would be a continuation of the very bleak status quo.

Douglas Mason finished by asking where Angola would be in ten years' time. Would it be

regarded as a success story for post-conflict reconstruction, resembling Mozambique which had just recorded a decade of peace marked by relatively good governance and poverty reduction? Or would the status quo lead to a situation like Nigeria's? He concluded: 'Angola should not be afraid to be more ambitious.'

Arvind Ganeson, Director of Business and Human Rights for Human Rights Watch, continued the economic analysis. He talked most pertinently of the problems of petroleum enclave economies, with their propensity for high degrees of corruption, for the lavish use of patronage, for poor economic performance and for political repression. Such states were rarely dependent on tax revenue, and accountability was therefore minimal. In Angola, he pointed out, groups and individuals attempting to gain information on government finances were routinely harassed and arrested.

Even the IMF Staff Monitoring Programme, begun in April 2000, had been terminated in August 2001 because of non-cooperation by the Angolan government. The programme had included a provision to monitor oil revenues to determine the amount and create a model to forecast future revenue. At the time, no data were made available for this 'Oil Diagnostic'. The state-owned oil company Sonangol had apparently never been independently audited and regularly failed to channel funds through the central bank. Public release of information could bring improvements in human rights, and transparency would help ensure well-regulated expenditure from oil-backed loans and bonus payments. Companies which provided Angola with its huge invisible earnings should commit themselves to transparency and high business standards when paying taxes, royalties and bonuses to government. Legislation concerning international financial institutions could help to achieve transparency. In defence of Sonangol, a government voice pointed out that the oil revenue went to foreign companies and Sonangol received only a percentage under production-sharing agreements.

The question of land

The Angolan minister responsible for land affairs was unable to attend the conference. This left the civil society speakers to outline the issue of land and the problems it was causing. A lively exchange with Teresa Cohen ensued.

The two speakers, **Fr Jacinto Wacussanga (aka Padre Pio)** and **Manuel Mendes**, spoke respectively on rural and urban land problems. For Padre Pio access to land was a human right for peasants – they had been serially dispossessed by Portuguese settlers, by programmes of nationalization and by the elite of the ruling political party. A draft land law was being drawn up with little consultation, and on the ground people were very confused, not knowing who had a right to what. In his estimation, this draft law had no concrete objectives and failed to address the need for national reconciliation. It should see land as a basic right, but also practically as a way of alleviating poverty stemming from negative colonial policies and thereby overcoming possible civil unrest in areas such as Huila, Namibe and Cunene.

There had been no proper rural evaluation process in Angola, particularly in conflict areas, and therefore no examination of different rural regional expectations of inherited land. Without this there was likely to be a dual system – one legal and one traditional – leading to the creation of two classes of citizens. If such a study were undertaken it would provide guidelines on the needs of the rural areas and how the current land legislation could be applied. NGOs, churches and other social forces should help push for the current process of land consultation to be participatory. 'At the moment only a few meetings take place with information-gathering officers and they are not participatory, as we think. In Mozambique the process to draft their current land law took four years with around 50,000 activists mobilized to carry out the consultation process. In the long run the land law would affect the rural communities and thanks to civil society its completion was extended *sine die* to allow for full and proper consultation.'

Both the current process of constitutional revision and the drafting of the new land law as well as the rural urbanization law would need the participation of internally displaced persons. Padre Pio also worried about the wider context for land in a situation where without 'proper stability' the government intended to hold elections in 2004. In his view, 'Elections should be taken as an opportunity to define political, social and economic policies according to the Lusaka Protocol, not as a chance to gain legitimacy.' He thought that 'we could arrive at the elections with a land law but without a land policy'. National reconciliation, as a priority, required a participatory process in which civil society needed

not just recognition but support in order to implement solutions to the causes of the conflict and to promote conflict prevention. Although the Angolan government had prepared a 'strategic plan for devolution', finalizing the new constitution 'needed the input of all forces of society so that a national identity could be forged'. In particular citizens' rights needed to be guaranteed in terms of protecting different regional cultures. Only a process of devolution with strong local government and rooted in strong constitutional rights would allow local groups and communities to participate fully in discussions on the draft land law.

Manuel Mendes said that land transcended Western concepts of ownership, but that he had witnessed how the elite, without right of ownership, had expelled and dispossessed the fisherfolk of the island of Luanda who had hitherto occupied the land by customary right. In the city of Luanda the expulsion of 1,000 families from the *musseque* (shanty town) of Boa Vista was the subject of a lively discussion. **Teresa Cohen** defended the right of her government to expel the families on public policy grounds, whereas others saw the expulsion as a bid for elite housing. **Carlos Belli-Bello**, Special Adviser on African Affairs to the Angolan President, declared that 'the land belongs to those who work it – the rest is detail'.

More important in its wide-ranging scope than the conflict over prime urban sites was the future allocation of land to IDPs, estimated at one-third of the population in Angola. **João Kussumua**, Minister for Social integration, addressing the government's poverty reduction strategies, pointed to the need for a resettlement process led by the National Commission for Social Reintegration. Some resettlement kits (including seeds and tools) had been handed out to displaced persons to encourage them to leave the coastal and peri-urban areas. Up to half a million people had also been spontaneously returning home. The government had allocated US\$100 million in setting up reception areas, but the minister called for international assistance. The government had intended people to be resettled before the agricultural year started but logistical difficulties had hindered this aim of self-sufficiency, leading to continued dependence on the government. The government's commitment to resettlement could only be achieved with the support of the international community. Within this context, according to the minister, the World Bank and the Angolan government were preparing a 'Post-Conflict Programme of

Rehabilitation and Reconstruction' to be presented shortly at a possible donors' conference. The proposed reintegration strategy covered transport routes, agricultural rehabilitation, health provision, social spending, job creation, landmine clearance and the setting up of markets. Whether the government was able to follow United Nations guidelines on the treatment of IDPs and whether donors had the capacity to help were unanswered questions.

