

British-Angola Forum

Conference Report

Angola's Future

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The view from London

Angola is no longer at war except in its Cabinda province. The British-Angola Forum 2003 conference focused on whether there was a peace dividend and what the post-conflict priorities for reconstruction and development should be. The opportunities and challenges are many, but many speakers emphasized how slow post-conflict democratic change is. Key issues examined in the British-Angola Forum's 2002 conference were as pertinent as ever.¹ The confrontation between transparency and sovereignty continues to resonate especially.

Immediacy continues to dominate our perception: assisting the internally displaced, feeding those in inaccessible areas and clearing landmines. Beyond that, the questions of priority have escalated: democratization, poverty, reconciliation, land, Bretton Woods, corruption, gender relations, civil mobilization, elections and (above all) the sustaining of peace. These issues brought together two hundred participants including Hilary Benn, Secretary of State for International Development in the British cabinet, and Isaias Samakuva, President of UNITA. In Luanda, however, where European relations focus almost exclusively on shuttling back and forth to Lisbon, the Angolan government, because of its imminent MPLA Congress, could not spare anyone to travel to London to listen to the fierce and informed debates which took place on the challenges which now face the country.

Hilary Benn began with a positive overview of African progress. He pointed out that until recently there had been nineteen intractable conflicts on the continent but now there were two. This enabled him to speak of significant progress towards good governance, of African-led regeneration through NEPAD, of realism in confronting HIV/AIDS and of mature peacekeeping. In Angola he looked towards elections within two years and an increasingly active civil society. He did not neglect the challenges: 68 per cent of Angolans living in poverty and 26 per cent in extreme poverty, with a life expectancy of only 40 years and infant mortality the highest in the world. The figures included 3.3 million internally displaced people, 240,000 cross-border refugees and 100,000 demobilized soldiers from the

opposition armies alone. Mr Benn praised the commitment of the Angolan president to combating HIV/AIDS. The UK government was now ready to help by doubling aid to £9.4 million (compared with £70 million for Malawi), with the emphasis on the Luanda Urban Poverty Programme and the voice of Radio Ecclesia. Sustaining dialogues of reconciliation and introducing transparency remained huge challenges in Angola. Promising initiatives on land reform and a constitution were welcomed. Moving beyond oil dependency and attracting private investment in development programmes would require the kind of dramatic changes recommended by the London-sponsored Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. With visible transparency an Angolan-owned donors' conference could be cautiously contemplated.

In responding to Mr Benn, Isaias Samakuva, President of UNITA, accepted all the points made and then added a very much longer list of his own aspirations. He reminded the conference that although the guns had indeed fallen silent on the mainland, peace had not yet come to Cabinda, where human rights violations continued unabated. In addition to demobilization and the reintegration of combatants, there was an urgent need to reconstruct infrastructure once the minefields had been cleared. Democratization involved going far beyond the holding of elections to a fundamental reform of the media and the introduction of comprehensive judicial freedom. Samakuva's impressive catalogue included regional devolution and the building of political parties, including opposition ones. National reconstruction required an international donors' conference, the combating of poverty and endemic diseases, and the disarmament of civilians. When it came to disarming civilians UNITA's president gently pointed out that the international community had significantly helped to make war and might therefore consider helping to make the peace.

Challenges and aspirations

Alex Vines, Head of the Africa Programme at Chatham House, began the process of elaborating on the agenda laid out by Benn and Samakuva, highlighting the progress of the past year and sketching the tasks which lay ahead. The government integration plan was

¹ *Towards Sustainable Peace: A Challenge for Angola and the International Community. A Report from the British-Angola Forum Conference, 12 & 13 November 2002* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2003).

welcomed but some deficiencies needed to be rectified. Women and children had been given an inadequate profile, yet many had been combatants as well as passive victims of war. All too often ex-UNITA combatants had been dumped in cities, creating personal frustrations and wider social problems. So far few light weapons had been handed in as part of the programme of disarmament. Crime networks, especially those engaged in smuggling, were presumed to be mopping up loose weapons. The misery of post-war Angolans was reflected in a life expectancy which was 35 per cent lower than the average for developing countries. As in other oil enclaves, poverty and disease reflected a chronic lack of spending on health and education. The shortfall in social spending was peculiarly grievous when set in the context of an economy producing 900,000 barrels of oil per day. Between 1997 and 2001 part of the revenue, a little over US\$4 billion according to the international financial institutions, had not been properly accounted for. Moves on transparency, including a dialogue between the government of Angola and George Soros's Open Society Foundation, would help Luanda gain international acceptability, but all initiatives had been postponed by the time the London conference opened. Optimists still hoped that the publication of IMF reports and oil company disclosure of payments to the government might enhance transparency.

Angola's politicians were all waiting for the MPLA Congress and may have stayed at home to protect their political backs, and not merely out of contempt for any forum that was not Portuguese in language and culture. Public debate about the main policy options was unlikely to occur until guidelines were handed down from on high at the party conference. The key was not policy but whether or not President dos Santos would choose himself as the next president. A parliamentary election before 2005 seemed unlikely in view of the complexity of the necessary preparations, the delays on a new constitution and the shortage of administrative funds. Despite the difficulties Alex Vines remained confident that peace was undoubtedly now irreversible although social integration was very far from complete.

The second speaker was Allan Cain, of Development Workshop, who has been active in urban planning for a quarter of a century in

Angola. He said that in addressing mass social transformation and post-war urban construction much could be learnt from the way in which Angolans devised survival strategies during their periodic forced moves to the cities between the 1970s and the 1990s. The major problems had always been, and remained, access to credit, to water and to land. Although best observed during the massive urban drift to Luanda, these needs were also seen in other coastal cities such as Benguela and in reviving highland cities such as Huambo. In the informal economy women were often dominant, frequently being heads of migrant households when men vanished in war. Even men, however, had little access to bank credit and women were systematically excluded despite their undoubted entrepreneurial skills. It was non-governmental organizations such as Development Workshop that saw the advantages of building up women's skills through micro-finance and effective systems of group lending. The breakdown in social relations during the war years meant that new forms of self-help among the poor had to be fostered in place of a romantic belief in the inevitability of urban solidarity.

