

Angola

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CONTENTS

Risk Assessment	1
Analytical Monitoring Raster	3
Chronology	4

Risk Assessment Angola

Our assessment of the current situation in Angola is that we expect a continuously high level of military activities in the next three to six months. While both warring parties demand that the opponent declares a cease-fire first, mutual distrust, lack of willingness and an international political environment still favouring one conflict party will continue to prevent both parties from taking such a step unilaterally.

Negative trends towards peacebuilding

Based on the FAST Analytical Monitoring Raster* we expect a continuously high level of military activities and a likelihood for even more intense fighting and renewed offensives for the next three to six months.

On UNITA's part, the period under review saw a confirmation and continuation of three major trend lines: firstly, a sharp increase in guerrilla activities by UNITA forces indicates that UNITA has successfully regrouped and adapted its forces again to guerrilla warfare. Secondly, these recent attacks give prove of the fact that UNITA's capability to launch guerrilla warfare is not effectively curtailed by the UN sanction regime. With its annual income from diamond smuggling still amounting to at least US\$100m, as indicated in April by a recent report of the UN sanctions monitoring mechanism, UNITA will still be able to acquire any necessary equipment to continue its guerrilla campaign. UNITA's apparent willingness to enter into negotiations with the MPLA government can be identified as the third trend. Given Savimbi's well-known strategy of one-way communication and intentional information scarcity, his interview with "Voice of America" (after 18 months of silence) as well as his letter to the representatives of the Catholic Church are rather strong signs for his openness to dialogue. As a consequence we will most likely see more intense fighting in the upcoming months as UNITA will continue to try to enhance its bargaining position for possible future negotiations.

The MPLA government on their part will do everything they can to win back the military initiative. A widening of the FAA's offensive actions must be expected for a later date in the dry season, provided that da Cruz Neto will finally be able to consolidate his position within the FAA and that the reorganisation of the armed forces can be concluded successfully. In

* The Analytical Monitoring Raster identifies root and proximate causes and intervening factors influencing the likelihood for armed conflict.

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the meantime, the conciliatory statements by President dos Santos and Minister of the Interior da Pietade (see Chronology) can hardly be taken at face value but fit more likely into the same category as the amnesty law of last November, the creation of a “Peace and National Reconciliation Fund” in January, or the newly created 24-member “Commission on Peace and National Reconciliation” on April 9. The aim of these initiatives – besides weakening UNITA - is rather to deflect growing criticism from the internal peace camp and the international community than representing sincere attempts for national reconciliation.

The government in general was not able to profit from the favourable regional developments (see FAST Update 1/2001). The areas bordering Zambia, Namibia and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) could not be significantly stabilised. Besides, the relationship with the government of the DRC seems to hold more difficulties for the Angolan government than initially expected. The latest cabinet reshuffle in the DRC was rather unfavourable to Angolan interests and caused tensions between Luanda and Harare.

Positive trends towards peacebuilding

The release of the remaining seven Portuguese hostages held by FLEC-FAC and FLEC-Renovada is likely to lessen tensions in the enclave of Cabinda. This opportunity could be used by the government to enter into negotiations with the Cabindan rebel movements. It remains to be seen whether the positive statements by Joao Lourenco concerning dialogue will be followed by concrete steps from the MPLA government’s part.

Further positive trends stem once again from the civil society movement. Open Society’s exceptionally broadly based petition, requesting an immediate cease-fire, formulated a clear and strong demand for peace and national reconciliation to government authorities and rebel representatives. A new movement, the “Amplio Movimento dos Cidadãos”, developed out of a gathering of more than 200 community leaders on April 4, which resolved to work towards a more substantial involvement and participation of civil society in all matters of the state. Furthermore, COIEPA resumed the consultation process with numerous organisations in order to set up an all-inclusive peace agenda.

We hereby reiterate our call for continuous support and patience from the donor’s part. It must be of paramount importance not to overburden these organisational structures but to allow consolidation and growth at their own rates. A low profile must be kept on the donor’s part in order not to compromise the authentic grass-root character of these movements and to ensure that the driving forces behind the peace initiatives remain genuinely Angolan.