The way ahead

Dame Margaret Anstee put forward three premises and six action points. The premises were:

1. Peace was clearly established, Angola was at a crossroads with time not on its side, and it needed to take full advantage of all its fleeting opportunities.
2. Angola itself was in the driver's seat and it needed a united effort.
3. There was a need for hope to inspire the majority of Angolans and win the peace dividend.

Policy was in the hands of the Angolans but others might make different suggestions from those presented during the economic sessions. The action points were:

1. Security was not just a traditional military preserve, but had to include reasonable conditions of living, of demobilization, of disarmament and of reintegration with a human security perspective which could tackle crime as well as conflict. Could soldiers and others who had been excluded be useful in public works, and could the IMF solve the budget deficit problem?
2. Peace-building was as long-term a process as poverty reduction, but needed also to be satisfied in the short term so that people could see the peace dividend. Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers were not the immediate answer since they also took a long time. Dame Margaret proposed that two pilot development projects, both with an uncanny resemblance to Portuguese colonial projects, be attempted in the provinces of Huambo and Kwanza Sul.
3. To achieve a clear national strategy the Angolan government should engage in consultation at all levels and particularly with

Angolan women. Rich human and natural resources needed to be tapped to fill development gaps. The sterility of the corruption debate needed to be replaced by transparent engagement with real issues that would appeal to the international community and its donors.

4. It would be useful to set the date of elections. The experience of 1992 showed that one needed the right conditions but a clear forward time-frame was important.

5. The international community should be more flexible and generous, rather than following the IMF rules for reducing poverty in these oil-fired 'political realities'.

6. From 1 January 2003 Angola would be on the Security Council of the United Nations and could chose to sponsor a special session on peace-building.

Tony Fernandes, Angolan Ambassador to the United Kingdom, raised the question of whether the new partnership called for by Baroness Amos was possible. This brought to the surface the problem of sovereignty which had underlain much of the debate. He instanced Angolan surprise at the UN rejection of the government's amnesty law. He also doubted whether Western political standards could be applied to Angola in the near future; people had little political knowledge and were told how to vote by their chiefs.

John Thompson, UK Ambassador to Angola, said that Angola had so far achieved the cessation of hostilities, rather than peace. This achievement had, however, been won by Angolans alone. He laid out the challenges:

1. Politically there was a need for strong parties and quick elections with a solid electoral process and a new constitution.

2. Economically, there was a need for diversification and for new sources of revenue to achieve it.

3. In the humanitarian field, five million people needed assistance.

4. In infrastructure, everything was needed, especially power and schools.

5. In the social sphere there was a need for proper health and educational services, water and sanitation – 60% of Angolans had no access to sanitation.

6. Militarily, there needed to be an adjustment to a postwar climate.

7. Democratically, Angola needed increased freedom of assembly, liberty for the media, a flourishing civil society, and a decentralization of power and administration.

Having presented his daunting list, Mr Thompson laid out his further thoughts on where Angola should be going.

1. A united UNITA urgently needed a manifesto for the multiparty system. There should be a clear decision on the election date – which also implied preparation on voter education and registration. A new constitution was also urgently required.

2. In the economy, he described himself as heretical in that reform was already happening, urging the audience to visit the ministry of finance website – 'transparency now has an address'. Commending the advisory role of the British Crown Agents, he said that their modernization of the Angolan customs authorities' procedures on imports and exports had helped efficiency and transparency. Nevertheless, the level of corruption was unacceptable, according to the Angolan Attorney-General. Given that corruption had not been present twenty years ago, it should be possible to confront the problem. The government's draft investment law should help improve the investment climate. Rather than seeing transparency as a threat, the Angolan government should welcome help in creating the stability and level playing field needed by the international business community.

3. Surprisingly, he called for a slowdown or halt to the resettlement process: it was happening at the wrong time and had led to a planting and harvesting gap. It was more important to get the local infrastructure in place. A donors' conference in 2003 should not take place if it looked as though attention would have to be focused on dealing with a short-term humanitarian crisis, rather than long-term development assistance.

4. In terms of infrastructure, the government should concentrate on building roads and clinics, using resources freed from the war, and leave the provision of power open to greater private-sector participation. All rural sectors needed revitalization.

5. The government needed to spend the peace dividend and urgently devote more resources to social areas.

6. The military had to redefine its role in a democratic society, which might entail paying for added investment socially and in infrastructure.

7. In the field of democracy, great changes were already visible (though mostly in Luanda), including greater open discussion and freedom of assembly. The British government was providing some support to the independent media. Opportunities for free movement should be seized.

8. Equally there was British moral and financial support for civil society.

9. Decentralization was a vital step on the road to democracy.

10. Angola should use its time on the Security Council wisely, especially its month as president in January 2003.

This was a huge agenda, with the government being the prime mover, but it was imperative for the international community to help. Unlike Dame Margaret, Mr Thompson saw Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers as a vital building block to peace, demonstrating the government's commitment to it and to reconstruction.

Professor David Birmingham praised his predecessors on the platform, Ambassador Fernandes for his vision and kind words on BAF, Dame Margaret for providing an international context and John Thompson for disproving his professorial dictum of some years back that the British embassy in Luanda was a 'watertight island of ignorance'. He quoted the Norwegian representative's comment that Angolans disagreed violently with one another but still smiled. The issue of land had raised the temperature of the debate significantly but it was good that politicians had fire in their belly.