While credit reinforced the survival strategies of Luanda's women, water purchased from private water sellers drained their assets by an astonishing \$35 million per annum. Cheap, safe water was the city's top priority and the Luanda Urban Poverty Project was pioneering models of piped supply. Community management, a borough system for collecting fees and the development of consumer rights were all social dimensions to a bold programme of water engineering.

The right to drinkable water was closely paralleled by the need for secure rights to land. Mr Cain stressed that most of the population of Luanda had no clear legal title to the peri-urban soils on which it planted its urban vegetables and built its semi-permanent houses. The problem of expropriation by the mighty was acute, and planned legislation might not recognize existing occupation rights which urgently needed upgrading to full land tenure.

Professor Gerald Bender, University of Southern California, was anxious to avoid 'beating up the Angolans when seriously discussing their future. It is still amazing that, Cabinda apart, they have managed to end their war.' He asserted that we should move forward from 'stale' issues which upset government officials

by failing to acknowledge their progress and address the 'new' issues in which UNITA could be a partner to the solution. The government had provided some positive information on its debts to the Paris Club, its Sonangol debts and its oil-backed loans. Equally laudably, it had brought inflation down and was even poised to move into development planning, although as yet it had no idea how to sell its new-found aspirations to an international community which expected sexy sound-bites.

The historical hindrances to the flowering of entrepreneurialism were the long and stifling influence of Portuguese colonialism and the legacy of centrally planned economics. Although the first private bank had been established, the Angolan nomenklatura, in the established style of both Portuguese fascism and Soviet Marxism, hindered any capacity to import or export unless it gained generous commissions for itself. Since informal elite incomes were based on international transactions, any local production was effectively discouraged, being seen as undermining lucrative import-export contracts. A presidential commission on business practices ought to be helping to liberate rather than suffocate local market-oriented initiatives. Additional problems were generated by the chaotic coordination among the foreign donor communities, multinational corporations, international financial institutions and aid-giving governments. Oil companies had been reluctant to publish what they paid in bonuses to the government because of strict confidentiality provisions in their contracts.

Although the World Bank now favoured the holding of a donors' conference, others, including Britain, did not deem the conditions to be propitious. Amid the agency and company rivalries the Angolan government played the international community like a Stradivarius, feeding the oil greed of governments and financial institutions alike. The policy, however, was short-sighted and Luanda's commercial borrowing was far more expensive than any credit available on the terms the International Monetary Fund (IMF) would offer in exchange for reform. So far had the Fund moved in its long-term favouring of social spending that the derisory eight per cent of state revenue that Angola was willing to devote to health and education was an unacceptable peace dividend even in the eyes of the Bretton Woods financiers. A wide-ranging discussion among delegates

touched on the internal divisions of both MPLA and UNITA and raised a host of questions. Could the government's bureaucracy actually cope with implementing policy? Did Angolan foreign policy thrive on its successes? Was post-war reconciliation possible? Did micro-finance help the poorest? Where should Luanda get its water? Had the MPLA or UNITA changed sufficiently to accept an election result? What were the pressures for change? Who owned the \$660 million in a wartime Swiss bank account?

Democratization

Dr Raúl Araújo of the Angolan Bar Association reported on the deadlock over a proposed state constitution. The drafts submitted by political parties could not agree on a unitary versus a federal state, although they accepted a bicameral parliament in a presidential system. It was subsequently pointed out that procedures for removing provincial governors were likely to be as constitutionally significant, and as constitutionally difficult, as appointing them. All the important questions of central power distribution could not be resolved in an assembly where a one-third minority could block decisions and no two-thirds majority could easily be cobbled together. The reach of presidential power was, in effect, the only constitutional issue of any substance despite the two years of quibbling over 315 other clauses.

Dr Ismael Mateus, of the Union of Angolan Journalists, described a three-speed process towards press and media freedom. In Luanda there was some freedom of the press, The coastal strip, notably Benguela, enjoyed a transitional phase with a private press now operating, but in Cabinda there was so much political interference that virtually no media independence was possible. All press freedom was curtailed, however, by cells of professional journalists belonging to the ruling party and by procedures which required new newspapers to be licensed. Although influential members of civil society had a good relationship with the press, members of the National Assembly were not prepared to risk talking to the newspapers. Any new press law might or might not make provision for press autonomy, permit a role for outside agencies or begin the break-up of the radio monopoly which effectively limited broadcasting in all the provinces outside Luanda.

One outspoken civil society activist, Dr David Mendes of Mãos Livres, saw Angola as a 'monarchy masquerading as a dictatorship': since there had been no elections since 1992, the country's universal suffrage no longer 'legitimized' the existing government. Those who exerted their democratic right to express their views freely were frequently arrested, harassed and put under permanent investigation by the political police. Civil society groups particularly deplored the lack of education, despite a national government programme which made teaching and learning the number one priority for development. Little optimism had so far been generated by UNITA, which seemed unable to promote an alternative vision of democracy or development. In the ensuing discussion Guilherme Santos of ACORD made a distinction between an alien liberal democracy 'imposed on Angolans' and one in which citizens built their own organizations and institutions of representation.