Analytical Monitoring Raster

ROOT CAUSES

Historic

- 40 years of armed conflict

Political / Institutional

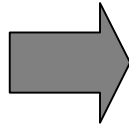
- Lack of nation-building and absence of institutional power-sharing mechanisms in the political system (legacy of colonialism)
- Centralisation of power, patronage and clientele system of resource allocation
- Long-standing mobilization of ethnic diversity and tensions (Ovimbundu > UNITA; Mbundu, Mestico > MPLA)

Societal / Socio-Demographic

- Rural-urban cleavage (partially linked with ethnic and political affiliations)
- Social disintegration

International

- Cold war proxy policies



PROXIMATE CAUSES

Political / Governance

- Unaddressed grievances and distrust between conflict parties (violence as sole mean)
- Absence of democratic rights, freedom of speech and press, corruption, bad governance, poor human rights record
- Failed internal and external conflict mitigation
- Small and fragmented opposition parties
- Regional instability

Security

- Ongoing armed conflict (also Cabinda)
- Widespread violence and militarisation of society
- IDPs, refugees, war-affected populations, famine, humanitarian situation

Societal / Socio-Demographic

- Population pressure

Economic

- Structural dependence on war economy and foreign aid (also POLITICAL)
- Absorption of resources by war economy; economic production (ex. Mining) oriented towards military aims
- Continued unemployment and economic instability, inflation
- Interest of private oil, diamond and security companies
- Destruction of agricultural surfaces

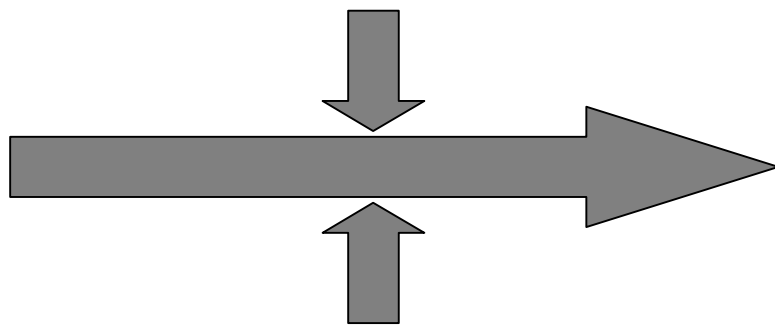
International

- Widespread pessimism after Lusaka failure

INTERVENING FACTORS

INCREASING THE LIKELIHOOD OF PEACEBUILDING

- Emerging civil society (churches)
- Non-partisan critique and pressure towards government; calls for negotiations
- International efforts to control „blood diamonds“ (long term)
- International pressure on oil companies (long term)
- Renewed efforts for peace in DRC (long term)
- Position and concerns of relevant SADC members
- International support for Angolan churches



DECREASING THE LIKELIHOOD OF PEACEBUILDING

- Government confidence in military measures
- Propaganda of hatred between government and UNITA
- Continued Western interest in Angolan oil; indirect support for war economy
- One-sided sanction policies against UNITA
- Renewed efforts for peace in DRC (short term)
- Increased regional border security (short term)
- Position and concerns of relevant SADC members