Transparency had been the theme of the conference. Like South Africans ten years before, Angolans could not start their career of peace with a clean slate, but at least they ought to know the score. Angolans needed concrete information about the financial situation. Outsiders needed it too for funding purposes. Even with such data policy debates would be difficult. Angola had no experienced political parties, but rather two liberation movements and

150 micro-parties where politics were based on personality. In peace-building efforts, local politics would be more vital than national politics. The Angolan elite had a hard task in learning to listen to its people, understand about land, respect women and care for the victims of war. It also faced an uphill struggle in controlling oil companies and spreading their dollars equitably.

It was time to abandon the old colonial myth, constantly peddled in the media, that Angola was rich. It was 'dirt poor' in fact, ranking 147th in the world's human development index. It had taken enormous colonial and dictatorial efforts to extract former wealth, build infrastructure and cultivate cash crops. Little of that remained. Clear thinking about the future was now needed, rather than a re-establishment of colonial patterns. Professor Birmingham pointed to the replication of Belgian capital exploitation and Portuguese colonial oppression in the choice of two potential agricultural development models. In Huambo and in Kwanza Sul provinces white colonial peasants had always preferred to become taxi drivers in the cities of Huambo and Luanda. Demobilized post-colonial soldiers might choose the same option. Peace, he said in haunting contradistinction to an oft-repeated phrase at the conference, was reversible. As well as the requirements which others had stressed, he pointed to the brain drain which had denied Angola talent and experience. There was an urgent need for the training (or repatriation) of a professional middle class to actually run education, organize health services and build affordable housing. The great challenge for Angola would be to 'turn oil into seeds'.

Conclusion

As Dame Margaret Anstee put it, 'The problem is that everything needs doing at once'.

Debate over the issues had certainly sharpened from the previous year's conference – possibly because there was now the opportunity to make policy, suggest ideas on implementation and address all the postwar problems confronting Angola. As had been suggested these were mammoth tasks, and although they were primarily the responsibility of the Angolan authorities, the international community had an undoubted role to play. What precisely this relationship would be was under construction. What the conference had done was to show how far Angola had come, and how much further it had to travel.

The conference concluded with more questions than answers:

- How quickly would the peace dividend be shared out, and to whom?
- How would Angola deal with the 'moral hazard' of oil wealth?
- How would internal cooperation be achieved between mutually distrustful partners?
- How would government collaborate with the international community after managing to offend both the IMF and the humanitarian institutions simultaneously?
- Could the people, the political parties and institutions in civil society find the expertise to monitor government promises and performances?
- How could one undertake all the tasks at once with so little expertise and with as yet undiscovered commitment?
- Where were the voices of women in such matters as resettlement, reconstruction, political discussions and community participation?
- How could agriculture be reinvigorated against the trend of an urban drift which was probably irreversible?
- How could the formidable energies of the informal sector be harnessed to address the unevenly distributed wealth in the formal economy?
- Could Angolan parties achieve the difficult trick (not necessarily managed elsewhere in the region) of forming genuine political parties from liberation movements?
- Could the country find an authentically Angolan form of democracy (as called for by Ambassador Fernandes) and place land and the human being at the centre of development?
- Would there be a genuine national reconciliation or an officially sponsored mix of amnesty and amnesia?
- Finally, in response to a word that seemed to run through the conference but was never really deconstructed or addressed, what were the implications of the 's' word, sovereignty, for Angola and other Third World states? This entered the debate over who controlled the oil companies, and whether the people controlled the government. New definitions of sovereignty stressed the importance of people and human security rather than states and borders. Perhaps it was better to be an ocean of transparency rather than a rock of sovereignty?

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE PEACE A CHALLENGE FOR ANGOLA AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Supported by BP, De La Rue, ChevronTexaco, CNR International,
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12-13 NOVEMBER 2002

CHALLENGES TOWARDS A SUSTAINABLE PEACE IN ANGOLA

Chair: Victor Bulmer-Thomas, Director, Royal Institute of International Affairs, UK
Speaker: Valerie Amos, Parliamentary Under-Secretary, FCO, UK
Speaker: Mussagy Jeichande, former Representative and Head of the UN, Angola
Speaker: Fernando Vandú-nem, former Angolan Prime Minister & National Assembly
President

THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT'S PEACE-BUILDING EFFORTS

Chair: David Simon, University of London, UK
Speaker: Pedro José Van-Dúnem, Minister for Former Combatants & Veterans of War,
Angola
Speaker: Christopher Alden, London School of Economics (LSE), UK
Speaker: Margaret Anstee, Former UN Special Representative to Angola /
BAF Advisory Board

DEMOCRATIZATION

Chair: Hilton Dawson, MP, House of Commons, UK
Speaker: Isaias Samakuva UNITA, Political Commission, Angola
Speaker: Bornito de Sousa, Leader of the MPLA at the Angolan Parliament
Speaker: Vicente Pinto de Andrade, Catholic University of Angola

ELECTIONS

Chair: Kate Hoey MP, House of Commons, UK
Speaker: David Kramer, International Republican Institute, Angola
Speaker: Marco Carmignani, Senior Political Affairs Officer UN Electoral Assistance
Division
Speaker: Onofre dos Santos, Former Deputy Head of Angolan, Election Commission,
Angola

ANGOLA'S ECONOMY

- Chair: John Flynn, ChevronTexaco, BAF Advisory Board Member
Speaker: Douglas Mason, Africa Editor, Economist Intelligence Unit, UK
Speaker: Arvind Ganesan, Director, Business and Human Rights, Human Rights Watch, USA
Speaker: Teresa Cohen, MP, Angola Parliament, Angola

LAND

- Chair: Dr Paul Jenkins, Centre for Human Settlements, Edinburgh University, UK
Speaker: Jacinto Wacussanga, Ecclesiastic Association Leonardo Sikufinde-Shalom, Angola
Speaker: David Mendes, Lawyer, Angola