Land and landmines

The biggest issue of democratization in Angola was the clearing of landmines and the allocation of farmland to the farmers who laboured on it. Landmines were still maiming people despite the clearance effected by the Halo Trust and Mines Advisory Group. Their work might take ten years though the number of mines laid was probably less than one million rather than ten million, as commonly supposed. On land ownership Dr Carlos Feijo spoke in his private capacity as a lawyer rather than in his official capacity as a presidential adviser. He described the consultations which would legitimize government policy in a new land law. At present no law regulated the state ownership of land or of natural resources. The state needed to rethink old collectivist ideas while being sensitive to the ownership rights of communities and respectful of traditional occupation rights. In a bizarre twist it was being suggested that there should be minimum and maximum limits on the ownership of land to restrict the creation of absentee '*latifundia*' and limit land fragmentation in '*minifundia*'. Civil society, according to Guilherme Santos, was alarmed that these debates were taking place in the offices of rich urban lawyers far removed from the countryside where real farmers would be building the real political parties of the future.

Economy

Arvind Ganesan, from Human Rights Watch, in a departure from the usual presumption that oil enclave economies are naturally corrupt, saw the possibility that Angola might use its oil revenue for development and good governance. The transformation, however, would require all the IMF 'oil diagnostic' studies to be published and implemented. So far there had been little sign of either public disclosure or government implementation. Indeed US\$740 million continued to disappear each year – representing a national loss of nine per cent of gross domestic product. This obviously had a negative impact on spending priorities such as judicial reform, increased health provision and educational investment. Although oil revenues continued to rise, Angola's position on the United Nations Human Development Index had declined – it now joined two other oil economies, Uzbekistan and Equatorial Guinea, at the bottom of the table. Ganesan highlighted a further problem: if a willingness to implement change emerged, and if levels of corruption could be contained, did Angola have the personnel capacity to manage its oil economy? Ernst and Young, in their audit of the Central Bank, found themselves unable to rely on the data supplied. Worse still, Sonangol had never had an independent audit of its revenues, some of which appeared to have bypassed the Central Bank's accounting system. The government had been unable to reconcile discrepancies or even suggest procedures for so doing which would satisfy its consultants KPMG. On the margins of the conference the oil executives admitted that they alone, rather than Sonangol, the Central Bank or the Presidency, knew how much petroleum was actually being pumped from Angola's wells.

The second speaker on the economy, Dr Carlos Leite of the IMF, explained the basic functions of the IMF. Its surveillance, technical advice and financial monitoring were largely designed to determine whether any balance-of-payments support was justified for Angola. A doubling of oil production and hence of revenue would soon make Angola ineligible for soft loans available to low-income countries. He said that the task of eradicating embezzlement and corruption would be huge and the agency Transparency International ranked Angola 124th out of the 133 countries surveyed. Another

index ranks Angola as the most corrupt country in the world, bearing out the common perception that Angola is a rich country in which the people are very poor. Transparency initiatives in Angola needed to measure the national debt, manage the oil revenue and permit a parliamentary oversight of regular published fiscal data, including the obviously needed Sonangol audit. More tendentious was the suggestion that government expenditure be reduced from 50 per cent of national income to the 30 per cent common elsewhere in the southern African region. In Angola a 'transparency dividend' could yield even more than a 'peace dividend' but the cost of administrative and economic reform would be high. Although IMF advice had often been controversial, in Angola the distortions of financial practice had been so extreme that change was clearly essential. Internal pressure on a government that did not depend on citizens and voters for tax revenue was inevitably weak and therefore external pressure for change played an extremely important role in Angola.

Investment, employment, productive diversification

Angola faces a triple transition from war to peace, from central planning to market forces and from devastation to reconstruction. Mamadou Blondin Beye, of ChevronTexaco, emphasized the progress, with many local companies being set up and oil companies seeking indigenous subcontractors. Dr João Nzatuzola, of Jubilee2000Angola, preferred to echo Gerald Bender's reservations, noting the discouragement suffered by local vendors and companies which did not feed the self-interest of the elite. Luanda had the greatest city market in Africa in which demand outstripped supply, and yet the state actively prevented street vendors from trading effectively. Smooth asphalt highways for BMW drivers were given precedence over truck tracks to peri-urban agricultural enterprises. Social movement was so weak that demonstrations of protest erupted despite the ubiquity of the many police forces which protected power and wealth. Social inequality might now be worse than in colonial or pre-colonial times and corruption had eroded any democratic mentality which the elite once advocated. The strengthening of opposition parties and the eradication of

colonial practices would help inaugurate a 'a modern way' towards Angola's future.

The challenges, Blondin Beye pointed out, remained daunting: a fragmented national economy, an absence of international confidence, a poor administrative capacity, a huge child population at risk from disease, an undiversified economy, a lack of donor coordination and a weak civil society to represent common people. A change from donor-based projects through sustainable programmes to sector-based policies was needed. These changes would move Angola from individual NGO-funded schemes to public-private partnerships and from foreign-driven criteria to national priorities. Slightly sceptical questioners wanted to know how a 'partnership initiative' fitted with the core extraction business of oil companies.

In a wide-ranging discussion speakers were asked what incentives there were in Angola for handing in weapons and for disarming civilians who apparently felt more secure when retaining their arms. The desire for, or absence of, any international company help in peace-building in Cabinda was raised. On this very sensitive issue companies played the 'non-political card' – a useful gambit for protecting their 'neutrality'. Oil companies claimed to be developing environmental awareness by considering the option of liquefying and monetizing gas from flares or by responding to local farmers' and fishermen's fears of oil spills from leaking pipes. One intriguing if unanswerable question from a clergyman related to the aftermath of peace and avoiding a spirit of revenge: did this symbolize an Angolan desire for reconciliation or represent a state of coma? The mantra that Angolans must be consulted and empowered at all stages of the post-conflict period of regeneration was repeated, and no one disagreed. But Angolan initiatives will require greater outside support in caring for displaced returnees, nurturing street children, creating jobs and training managers in entrepreneurship. As Isaías Samakuva said, 28 years had been wasted and all Angolans needed to forgive and move forward.