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Chronology

March – May 2001

Mar	<p><i>Military and political violence</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ongoing military activity in the central Bie province has led to large displacements from the areas of Cambandua, Chicala, Nhareia, Camacupa and Kuninga into the provincial capital Kuito, where more than 14'000 new IDP's sought refuge in February only, a UNOCHA statement said. ▪ Five more Portuguese construction workers have been abducted on March 11 in Cabinda, which brings to eight the number of Portuguese hostages held by FLEC-FAC and FLEC-RE. ▪ UNITA attacks have driven thousands of Angolans into southwestern DRC in recent weeks, the UNHCR stated. ▪ At least sixteen people were killed when UNITA rebel forces tried to storm the town of Calomboloca, about 80 km from the capital Luanda. ▪ After recapturing the northern town of Quibaxe from UNITA rebels, the FAA found that nearly 8,000 inhabitants had disappeared. Residents and displaced people sent to the region as part of a resettlement programme remained unaccounted for. ▪ The FAA has launched a major military strike deep into the northern province of Cabinda. Meanwhile the Angolan Foreign Ministry rejected any possibility of the government participating in a tripartite meeting about the future of Cabinda, contrary to what was demanded by the separatists. <p><i>Party Politics/ Policies/ Peace Process</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Abel Chivukuvuku proposed peace talks between UNITA, the government, civil society and church groups. He criticised the government's plan to continue the war against UNITA rebels, reflected in the state budget proposed in February. Furthermore, UNITA-Renovada leaders have become increasingly vocal over what they describe an "unfinished" Lusaka peace process. They have complained that UNITA governorships and embassy slots guaranteed under the 1994 Lusaka peace process remain unfilled. ▪ President dos Santos is apparently thinking of appointing a prime minister, pending the approval of a new constitution, which will define his responsibilities. ▪ In his first interview in over a year, Savimbi affirmed his presence inside Angola and called for more dialogue on national reconciliation. He said that the Lusaka accord is still valid and he wished to capitalise on the new outlook from Washington with the advent of the Bush administration. Several governmental officials ruled out any possibility of again negotiating with Savimbi. ▪ Cabindan Bishop D. Paulino Madeka offered the Catholic Church's mediation between the government and the Cabindan guerrillas in order to end the conflict. ▪ Open Society ran a Forum on the Multiple Consequences of the War. A petition was signed by 182 leading figures of Angolan civil society requesting an immediate cease-fire from both warring parties. <p><i>Economy/ Oil/ Diamonds/ Sanctions</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Defence Minister Kundy Paihama has conceded that there is corruption and theft within the Angolan Armed Forces. He also commented on the alleged diamond trafficking, involving senior FAA officers and the use of the Armed Forces' infrastructures. ▪ Sanctions against UNITA are working, the chairman of the UN sanctions monitoring group, Richard Ryan, said in Luanda. "The sanctions regime has operated extremely effectively in the last year and will continue to work even more effectively". ▪ US President Bush extended sanctions against UNITA for a further six months. According to Gerald Bender, an adviser to the US State Department, there is an intention to strengthen UNITA's isolation. <p><i>International Relations/ Donors</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The ministers of defence of Angola, Namibia and Zambia met in Namibia and started to implement what was decided at the heads of state meeting held in Luanda. A verification team was created to follow the implementation of measures enhancing the security situation along the common borders. ▪ The ICRC is scaling down its general food distribution in Angola's central highlands city of Huambo, in preference for agricultural programmes to boost food self-sufficiency. General food assistance will end in April. ▪ The UN agency for displaced persons has a 250m-dollar programme for Angola, but the donors have pledged only half the amount because they feel that the government can do more to help the displaced, said UN Inter-Agency Mission Chief Dennis McNamara. He added, "There is a fatigue, a tiredness. The donors are reluctant to continue the endless humanitarian relief". <p><i>Humanitarian/ Human Rights</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ According to UNOCHA over 23,000 Angolans were displaced in February due to continued insecurity over large parts of the country. ▪ Not a single applicant from among Angolan doctors was found to fill one of the 60 vacant posts in Bie, Moxico, Cuando-Cubango and Cuanza-Norte provinces. "No one has applied. The provinces of Cuanza-Norte, Bie and Moxico have no doctors" said the health ministry's human resources chief, Artur Chilulu.
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<p>Apr</p>	<p>Military and political violence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ One of the Portuguese hostages, suffering from advanced hepatitis, was released by FLEC-FAC as an “act of good will”. ▪ The FAA’s military commander of Cuanza Norte province, Brigadier Raul Antonio, was killed in an attack by UNITA rebels in the area. ▪ Intensified fighting is taking place in Bie province. The FAA’s operational commander in Bie, Brig. Eugenio Figueiredo, admitted that the military situation in the province was “unstable”. A UNITA colonel, Alvaro Vupe, was arrested near Camacupa.