THE CRISIS OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

- Chair: Shula Marks, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), UK
Speaker: João Baptista Kussumua, Minister of Social Welfare, Angola
Speaker: Arthur C. Helton, Director, Peace & Conflict Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, USA

THE WAY AHEAD

- Speaker: Margaret Anstee, Former UN Special Representative to Angola / BAF Advisory Board
Speaker: Antonio Fernandes, Angolan Ambassador to UK / BAF Advisory Board
Speaker: John Thompson, HM Ambassador to Angola / BAF Advisory Board Member
Closing
Remarks: David Birmingham, BAF Advisory Board Member

CONFERENCE SPEAKERS: BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Christopher Alden

Christopher Alden is currently lecturer/research coordinator in the International Relations Department at the London School of Economics and Political Science, and research assistant at the International Institute for Strategic Studies. His research interests include South African foreign and national security policy, international relations of Southern Africa, foreign policy decision-making in transitional states, and international institutions of the South.

Valerie Amos

Baroness Amos was appointed a Government Whip in the House of Lords in July 1998. In addition to her role as a spokesperson for international development she speaks about social, security and women's issues. After working in Equal Opportunities, Training and Management Services in local government in the London boroughs of Lambeth, Camden and Hackney, she became Chief Executive of the Equal Opportunities Commission between 1989 and 1994. In 1995 Valerie Amos co-founded Amos Fraser Bernard and was an adviser to the South African government on public service reform, human rights and employment equity. She was created a life peer in August 1997.

Vicente José da Costa Pinto de Andrade

Since 1999 Vicente de Andrade has been Professor of Economics at the Catholic University of Angola (UCAN). He is also Professor of Sociology at the Institute of Higher Education, University of Angola. His other work includes political and economic analysis for the Ecclesia Radio Luanda Antena Commercial (LAC), Radio Nacional de Angola (RNA) and Televisão Popular de Angola (TPA). He has been a member of the MPLA since 1963, and is also a member of the Angolan Civic Association (ACA), Amplo Movimento de Cidadões (AMC) and the Angolan Writers' Association.

Margaret Anstee

Dame Margaret Anstee served with the United Nations for over four decades (1952-93), mostly with the United Nations Development Programme. From 1992 to 1993 she was the Secretary General's Special Representative to Angola and Head of the UN peacekeeping mission there (UNAVEM II - the UN Angola Verification Mission). Dame Margaret is an Honorary Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge, and of the University of London. She is an advisory board member of the British-Angola Forum.

David Birmingham

David Birmingham retired in 2002 as Professor of History at the University of Canterbury, Kent. His particular interests are Angolan and Central African history from 1400 to 1990, and he has been published on a broad range of African issues. He previously lectured at the School of Oriental and African Studies (1965-6), and at the University of Ghana (1966-79). He holds a Bachelor degree from Ghana and gained his PhD, on trade and conflict in Angola, in 1964. He is an advisory board member of the British-Angola Forum.

Victor Bulmer-Thomas

Professor Bulmer-Thomas has been Director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs since April 2001. He is Emeritus Professor of Economics at the University of London and Honorary Research Fellow of the University's Institute of Latin American Studies, where he was Director from 1992 to 1998. He has worked as a consultant for the European Commission, the US Agency for International Development and the Inter-American Development Bank, and has also advised a number of multinational corporations.

Marco Carmignani

Marco Carmignani is a Senior Political/Electoral Affairs Officer of the United Nations Electoral Assistance Division, the executive arm of the United Nations for electoral cooperation with member states. Mr Carmignani has been involved in international affairs for over 11 years, having served in multiple capacities at the United Nations, in technical and managerial positions. He is the Desk Officer for a number of countries in Africa (including Angola), Asia and the Americas. His work concentrates on the analysis and reform of electoral legislation, observation of elections and the automation of voting processes. Before joining the United Nations, he gained 10 years of professional experience in the private financial and oil industries, and served as an officer of the Brazilian Air Force.

Teresa Cohen

Teresa Cohen dos Santos (aka Teresa Cohen) was Angolan Vice Minister for Health from 1996 to 1998. In 1992 she became an MPLA member of the National Assembly and sat on the Commission for External Relations and International Cooperation, and Angola's Community Overseas. She has won cross-party parliamentary support for her interventions in public health and social services. She is a founding member of the Society for Women and AIDS in Africa and the Angolan Association Fighting against AIDS. Teresa Cohen has written widely on public health issues, and been a lecturer at Agostinho Neto University since 1982. She holds a degree in Medicine from Lisbon University and an MSc in Community Health from the School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, London University.

Hilton Dawson

Hilton Dawson has been the Labour Member of Parliament for Lancaster and Wyre since 1997. As an honorary fellow of UNICEF, he has visited Angola (in September 2001), Burundi and Romania, and has worked on issues concerning children in those countries. He chairs the *Associate Parliamentary Group for Children and Young People in Care* and established and chairs the All Party Group on Angola and the All Party Group on Sudan.

Antonio da Costa Fernandes

Antonio C. Fernandes has been the Angolan Government Ambassador to the United Kingdom since 1994. For many years he was UNITA representative to Egypt, Zambia and the UK. As External Affairs Secretary between 1987 and 1991 he succeeded in convincing Portugal to accept the mediation between the MPLA and UNITA that led to the Bicesse Accords in May 1991. He left UNITA in 1992 owing to the growing number of human rights abuses, and became an aide to the Angolan Foreign Minister. He is an advisory board member of the British-Angola Forum.