Donors' perspectives

Tony Fernandes, Luanda's Ambassador in London, attempted to stand in for his country's government absentees and, carrot and stick in hand, plead with the international community

to support a donors' conference. He spoke in particular of the need to counter the perception that Angola was a rich country. The statistics on poverty showed that the position had deteriorated since 1995. He noted the 'paralysis' in the non-oil sector of the economy, which no amount of grieving over money in Swiss bank accounts could cure. Developments in health and education would reinforce democracy. Angola could play a positive role in the Central African region and in helping to restore stability in Congo-Kinshasa.

A panel of four Western governments – Dutch, Norwegian, Portuguese and British – gave a guarded response. They agreed with Ambassador Fernandes that Angola needed to be seen in its African context. Dialogue and coordination among donors, and between donors and recipients, to consolidate peace did, however, require transparency and the combating of corruption. All agreed that consolidating democracy and alleviating poverty were essential, although other priorities varied. The Netherlands still undertook humanitarian and emergency work, which included the reintegration of those returning; this was an interim measure until Luanda started to use its oil wealth transparently for health and education. The British government continued its civil society and media support role. All aid givers were concerned lest the problem of HIV/AIDS, so far unquantified in Angola, should escalate, and all eagerly awaited the 'peace dividend' and the 'transparency dividend'; thereafter The Hague or Lisbon might host the proposed donors' conference. Neither Britain nor the Netherlands saw Angola as a candidate for long-term development cooperation since it was not one of the world's sixteen poorest countries. Reaching the Millennium Development Goals, and especially providing health and education for girls, nevertheless remained urgent concerns. Poverty Reduction Strategies would involve consultation with civil society and consideration of the difficult ethical issues to which Hilary Benn had drawn attention.

A Norwegian speaker's emphasis on the need to publish an oil diagnostic, to reform the budget, to sanitize the national debt and to reform the judiciary highlighted the same conflict between frustration and urgency. To avoid overwhelming the weak administrative structures of the Luanda government, Aud Marit Wiig, from the Norwegian Ministry of

Foreign Affairs, wondered whether strengthening the role of the United Nations might help bring coherence to government practice. The Portuguese, stressing their cultural and linguistic affinities with Angola, talked of the need to build an effective opposition through a new electoral constitution. João Macedo, of the Portuguese Embassy, UK, expected expansion of Portuguese investment, especially in the non-oil sector where expatriate employment opportunities were greatest. An opening for the migration of labour and capital from Portugal would, however, depend on progress in the settlement of Angola's previous but controversial debts. Sadly David Mendes saw little evidence of any meaningful Angolan dialogues on poverty alleviation, and Allan Cain saw little long-term donor planning. A lack of donor coordination was an obvious problem but donor agreement on priorities might be perceived as a foreign conspiracy. In the meantime the gap in funding between a transitional period of emergency and a long-term programme of development could adversely affect the whole of Angolan society.

The way ahead

The last session opened on a paradox: Ambassador John Thompson stressed the necessity for Angolans to take the lead in managing their own affairs, while Isaias Samakuva deemed it important that Angolans should listen to their true friends outside the country. The opposition leader wanted to draw on external experience in education, in democratization, in human rights, in press freedom and in converting oil resources into help for agriculture.

Tony Fernandes mitigated the catalogue of deficits by stressing the positive aspects of 'how far we have travelled', and wanted donors to avoid making the future of Angola 'a hostage to its present'. Dialogue between all these interested parties – government, opposition, donors, civil society – was vitally needed. It should not, however, neglect the critical perspectives: 'how little has been achieved' was a valid refrain. David Mendes spoke of the government's inability to differentiate between criticism and subversion. His concept of civil society did not include ambitions to become a political opposition but sought the right to exercise liberties, to seek a more equal division

of wealth and to ensure that citizens were treated on merit rather than by affiliation.

José Paulo of Radio Ecclesia showed how an independent media voice could help bridge the gap between criticism and encouragement. Rather than being 'an opposition radio', as the government alleged, the station saw itself as a facilitator. Radio Ecclesia aimed to help a weak civil society since government was so distanced and not willing to 'speak into an open mike' by broadcasting the real 'voice of the voiceless'. The independent media supported the government in wanting Angola to have dignity and not be a beggar. But government progress needed an acceptance of responsibility, an openness to criticism and a recognition of mistakes. One of the delegates suggested that governments needed to protect their critics rather than demonize them.

Gerald Bender pointed out that he tried to accentuate the positive, to encourage the government to 'market' the good things it did and gain a better reputation for its achievements. Luanda's political regime was one of its own worst enemies. Economists had emphatically shown the benefits of universal education and especially of educating girls. Massive amounts of money would be needed, but so would imagination, for instance by encouraging the mushrooming private universities and waiving customs duty on educational supplies. Lateral thinking in the revenue departments was also needed to make health spending more effective, especially if the threat of HIV/AIDS was rising among serving and demobilized personnel in the army. Despite an emerging awareness of the hitherto unquantified threat from AIDS, Angola's spending on the health sector was only half the average achieved by other African countries.

To their shame the conference organizers only recognized too late that they had failed to give an appropriate profile to Angola's women, who had hitherto shouldered so many of the burdens of independence. Andy Rutherford of One World Action pointed out that an active citizenship depended crucially on the participation of women. John Thompson spoke of being impressed by the achievements of women and depressed by the heavy loads they carried in Angola and by the lack of recognition they received. African men needed to share the burden carried by African women, said one

delegate. UNITA had made a token gesture by appointing women to run provincial governments but neither UNITA nor MPLA seemed ready to follow the example of the ANC in South Africa by reserving a one-third quota for women on electoral lists.