	<p>Party Politics/ Policies/ Peace Process</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In Strasbourg European Union deputy Mario Soares said the question “whether Cabinda is, or not, an Angolan territory,” should be discussed “in a democratic manner” by authorities in Luanda and Cabinda. ▪ The Angolan government expressed its regret that Portuguese media and several political figures had spoken as if Cabinda was not part of Angola. Joao Lourenco, secretary-general of the MPLA, said that Angola is willing to hold talks with FLEC but will not contemplate independence. “The government has shown its interest in resuming dialogue with the various factions of the FLEC to solve the so-called Cabinda problem. But (...) we see no historical reasons for independence. All other solutions are negotiable”. Meanwhile the hostage crisis has created tension between Angola and Portugal over Luanda’s military strategy. Lisbon is concerned about the safety of the hostages: “The Angolan military has said it will not be doing anything of major significance, but witnesses tell otherwise” an official stated. ▪ Joao Lourenco claimed that Angola did not need any more peace mediators sent from the United Nations, and that peace would only be achieved when UNITA leader Savimbi laid down his weapons. ▪ A nine-point proposal for peace by UNITA MP Manuel Saviemba received severe criticism by MPLA MP’s. After rejecting Saviemba’s proposal, the parliament decided to set up a “Commission on Peace and National Reconciliation” to analyse all the contributions made during the debate. A document will be drawn up which will serve as a basis for future discussion of the Angolan peace process. ▪ Minister of the Interior, Fernando da Pietade “Nando”, invited Savimbi to join the dialogue launched by the government with civil society organisations and the Church. ▪ Defence Minister Kundi Payhama issued a ban on trading goods destined for the FAA on parallel markets. The minister threatened to take to court all those who are found buying, selling or re-selling goods that are for exclusive use of the FAA.
	<p>Economy/ Oil/ Diamonds/Sanctions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Angola receives loans worth \$441 million in exchange for future oil production. The loans are to be used for the amortization or liquidation of Angola’s debts to Brazil and to buy Brazilian external debt bonds. Some economists said the move was a poor deal for Angola. ▪ The UN Monitoring Mechanism published its addendum to the final report on April 18: It warns that UNITA still earns at the very least \$100 million from illegal diamonds and that UNITA’s access to diamond mines remains unchanged at present. It adds that “the principal limitation on UNITA’s capacity to mine is the control of a large enough workforce, together with the capture of at least part of its mining equipment by FAA”. The addendum points out that there was an increase in non-UNITA smuggling during 2000, which also makes the tracing of UNITA diamonds more problematic. It concludes that there exist still major weaknesses in the system to control diamond trading. ▪ The UN Security Council is set to hire an American company, Kroll Associates, to investigate the finances and international money laundering operations of UNITA. The Company will lead a 16 weeks probe. ▪ A secret report by the Belgian military intelligence contends that certain Belgian diamond merchants are dealing directly with UNITA. It concludes: “It is obvious that the Belgians are playing a pre-dominant role in traffic of arms, assets and diamonds to the profit of UNITA, with the aid of air transport”.
	<p>International Relations/ Donors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Zambia has asked for an urgent meeting with Angolan defence officials to discuss rising tensions along their common border. ▪ The heads of state from the five Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa are beginning their first summit since 1992 in Luanda. ▪ US President Bush has informed Jose Eduardo dos Santos that the US planned to keep up the ongoing sanctions on UNITA. He continued in his letter that his administration also intended to strengthen ties with Angola pending progress in political and economic reforms. ▪ In spite of the cordial visit of Kabila in Angola, a “shift” of cooperation, particularly politically, seems to stem from the new cabinet Kabila has appointed. The line-up comprised mostly people who had “very close links” to the Zimbabwean authorities while the former cabinet had a number of people who were very friendly to Angola, analysts said.
	<p>Humanitarian/ Human Rights</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Severe floods in southern Angola have killed at least 20 people and left thousands homeless. The rains have devastated infrastructure mainly in Namibe province. ▪ A “critical” humanitarian situation is unfolding in the Angolan central highlands as a result of “persistent insecurity” that has driven people off their land, an OCHA statement has warned. The situation is apparently especially bad in Camacupa. ▪ A WFP report forecasted major breaks in the food pipeline for the months of May and June.