John Flynn

From 1990 to 1993 John Flynn was the British ambassador to Angola and (non-resident) to São Tomé e Príncipe. He first served in Angola as Chargé d'Affaires in 1978 when he set up the British Embassy in Luanda. Prior to his retirement from the diplomatic service he served as Ambassador to Venezuela and he has been a former High Commissioner to Swaziland. He remains active on African issues, appointed as British Special Representative to Sierra Leone in 1998 and worked as a consultant on Angola for a number of companies including ChevronTexaco and De La Rue. Flynn is an advisory board member of the British-Angola Forum and led a trade mission to Angola in early 2003.

Arvind Ganesan

Arvind Ganesan has been at Human Rights Watch since 1995. Based in Washington DC, he is the Director of Business and Human Rights, engaged in research, advocacy, and policy development for the organization on issues involving business and human rights, with a primary focus on the energy industry. In the last year, his focus has been on energy development in Angola and he has

published short reports on the agreement between the International Monetary Fund and the government of Angola on its use of oil revenues.

Arthur C. Helton

Arthur Helton is Director of Peace and Conflict Studies, and Senior Fellow for Refugee Studies and Preventive Action at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. In 1994, Mr. Helton founded and then directed the Forced Migration Projects at the Open Society Institute (Soros Foundation). He has also directed the Refugee Project of the New York-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (1982-94). In 2002 he received the Award for Distinction in International Law and Affairs of the New York State Bar Association, and in 2001 the Immigration and Refugee Policy Award of the Center for Migration Studies. He is currently also an Adjunct Professor at the Columbia University Law School.

Kate Hoey

Kate Hoey has been the Labour Member of Parliament for Vauxhall, South London since 1989. She has previously worked as Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister for Welfare Reform after the election of the Labour government in 1997; in 1999 she became Sports Minister, a position she held until the 2001 general election. She has a keen interest in foreign affairs - visiting Sarajevo at the height of the siege and monitoring the first democratic elections in Angola in 1992.

Mussagy Jeichande

Ambassador Jeichande was appointed Representative and Head of the UN Office in Angola (UNOA) in July 2000. He was Mozambique's first Ambassador to South Africa. A qualified lawyer, he led the Mozambique delegation to the conference establishing the International Criminal Court. He was a Professor of International Public Law at the Institute of Applied Science and Technology in Maputo.

Paul Jenkins

Paul Jenkins is Director of the Centre for Human Settlements, a specialized teaching and research unit on human settlement issues, oriented to the developing and rapidly urbanising world. His ongoing research includes the investigation and monitoring of urban development and shelter policy and practice in the Southern African region, with special focus on Mozambique and South Africa. His wider research focuses on the historical and theoretical basis for current global trends in urban development and housing in the developing world from a political economy and institutional point of view, with an emphasis on the role of civil society.

David Kramer

David J. Kramer is an attorney in Omaha, Nebraska. In 1997 and 1998 he was the Resident Program Director for the International Republican Institute (IRI) in Luanda. During this period he designed and implemented educational programmes to strengthen the Angolan National Parliament and its political parties. In late 2001 he participated in an independent pre-election assessment mission to Angola to determine the prospects for holding general elections. The assessment mission conducted extensive consultations with government officials, political leaders, heads of civil society organizations, representatives of the state and independent media, and church leaders. The resulting report provided baseline data from which to assess Angola's readiness for elections.

João Baptista Kussumua

João Kussumua was appointed Minister for Social Integration in April 2002. Prior to his promotion he served as a vice minister of administration (1991-4 and 1995-7). From 1994 to 1996 he was the vice minister overseeing economic coordination at the Ministry of Planning. He was also vice-governor of Huila province from 1998 to 1991. He holds a degree in geography from Agostinho Neto University.

Shula Marks

Shula Marks was formerly Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in London and is now Professor of Southern African History at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London. She is a Fellow of the British Academy and holds honorary degrees from the Universities of Cape Town and Natal. She has lectured and written widely on South African history, and has supervised almost fifty doctoral students. Her current interests are in the history of nationalism, medicine and gender in late nineteenth- and twentieth-century South Africa.

Douglas Mason

Douglas Mason is a Canadian development consultant and writer on Africa, currently based in London. He has worked in Mozambique, South Africa, Sudan and elsewhere for the United Nations and various governmental and non-governmental organizations. From 1997 to 1999 he served as the mission economist for the Canadian High Commission in Mozambique. He is currently an editor/economist for Africa at the Economist Intelligence Unit in London with responsibility for all of Lusophone Africa, including Angola, as well as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi and the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville).

Manuel David Mendes

David Mendes was Angola's Secretary of State for the Environment from 1992 to 1997, and in 1992 was a member of the Angolan Electoral Commission. He is a member of the Angolan Writers' Association and the Board President of the Angolan Lawyers' and Journalists' Association for Human and Citizens Rights (more commonly known as Mãos Livres). He recently published a booklet about the consultation process for the future land law. He holds a law degree from the Agostinho Neto University and in 2000 was awarded the Martin Luther King Prize by the US Embassy in Angola.

Isaias Samakuva

An accountant by training, Samakuva joined UNITA's army in 1974 and moved up to the rank of brigadier. In 1979 he was appointed to the Central Committee and in 1986 he was promoted to UNITA Permanent Secretary, and Director of the President's Office. From 1989 to 1995 he served as UNITA's representative to the United Kingdom. He was a member of the UNITA negotiating team during the 1993-4 Lusaka peace talks in Zambia, and in December 1994 he became UNITA Chief Representative to the Joint Commission, based in Luanda. With the return to war in late 1998, Samakuva left Angola for France and was based in Paris where he became one of UNITA's key contacts with the outside world. He returned to Angola in October 2002 and remains a senior member of UNITA's recently restructured Political Commission.