Summing up

Dame Margaret Anstee brought a woman to the rostrum for the summing up. Angola had always been 'at a crossroads', she said, but could now choose the right road to peace, transparency and dialogue. Poverty had emerged from the conference as Angola's major problem, but tackling it was impeded by a lack of transparency, by corruption, by dependence on oil and by political over-centralization. Angola was further handicapped by a lack of human capacity, as education still failed to mobilize potential. Dialogue would require media freedom and a much greater concern for human rights. Women in Angola had long been the main entrepreneurs and had also borne a disproportionate share of the burdens of war and the diseases of deprivation. Progress was being claimed on a new constitution, on a future land policy, on investment law and on reducing corruption and inflation. An increase in press freedom and a growth in entrepreneurship could be welcomed, but neither the international community nor Angolans themselves comprehended the immensity of tasks ahead. To achieve meaningful progress Angola needed to work out a national strategy, a 'showcase for its peace dividend'.

Some key images and comments illuminated the spirit of the conference:

- Brilliant prospects.
- The need for 'a loyal opposition'.
- Elections alone do not bring democratization.
- The absent Angolan government 'never misses an opportunity to miss an opportunity'.
- Keep focused on poverty reduction.
- Angola is 'playing international financiers like a Stradivarius'.
- Who spends the peace dividend?
- Angola is a 'dictatorship disguised as a democracy' (or a 'monarchy supported by an oil republic').

- Commitment, capacity, competence.
- We are still orphans of the Cold War.
- Bring home from Europe and America Angola's middle-class diaspora by providing housing and health care.
- In friendship we need to 'strive for non-violent antagonism'.
- 'The guns are silent and peace is now irreversible.'
- We need to 'hear the voice of the voiceless'.
- What are the short-term opportunities? Miracles take a little longer.
- Do not make 'the future a hostage of the present'.
- Might the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative be helpful to Luanda?
- Are Angolans in a post-war coma or can they forgive, forget and move forward?
- Initiate the rule of law to replace the rule of influence.
- Think *with* and not *for* Angolans – but don't let donors miss the boat.
- All eighteen provinces need a land policy for practising farmers.
- Don't be negative.

- Women are survivors: what problems do men face?
- Who decides, who pays?
- A critical crossroads needs an Angolan map and an Angolan driver.

Conclusion

The list of questions posed at the end of the 2002 conference report with regard to the economy, democratization and combating poverty remains valid.² In 2003 no representative from the central Angolan government was present and it was difficult to establish the orientation of its thinking and planning. The mood at the 2002 London conference was of participants wishing to help Angola with its problems and one of positive commitment rather than of negative denunciation. The 2003 conference illustrated that finding the pressure points which make advice effective remains difficult. A conference format may no longer be the best method of helping Angola to move forward. How best do the country's friends rejoice when Angolans say: 'See how far we have travelled', and how do they work with them when they say 'but see how little we have gained'?

² *Towards Sustainable Peace*, p. 9.

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

ANGOLA'S FUTURE

Supported by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Novib/Oxfam Netherlands, CAFOD, NiZA

Chatham House
The Royal Institute of International Affairs
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12–13 NOVEMBER 2003

OPENING ADDRESS

Chair: Dame Margaret Anstee, BAF Advisory Board Member
Speaker: HE Hilary Benn, Secretary of State for International Development, UK
Speaker: Ambassador Tony Fernandes, BAF Advisory Board Member
Speaker: HE Isaias Samakuva, President of Unita, Angola

Main sessions

ANGOLA: CHALLENGES AND ASPIRATIONS

Chair: Prof. David Birmingham, BAF Advisory Board Member
Speaker: Prof. Gerald Bender, Associate Professor, University of Southern California, USA
Speaker: Alex Vines, Head of the Africa Programme, RIIA and Convenor of BAF
Speaker: Allan Cain, Director, Development Workshop, Angola

DEMOCRATIZATION

Chair: John Flynn, ChevronTexaco & BAF Advisory Board Member
Speaker: Dr Raúl C. Araújo, President, Angolan Bar Association
Speaker: Dr Ismael Mateus, Sindicato dos Jornalistas Angolanos (SJA), Angola
Speaker: Dr David Mendes, Mãos Livres, Angola

LAND AND LANDMINES

Chair: Bishop Donald Arden, BAF Advisory Board Member
Speaker: HE Carlos Feijo, Minister in the Office of the Presidency, Regional Affairs, Angola
Speaker: Guilherme Santos, ACORD, Angola
Speaker: Tim Porter, Desk Officer for Southern Africa, Halo Trust, UK

ANGOLA'S ECONOMY

- Chair: Dr Steve Kibble, CIIR, & BAF Advisory Board Member
- Speaker: Dr Carlos Leite, former Resident Representative, International Monetary Fund, Angola
- Speaker: Arvind Ganesan, Director, Human Rights Watch, USA
- Speaker: Nicholas Shaxson, Author, Economist Intelligence Unit, Germany

INVESTMENT, EMPLOYMENT, PRODUCTIVE DIVERSIFICATION

- Chair: Francisco da Cruz, Manager, BP – Angola
- Speaker: Mamadou Blondin Beye, Regional Coordinator, ChevronTexaco, UK
- Speaker: Dr João Nzatuzola, Jubilee2000Angola, Angola

DONORS' PERSPECTIVES

- Chair: Ambassador Tony Fernandes, BAF Advisory Board Member
- Speaker: Hans Teunissen, Head of the Southern Africa Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Netherlands
- Speaker: David Butt, Deputy Director of African Division, Department for International Development (DFID), UK
- Speaker: Aud Marit Wiig, Deputy Director of African Affairs, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Speaker: João Macedo, Counsellor, Portuguese Embassy, UK