<p>May</p>	<p><i>Military and political violence</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ More than 200 UNITA rebels overran Caxito, killing 79 people, abducting at least 60 Angolan children from a local orphanage and interrogating foreign aid workers. Thousands of people are reported to have fled the area in the direction of Luanda. The attack provoked strong internal and international criticism. ▪ UNITA issued a stern warning to the Danish aid agency ADPP: "ADPP is hereby advised not to establish a presence in areas likely to be attacked by FALA forces. The FALA General Staff declines any responsibility for the safety of ADPP and its personnel". ▪ The two Portuguese hostages held by FLEC-FAC were released after a year in captivity. FLEC-Renovada also released its 5 Portuguese hostages, held for the last 74 days. Rebel leader Benpo Bembe said no ransom was paid for the release of the hostages. He said the decision was "thanks to the intervention of (former Portuguese president) Mario Soares who recognises the mistakes of the past and the president of the Social and Democratic Party, Burao Barroso, and some European MPs who met us". ▪ After an UNITA attack on Golungo Alto, Cuanza Norte Province, eleven international aid workers remained "unaccounted for".
	<p><i>Party Politics/ Policies/ Peace Process</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Bishop of Uige province, Francisco da Mata Mourisca, called for a ceasefire and said the Church was willing to act as mediator in ending the civil war: "I think there should be a ceasefire; that is the only way. It should be bilateral and simultaneous. And it is urgent. We have people capable of mediating", he added. ▪ President dos Santos has asked Savimbi to set a date when his movement will end the nation's 25-year civil war. Dos Santos said his government would not organise general elections until the fighting ended. Commenting on Savimbi's interview he said: "Meanwhile, there has been a new development. After an 18-month silence, Mr Savimbi came to the fore to state that he accepts the Lusaka Protocol. It is now necessary for him to state when he will stop the war, and how he intends to conclude the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. In doing so, a road to peace would be opened". ▪ Jonas Savimbi had written to the Catholic bishops encouraging them to help find a solution to the war. Savimbi reportedly said the mediation of the Catholic Church was fundamental to bring about peace in the country. The letter was cautiously welcomed by Church representatives. Meanwhile, UNITA reiterated that a ceasefire would only be considered if the government stopped its military operations. "As dos Santos had the courage and arrogance to declare the war he must be advised to call off this destructive war. Only then will UNITA respond". ▪ Portuguese National Assembly Speaker Almeida Santos has said in Lisbon that Savimbi continues to be a man who cannot be counted on to renegotiate the peace process in Angola. A UN Security Council delegation condemned the latest actions by Angola's UNITA movement and promised President dos Santos support for full sanctions against the rebels. Ibrahim Gambari, UN assistant secretary-general for African affairs, has accused Jonas Savimbi of being "solely responsible for the war in Angola". The role of the Angolan government in implementing the Lusaka Protocol with a view to attaining peace in the country he described as "satisfactory". UNITA's political leadership reacted angrily to this criticism: "Hence UNITA considers Mr Gambari and all Portuguese authorities disqualified for any possible attempt (at) mediation between UNITA and the MPLA government".
	<p><i>Economy/ Oil/ Diamonds/Sanctions</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A US \$455 million loan from foreign banks has angered human-rights organisations and donors including the IMF, which believes that it would allow the Angolan authorities to side-step international attempts to ensure transparency in the management of the country's oil revenues. ▪ De Beers announced that the company has decided "with immediate effect" to suspend its investments and prospecting operations in Angola after talks failed to renew a diamond agreement which the government suspended last year.
	<p><i>International Relations/ Donors</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ UNICEF will this year invest about 20m dollars in social projects, mainly in the provinces of Bie, Huila, Malanje and Huambo.
	<p><i>Humanitarian/Human Rights</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The humanitarian situation in Camacupa is reportedly "catastrophic" (OCHA). While humanitarian partners estimated there were about 30,000 IDPs in the Camacupa municipality, local sources believed that as many as 200,000 people may be inaccessible to relief agencies in the Cuemba municipality and other areas. ▪ A convoy of more than 300 trucks reached the central highland city of Huambo, bringing enough food, fuel and other merchandise to force a sharp drop in prices on local markets.