Onofre dos Santos

A lawyer by training, Onofre dos Santos was the Director General of Elections in Angola in 1992-3. He is experienced in overseeing national elections, having acted as UN-appointed specialist in several countries including: Coordinator of the International Observers in the 1994 Guineau-Bissau elections; Chief Technical Adviser in Sierra Leone in 1994-6; Electoral Consultant in Bangladesh in 1996; Chief Electoral Officer for UNTAES in Croatia in 1997; Consultant for the European Development Fund in Mozambique in 1999; Electoral Consultant in Côte d'Ivoire in 2000. His most recent publication is *My Independence Days* (July 2002). Onofre dos Santos lives in Portugal.

David Simon

Professor David Simon is the director of the Centre for Developing Areas Research Group (CEDAR) at the University of London and secretary of the Standing Committee on University Studies of Africa (SCUSA). He is also a member of the editorial boards of the *Third World Planning Review*, *Third World Quarterly* and the *Journal of Southern African Studies*.

Bornito de Sousa

Bornito de Sousa is a lawyer by training and is a long-standing member of the MPLA. He was appointed Parliamentary Majority Leader for the MPLA some four years ago and sits on several Parliamentary Commissions. He is the vice president of the Constitutional Commission. He has co-authored a book on the constitutional history of Angola, and is a professor of political science and constitutional law. He holds a degree in Law from Agostinho Neto University.

John Thompson

John Thompson was appointed HM Ambassador to the Republic of Angola in February 2002. Having joined the FCO in 1964, he previously worked as their Head of Information Management Group (in Britain), and had diplomatic postings to New York, Vanuatu (where he was High Commissioner), São Paulo and Hong Kong. Between 1979 and 1981 he was in Luanda as Head of Chancery, Consul and First Secretary. He is an advisory board member of the British-Angola Forum.

Fernando França Van-Dúnem

Fernando França Van-Dúnem served as Angolan Ambassador to Belgium, the Netherlands, and the European Economic Community from 1979 to 1982, and to Portugal and Spain from 1982 to 1985. He was Angolan Vice Minister for External Relations between 1985-6; Minister of Justice 1986-90, and Planning Minister 1990-91. He was Angolan Prime Minister 1991-2, President of the Angolan National Assembly 1992-6 and Prime Minister of Angola for a second time between 1996 and 1999. He has been a member of the Angolan National Assembly since 1992. He has lectured at Utrecht University, The Netherlands 1964-5 and the University of Burundi 1970-72, and was legal adviser from 1970 to 1972 at the Organization for African Unity (OAU). França Van-Dúnem holds a law degree, an MA in Public Law and a PhD.

Pedro José Vandú-nem

Pedro José Vandú-nem was appointed Minister for Former Combatants and Veterans of War in mid-1997. Prior to this he served as Secretary of State for Former Combatants from 1993 to 1997. He also sits on the MPLA Central Committee, and is a member of the Council of the Republic. He is a army brigadier in reserve.

Jacinto Wacussanga

Padre Jacinto Pio Wacussanga was born and educated in Angola. He has been working at the Catholic Mission of São Miguel-Quihita, assisting communal development programmes and mediation over land disputes. Padre Wacussanga has a Diploma in Philosophy and Theology, and is Assistant at the Ecclesiastico da Associação Leonardo Sikufinde-Shalom Angola.

LIST OF CONFERENCE DELEGATES

NAME	ORGANIZATION
Helene Aastad	Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Gunnar Aegisson	One World Action
Estevão Alberto	Angolan Embassy
Christopher Alden	London School of Economics
Chantal M. Alidor	BAF Member
Lucy Amis	International Business Leadership Forum
Valerie Amos	Foreign & Commonwealth Office, UK
João Barros Andre	ChevronTexaco – Angola
Margaret Anstee	BAF Advisory Board Member
M Arumugam	Limje Industrial Limited
Kate Ashton	One World Action
Joaquim Bacelar	Student
Aurora Barrada	Student
Maria Barrada	Student
Katy Barwise	SOAS / RIIA intern
Carlos Belli-Bello	Special Adviser on African Affairs to the Angolan President
Graham Bennet	One World Action
Rubens Bicho	Student
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Mamadou Marcel Blondin-Beye	ChevronTexaco
Andrew Bone	De Beers
Peter Brayshaw	Mozambique Angola Committee
Stuart Brooks	Chevron Texaco
Paulo Bunga	Student
José M Campino	United Nations, DPA, Africa Division
Isadora Cardoso	Student
Marco Carmignani	United Nations, DPA
José Cardoso	BAF Member
Antonio Carvalho	BAF Member
JC Victor de Carvalho	Economist, UK
Kamia Carvalho	Student
Victor (Kalu) Carvalho	Student
Peter Carver	Hull Blyth Group
Silas Cerqueira	Centre for African Studies, University of Porto
Matt Chalmers	UK Ministry of Defence
Laura Ciccolini	Project Navigator Ltd.
Teresa Cohen	Angolan National Assembly
Dan Collison	Save the Children
Michael Comerford	Leeds University
Atilda Correia	BAF Member
Graca Pitra Costa	Ministry of Education, Angola
Helena Covilha	Angolan Embassy, UK
Dickon Crawford	Tearfund
Damião F. Cristiano Junior	Interpreter/translator
Peter Cross	Saferworld, UK
Filomena Cunha	Angolan Embassy, UK
Desmond Curran	Department for International Development, UK
Antonio da Costa Fernandes	Angolan Ambassador, UK / BAF Advisory Board
Frank da Cruz	BP, Angola Business Unit, Angola
Hilton Dawson	Member of Parliament, UK
Carlos de Almeida	Angolan Embassy, UK
Vicente de Andrade	Catholic University of Angola
Manuel de Araujo	Amnesty International