THE WAY AHEAD – PANEL DISCUSSION

- Chair: Ambassador John Thompson, BAF Advisory Board Member
- Speaker: Ambassador Tony Fernandes, BAF Advisory Board Member
- Speaker: HE Isaias Samakuva, President of Unita, Angola
- Speaker: David Mendes, Maos Livres, Angola
- Speaker: José Paulo, Radio Ecclesia, Angola
- Speaker: Prof. Gerald Bender, Associate Professor, University of Southern California, USA

Summing up

Dame Margaret Anstee, BAF Advisory Board

CONFERENCE SPEAKERS: BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Margaret Anstee

Dame Margaret Anstee has an honorary doctorate from the University of Essex. She served with the United Nations for over four decades (1952–93), mostly with the United Nations Development Programme, except in 1967–8 when she was Senior Economic Adviser in the British Prime Minister's office. In 1992–3 she was the Secretary General's Special Representative to Angola and Head of the UN peacekeeping mission there (UNAVEM I – the UN Angola Verification Mission). Since leaving the UN in July 1993, she has been working as an independent consultant and as special adviser to the President and Government of Bolivia. Dame Margaret is an honorary fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge, and of the University of London. She is also an advisory board member of the British-Angola Forum.

Raúl C. Araújo

Dr Raúl Araújo holds both MA and PhD law degrees from the University of Coimbra. He helped set up the law faculty of the Catholic University of Luanda, and has been the President of the Elaboration Committee for the New Law of the Press, working as the Dean of Lusitana University in Angola. He is President of the Angolan Bar Association and assisted in drafting a new Angolan constitution in 1991–2. He is currently a member of a technical commission for the drafting of a new constitution for Angola. He is also an associate professor at Agostinho Neto University.

Donald Arden

Since he was first ordained in 1939, The Rt Rev Arden has worked and travelled extensively throughout Southern Africa, including postings in Pretoria, Swaziland, Malawi and Mozambique. He is on the advisory board of the British Angola-Forum, and on the boards of Concern Universal, the Mozambique-Angola Anglican Association and the Association for Christian Support. Bishop Arden's publications include *Out of Africa Something New*.

Gerald Bender

Professor Bender gained a PhD from the University of California on 'US Foreign Policy Analysis and Regional Studies – Africa'. He specializes in US foreign policy towards Africa and has published widely. He is currently studying the management of human diversity and its impact on economic development in South Africa, Namibia and Angola. He is a consultant for the State Department, World Bank, National Security Council and several multinational corporations.

Hilary Benn

Hilary Benn was elected to the Ealing Borough Council in 1979, where he served as Deputy Leader of the Labour Group from 1985 to 1994, and as Deputy Leader of the Council and Chair of Education from 1986 to 1990. In June 2001, he was appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for International Development, and in May 2002 he moved to the Home Office as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Community and Custodial Provision. He returned to DFID as Minister of State in June 2003 and was appointed Secretary of State in October the same year.

David Birmingham

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

Mamadou Blondin Beye

Mamadou Blondin Beye has a BA in business administration from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales (HEC). He started his career at Chevron Texaco in 1997 as a business analyst in the planning department at Chevron Overseas Petroleum Inc. in San Ramon, CA. He then moved to Washington DC to work as ChevronTexaco's Government and Public Affairs International Representative on African and Middle Eastern issues. Before moving to the UK, Beye was ChevronTexaco Government Affairs Representative in Sacramento, CA, where he worked on Californian downstream issues. He is currently Regional Coordinator for Africa for ChevronTexaco's London International Relations department, where he leads some of ChevronTexaco's Public and Government Affairs issues for its Strategic Business Units in Africa.

Allan Cain

Allan Cain graduated from the Architectural Association School of Architecture in England. Concerned about the role of architecture in the lives of the poor, he and two other architecture students founded Development Workshop in 1973. Their first programmes focused on how architecture can improve living conditions for the rural poor. Allan Cain is also Canada's Honorary Consul in Luanda. In 1993, he received the Award of Excellence in Foreign Policy from Canada's Ministry of Foreign Affairs for his assistance to Canadians when fighting broke out in Luanda.

Tim Craddock

Tim Craddock has an MA from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at the University of London. He joined the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) in 1979 and has had a number of postings: Vice-Consul in Chad; Vice-Consul in Istanbul; Second Secretary in Ankara; First Secretary in Paris; Ambassador to Estonia, 1997–2000. He has also served at the FCO as Head of Section for the South America Department, on the FCO's board of management, and as Department Head for the Aid Policy and Resources Department. Since 2000, he has been the Head of Africa (Greater Horn) Department, at the Department for International Development (DFID).

Francisco da Cruz

Francisco da Cruz has an MBA degree and is currently finalizing his doctorate in international commerce. He began his diplomatic career in 1990, when he joined the Angolan Permanent Mission to the UN in New York. In 1991 he was transferred to the Permanent Observer Mission of the Angolan Republic at the Organization of American States, in Washington, DC, which became Angola's Embassy to the US in 1993. He was Minister Counsellor at the Embassy of Angola to the Republic of South Africa before joining BP Angola in Luanda in March 2002 as Political Affairs Manager in the Department of Government and Public Affairs. In October 2003 Francisco da Cruz was appointed Government and Public Affairs Manager. He has published a book on *Bilateral Relations - Angola and the US: Challenges and Opportunities in the New Millennium*.

Carlos Feijo

Dr Carlos Feijo is a lawyer and international consultant. He has lectured at the Faculty of Law at the University of Angola and at the Catholic University of Angola. He is also a researcher at the Graduate School of Republic and Development Management at the University of Witwatersrand in South Africa. He is currently Minister in the Office of the Presidency responsible for Regional and Internal Affairs. He has served as a member of the Technical Commission to revise Angolan constitutional law; Vice-Minister for Public Administration; Secretary of the Council of Ministers; and a legal adviser to the Angolan peace process negotiations.

Antonio da Costa Fernandes

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

John Flynn

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

Arvind Ganesan

Arvind Ganesan has worked since 1995 at Human Rights Watch, where he is Director of the Business and Human Rights programme, based in Washington, DC. He is involved in research, advocacy, and policy development on issues concerning business and human rights, with a primary focus on the energy industry. Most recently his focus has been on energy development in Angola. He has published short reports on the agreement between the International Monetary Fund and the government of Angola on the use of oil revenues.

Steve Kibble

Dr Steve Kibble is Africa and Yemen Policy Officer at the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR). He is engaged in advocacy, research, analysis and writing for a variety of publications, plus networking and organizing coalitions, notably the UK Inter-Agency Group on Southern Africa. He also works on Third World issues, theories of development (southern African countries in particular), trade agreements, regional reconstruction, conflict, peacebuilding and reconciliation.

Carlos Leite

Dr Carlos Leite has a PhD in Economics from McMaster University in Canada. He has been an assistant professor of economics at the University of Western Ontario (London, Canada) and has subsequently worked as an economist for South Africa, Cameroon, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Equatorial Guinea at the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Until recently he was the IMF's resident representative in Angola. His IMF publications include *Does Mother Nature Corrupt? Natural Resources, Corruption and Economic Growth*, and *Is Growth Enough? Macroeconomic Policy and Poverty Reduction*.

João Macedo

João Shearman de Lemos Macedo was born in Cape Town in 1970. After returning to Portugal, he graduated in law from Lisbon University. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1995 and has worked for the North America Department. From 1998 to 2001 he was posted to Angola. He was transferred in 2001 to the Portuguese Embassy in London as Counsellor.

Ismael Mateus

Ismael Mateus completed a journalism course at the University of Coimbra, followed by a postgraduate degree in Communication Law at the Judicial Institute of Communications in the Faculty of Law at the same university. His professional career has included working for Angolan National Radio, Luanda Antena Comercial, RDP-Africa and Semanario Angolense. He is a member of the Angolan Journalists' Syndicate and Union of Angolan Writers. His publications include *Angola, Party and Mourning: The Shadow of the War*.

Manuel David Mendes

Dr David Mendes was Angola's Secretary of State for the Environment from 1992 to 1997, and in 1992 sat on 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. Mr Mendes holds a law degree from Agostinho Neto University and in 2000 was awarded the Martin Luther King Prize by the US Embassy in Angola.

João Nzatuzola

João Nzatuzola has a sociology degree from the University of Social Science and Administration in the Democratic Republic of Congo, a diploma from the University of Development Studies (IEUD) in Geneva and a higher diploma (DEA) in Demographics at the University of Paris I Panthéon Sorbonne. He has worked for the Ministry of Agriculture in Luanda and Namibia and for the Ministry of Petroleum and the Energy Sector of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). He has taught at Agostinho Neto University in Luanda and has recently been a consultant for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and BP.

José Paulo

José Paulo has a degree in pastoral theology from the Catholic University of Kinshasa. He is executive director and director of information for Radio Ecclesia de Angola, where he has worked since 1998. He has also been a correspondent of Voice of America radio in DRC, editor and presenter of Radio Veritas in Asia, and a professor of social communication at the Great Convent of Luanda.

Tim Porter

Tim Porter served from 1981 to 1989 as an officer in the Royal Marines. In 1992 he joined the HALO Trust, where he is Desk Officer for Southern Africa. He travels regularly to Angola.

Isaias Samakuva

Isaias Samakuva was elected as UNITA's president at the party congress in July 2003. He joined UNITA's army in 1974 and rose to the rank of brigadier. In 1979 he was appointed to the Central Committee and in 1986 he was promoted to be 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's Chief Representative to the Joint Commission, based in Luanda. On the return to war in late 1998, Mr Samakuva left Angola for France. From his base in Paris he became one of UNITA's key contacts with the outside world. He returned to Angola in October 2002.

Guilherme Santos

Guilherme Santos has a degree in agronomy. For thirteen years he has been a member of Action for Rural Development and the Environment and is vice-president of its executive board. For the last five years he has also represented ACORD (Agency for Cooperation on Research and Development) in Angola which supports institutional development of local NGOs and runs capacity-building projects for local administration.

Nicholas Shaxson

Nicholas Shaxson was Reuters correspondent in Angola (1993–5) and a staff reporter on energy at Reuters, London (1995–8). Now a freelance journalist, he has been the author of the Economist Intelligence Unit reports on Angola since 1997. He recently became an associate fellow of the Africa Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs. His areas of expertise are the politics and economics of oil-producing countries in the Gulf of Guinea, particularly Angola, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea.

Hans Teunissen

Hans Teunissen graduated from Leiden University with a degree in Law Studies. He began his career at the UNHCR as Protection Officer in Egypt and Malaysia. In 1979 he joined the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he held several prominent positions, including Policy Adviser on Trade Policy *vis-à-vis* developing countries, Secretary to the National Advisory Council on development cooperation, and postings to embassies in Islamabad, Lusaka, and Manila. Later posts included the Directorate for European Affairs, the Directorate for Multilateral Affairs and International Financial Institutions (Head of UN Funds and Social Affairs Division). He is currently Head of Southern Africa Division in the Directorate for Africa.