Heather Deegan
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Liz Lloyd
João-Pedro Lunguela
João Macedo

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Sonangol Ltd, UK
Angolan Embassy, UK
Angola National Assembly
Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa (NIZA)
Electoral Consultant, Portugal
Canadian National Development Agency
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
ExxonMobil
Armorgroup Services Ltd. (Director Mine Action)
Student
Médecins sans Frontières
Informa Plc
ChevronTexaco/ BAF Advisory Board
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Action for Southern Africa
Student
Human Rights Watch
Student
Student
Afrique Contemporaine
Angolan Advice and Information Centre
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Statoil, Norway
DRS Data & Research, UK Services
Student
World Leaders Magazine
Mines Advisory Group
German Agro Action, Germany
BAF Member
Foreign and Commonwealth Office, UK
Council on Foreign Relations, USA
Member of UK Parliament
Angolan Embassy, UK
Africa Programme, RIIA
Angola Peace Monitor
University of Bradford
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Former UN Representative to Angola
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Cooper Cameron
Attorney, USA
Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Limje Industrial Limited
Canada Dept. Foreign Affairs & Int. Trade
Minister for Social Reintegration, Angola
Christian Aid
Human Rights Watch
Foreign & Commonwealth Office, UK
International Crisis Group
House of Lords
Prime Minister's Office, UK
Angolan Advice and Information Centre
Portuguese Embassy

Alice Mann	Department for International Development
Shula Marks	School of Advanced Study (SAS), SOAS
Roger Martin	Africa Matters Ltd
Judithe Seabsa Martins	Ministry of Education, Angola
Douglas Mason	Africa Editor, Economist Intelligence Unit, UK
Dave McDonnell	Armorgroup Services Ltd. (Director Mine Action)
Jamie McGoldrick	UN OCHA
Guus Meijer	Conciliation Resources London, UK
Manuel David Mendes	Association for Human and Citizens Rights, Angola
Humphrey Miller	De La Rue
Yahya Mohamed	Student
Fernando Moniz	Angolan Embassy, UK
Diane Moody	British Red Cross
Peter Moszynski	New African
Sylvia Mpaayei	World Vision UK
Herlander Napoleao	Student
Lenine Narciso	Student
Decio Nascimento	Student
Jose Nascimento	Sonangol Ltd, UK
Paulo Nascimento	Student
Sisa Ncwana	South African High Commission
Christine Neset	Statoil ASA
Ron Norgard	Catholic Institute for International Relations
Stella Orakwue	Journalist/ writer
Manuel Paulo	BAF, RIIA
Jaime Pinto	BAF Member
N M Pinto	Angolan Embassy, UK
Francesca Pispisa	Médecins sans Frontières
Andrew Pocock	Foreign & Commonwealth Office, UK
João Gomes Porto	Institute for Security Studies
Bram Posthumus	Freelance journalist
Deborah Potts	King's College London, UK
Marcel Pruwer	International Economic Strategy
Bernard Pryor	America Mineral Fields
Fernando Rebelo	Rebelo Publishing Ltd
Colm Reidy	Holy Ghost Congregation, Missionary
Jule Beate Reimer	Deutschland Radio - Deutschlandfunk
Jose Ribeiro e Castro	Member of the European Parliament
Paul Robson	Consultant
Wladimira Rocha	Student
Edjane Rasolio	Student
Camilla Rossaak	NORAD
Francis Rubin	ULG
Inge Ruigrok	BAF Member
Lisa Rumelin	Standard Chartered
Andy Rutherford	One World Action
Felicia Samakuva	Student
Any Samakuva	Student
Isaias Samakuva	UNITA Political Commission, Angola
Renato Sangiuliano	EuronAid
Tanja Schumer	King's College London, UK
Maliana Marcelino	Serrano EuronAid
Ken Seymour	CNR International (UK) Ltd
Aditi Sharma	Action for Southern Africa
Michael J. Shone	Commercial Intelligence S.E.A Asia PTE Ltd.
Gustaf Silfverstolpe	UN Consultant
Angela Silva	BAF Member
Alvaro Simoes	Student
David Simon	Royal Holloway, University of London
Darren Simpson	UK Ministry of Defence

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RHS Associates/Synergy
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Angolan Embassy, UK
Ecclesiastic Association, Angola
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Mozambique Angola Committee
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ChevronTexaco
Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
BP Angola Business Unit, UK
TI (UK); Africa Centre; News Africa
Mozambique Angola Committee
Foreign & Commonwealth Office, UK
Student

CONFERENCE SPONSORS

British-Angola Forum - www.britishangolaforum.org

The British-Angola Forum (BAF) was founded in 1998 with the aim of bringing together organizations, companies and individuals interested in historical and contemporary Angola; its primary task is to enhance relations between Angola and the United Kingdom.

An independent, non-profit and apolitical organization, the Forum aims to become the centre of excellence and expertise on Angolan affairs by providing quality information, engaging in a constructive debate and conducting research. Under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), the Forum offers a unique opportunity for individuals, organizations and companies to share knowledge and ideas across the whole spectrum of Angolan society.

To date, the British-Angola Forum has held a series of talks and seminars on business, investment, politics, human rights, the constitution and culture, and has hosted meetings for notable Angolan visitors. It held its first international conference in 2001 on 'Western foreign policy towards Angola in the new millennium', and 2002 on 'Towards Sustainable Peace: A Challenge for Angola & the International Community'.

An advisory board of individuals with backgrounds in Angolan affairs oversees the direction of the Forum. The board comprises: Dame Margaret Anstee, Bishop Donald Arden, Professor David Birmingham, Baroness Linda Chalker, Lord William Deedes, HE John Thompson (HMG Ambassador to Angola), Caroline Elmes, HE Antonio da Costa Fernandes (Angolan Ambassador to Britain), John Flynn CMG, Sir Marrack Goulding and Dr Steve Kibble. The development of the Forum is overseen by both Alex Vines, and Manuel Paulo head and assistant research of the Africa Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, who has extensive knowledge of Angola.