John Thompson

John Thompson was appointed HM Ambassador to the Republic of Angola and (non-resident) to São Tomé e Príncipe in February 2002. Having joined the FCO in 1964, Mr. Thompson has 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. Ambassador Thompson is an advisory board member of the British-Angola Forum.

Alex Vines

Alex Vines has been Head of the Africa Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs since 2002. His main areas of expertise include politics in sub-Saharan Africa, Southern African politics (especially Angola), private security and political risk in Africa, and proliferation of light weapons and landmines in Africa. He was a member of the UN Panel of Experts on Liberia from May 2001 to May 2003. He is also a senior researcher at Human Rights Watch and has been a MacArthur NGO fellow at the Department of War Studies at King's College, University of London, and a research associate at Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford. He sits on the editorial boards of the *Journal of Southern African Studies* and *South African Journal of International Relations*.

Aud Marit Wiig

Since 1983 Aud Marit Wiig has held various positions in the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Her field of expertise has been African politics as well as development issues. She is currently the Deputy Director General of the Bilateral Department of the Ministry in Oslo, which covers Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America.

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British-Angola Forum Member
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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 in Europe concerned with affairs in Angola and with Angola in its regional and international context: a principal aim is to enhance relations between the two countries.

An independent non-profit and apolitical organization, the Forum aims to become a centre of excellence and expertise on Angola 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 has held two previous international conferences on Angola: 'Western Foreign Policy towards Angola in the New Millennium, and 'Towards Sustainable Peace: A Challenge for Angola and 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, Caroline Elmes, HE John Thompson (HM Ambassador to Angola), HE Antonio da Costa Fernandes (Angolan Ambassador to Britain), John Flynn, Sir Marrack Goulding, Stuart Testar, Elizabeth Wild and Dr Steve Kibble.

Alex Vines and Manuel Paulo, who have extensive knowledge of Angola, oversee the development of the British-Angola Forum.

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Manuel Paulo - Tel: +44 207 957 5733 or email: Manuel.Paulo@riia.org

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THE DUTCH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

COOPERATION WITH ANGOLA

To relieve the enormous human suffering caused by the civil war, Angola has been receiving substantial structural emergency aid over recent years from the Netherlands. The major part of the Netherlands development cooperation with Angola consists of humanitarian assistance. The total amount of Dutch assistance to Angola in 2002 was €12.2 million. In 2003 the Netherlands provided € 9 million for humanitarian assistance via multilateral institutions (OCHA, UNICEF and WFP), ICRC and NGOs. This humanitarian assistance is spent on emergency food aid, agriculture (food security for internally displaced persons (IDPs)), water and sanitation, health and humanitarian mine activities. In order to adopt a favourable policy towards humanitarian assistance the Netherlands gives support to OCHA coordination and monitoring of needs, WFP flight services and the UNDP security network. Other important areas are conflict resolution, peacebuilding and human rights. Special attention is also given to the land rights issue.

THE ROYAL NORWEGIAN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

COOPERATION WITH ANGOLA

Norway has a long-standing cooperation with Angola. Development cooperation and humanitarian assistance are major pillars in its cooperation. The total amount of Norwegian assistance to Angola has been approximately NOK 150–175 million (US\$ 22–25 million) per year in recent years, one-third as humanitarian assistance and two-thirds as long-term development cooperation). Its partners include the Angolan government, UN and other multilateral organizations, and a wide range of Norwegian and Angolan NGOs. Important areas of cooperation are humanitarian mine activities, reintegration of refugees and IDPs, democracy building and good governance, and education. There is important institutional cooperation in the fisheries and energy sectors, for example between the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate and the Angolan Ministry of Petroleum, and cooperation on institutional development in the electricity and water sector. Angola is also an important business partner. Norwegian petroleum companies and equipment supply companies have already established a presence in Angola.

NOVIB ENGAGEMENT WITH ANGOLA

Novib/Oxfam Netherlands is a rights-based organization with more than 40 years' experience in support of people's own development initiatives for fighting poverty and exclusion all over the world. Novib/Oxfam Netherlands is one of the twelve Oxfam affiliates which together form Oxfam International. It strives for a global society built on the principles of justice, accountability, respect and solidarity. In Angola Novib/Oxfam Netherlands supports organizations working in both urban and rural areas in the sectors of education, democratization and human rights, freedom of expression, transparency and accountability, and livelihoods. Our partner organizations work at poverty alleviation through community organization and advocacy. By supporting their work Novib/Oxfam intends to contribute to equitable development, dialogue and peace.

CAFOD ENGAGEMENT WITH ANGOLA

The Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD) is the official overseas development agency of the Catholic Church in England and Wales. CAFOD is a member of the Caritas Internationalis and CIDSE worldwide networks of Catholic relief and development organizations. CAFOD works in partnership with local organizations and focuses on supporting the poorest communities, regardless of their religion, to help themselves. CAFOD has worked in Angola since 1981, developing partnerships within the Catholic Church and beyond. Support is currently being given to projects working to train social educators, vocational training, Radio Ecclesia, resettlement and food security, disarmament, lobby work and capacity-building of local organizations. CAFOD encourages all partners to mainstream gender and HIV/AIDS within their work.

NiZA ENGAGEMENT WITH ANGOLA

The Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa (NiZA) is a politically independent organization for the promotion of democracy in Southern Africa. It was founded in 1997 as a result of a merger of three anti-apartheid organizations. NiZA's involvement with the people in Angola dates back to 1961 (Angola Committee). NiZA's solidarity is expressed through cooperation with local organizations through three programmes: Media, Human Rights and Peace Building, and Economy. NiZA builds on the strengths of its partners in Angola and tries to assist them mainly by funding necessary expertise, organizational development and exchanges and networking with other organizations (e.g. in surrounding countries). In the North, NiZA acts as a knowledge centre for journalists,