BP – www.bp.com

BP has been involved in Angola since the 1970s. Following the merger with Amoco in the late 1990s and the acquisition of substantial deepwater interests, BP's business in Angola has become a key part of our international oil and gas portfolio, and will play an important role in our future worldwide production. Our main activity in Angola is the exploration for and development of its offshore energy. By 2010 we expect to invest up to \$7bn in our Angolan business. This will make us the largest international investor in Angola. We are conscious of the need to be a good corporate citizen and to bring tangible benefits to the country. BP's social investment programme aims to help build local skills and expertise, support the efforts of civil society, assist the efforts of Angolan institutions to develop their governance and strategic management, and help Angolan companies develop the skills to bid competitively for contracts with the oil industry.

Canadian Natural Resources Ltd (CNR) – www.cnrl.com

Canadian Natural Resources Ltd (CNR) is the sixth largest upstream (E&P) independent in the world. The company has a market capitalization of US\$7 billion, reserves of 1.5 billion barrels and production of 480,000 barrels of oil equivalent per day. CNR purchased Ranger Oil Ltd in mid-2000. Ranger was split into two divisions, domestic Canadian operations and international operations. The Canadian assets were absorbed into CNR and the international assets used to create an international division, CNR International. This new division brought together CNR management philosophies and Ranger's offshore and international expertise.

CNR/Ranger entered Angola in 1992 and operated Block 4 for ten years. The company assisted Sonangol P&P with development of the Kiabo Field and subsequently discovered and developed the Kiame Field. The company was also a partner in Block 19. In August 2002 CNR signed a new production sharing agreement for Block 16 as operator with a 50% interest, and plans to commence drilling in 2003.

ChevronTexaco – www.chevrontexaco.com

ChevronTexaco has a long, proud history of partnership with Angola and recorded the nation's first offshore discovery in 1968, which led to Malongo Field.

Today, with a daily output of nearly 600,000 barrels, the company is Angola's largest petroleum producer. Going forward, ChevronTexaco, along with partners, plans to make significant, billion-dollar-plus investments in new developments, including the Benguela-Belize and Sanha Condensate field development projects and the Angola LNG project. In Angola's deepwater, the company has made eight significant discoveries in Block 14 since 1997, starting with Kuito - Angola's first deepwater field. Kuito has been followed by Landana, Benguela, Belize, Tomboco, Lobito, Tombua, and, in 2002, Gabela. ChevronTexaco is Angola's largest oil industry employer, with 80% of jobs held by Angolan nationals. The company is also an active partner in the community with investments in education, health and the environment.

De La Rue – www.delarue.com

De La Rue is the world's largest commercial security printer, and is involved in the production of the banknotes of over 150 countries. It is also the world leader in secure identity document solutions, and is a trusted partner of governments around the world, working closely with them to design, implement and manage integrated solutions for national identity, driving licence and passport issuing schemes.

In Angola, De La Rue has been the provider of turnkey projects for all the country's secure identity documents since 1992, working as the key partner to a number of Ministries. We have ongoing projects for the national identity card, driving licences, visas, national passports, diplomatic and service passports, foreign residents' permits, and the immigration system at Luanda International Airport. All the document issuing systems involve the IT-based personalization of secure documents, using systems installed in a number of Ministerial locations, and maintained by De La Rue's resident technical support team.

For further information, please contact Rob Haslam, Head of Sales for EMEA, in the UK on +44 (0)1256 605246.

Shell – www.shell.com

Shell is present in more than 140 countries and territories and serves over 20 million retail customers a day. The Group is engaged in the business of Exploration and Production, Downstream Gas & Power, Oil Products, and Chemicals. Other activities include Shell Renewables, Shell Trading, Shell Hydrogen, and Shell Consumer.

In Angola, Shell Development Angola BV carries out exploration activities in oil and gas, and also has a marketing presence for oil products.

SONANGOL E.P. – www.sonangol.co.ao

SOCIEDADE NACIONAL DE COMBUSTIVEIS DE ANGOLA E.P. (SONANGOL E.P.) is the company created by the Angolan State to coordinate and control its petroleum industry and all related activities. Specifically, SONANGOL has exclusive responsibility throughout Angola as concessionaire for oil exploration and production and as distributor of petroleum products.

Since its creation in 1976, SONANGOL developed two main subsidiaries in Angola: SONANGOL PESQUISA & PRODUÇÃO and SONAIR SARL. Several Joint Ventures related to oil services were also created.

In 1983 SONANGOL established a direct presence in the international marketplace by creating a subsidiary with an office in London and later on another one in Houston, mainly for trading activities. On the distribution side SONANGOL has established its presence in Portugal, Cape Verde, S. Tomé and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Standard Chartered – www.standardchartered.com

Standard Chartered is the world's leading emerging markets bank focused on the markets of Africa, Asia and the Middle East. It employs 28,000 people in over 600 offices in more than 50 countries.

Standard Chartered is committed to facilitate trade flows in the emerging markets by providing term Structured Finance to global commodity traders. With many financial institutions retreating from these markets, Standard Chartered stands out as the only bank that is committed to financing Commodity and Export Credit Agency supported trade flows, while being focused entirely on emerging markets oriented business. More and more clients are taking advantage of Standard Chartered's unique combination of Structured Finance expertise and presence on the ground in Africa, Asia, India and the Middle East through its network of branches.

The Structured Trade Finance Team at Standard Chartered has arranged and participated in a number of structured deals for Angola since 1989.