

RISK ASSESSMENT BRIEF

ANGOLA

Maria Babbage, Juliette Gundy, Mejlina Modanu and Sarah Noble
NPSIA

October 8, 2002
Professor Carment

Conflict Background

Portuguese explorers founded Angola's capital, Luanda, in 1575, thus beginning 400 years of colonial rule. In the 1960s, various groups in Angola fought for independence, the most well known being the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA). In 1975 a transitional government was formed including both UNITA and the MPLA, but it collapsed and the civil war began, even though independence from Portugal was subsequently achieved on November 11th, 1975. Since 1975 the MPLA has been the de facto government in Angola, in a Marxist one-party system from 1975-1992, and after the 1992 election in a nominal democracy in which it exerts overwhelming power. Jose Eduardo dos Santos has been President since 1979 (WBG 2002).



The main reasons for continued conflict include urban-rural, social-political, ethnic and religious cleavages. All of these factors interplayed with the overall struggle for power and resources.

There have been glimpses of peace in Angola in the past 27 years. In 1991 a cease-fire was brokered and a general election called. A run-off election between UNITA and the MPLA was necessary, but the MPLA declared victory and it never took place (CIA 2002). UNITA's President and founder, Jonas Savimbi, refused to accept this outcome and renewed the war. Another cease-fire (the Lusaka Protocol) was brokered on November 20th 1994 and the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation was established in April 1997. But in December 1998 war broke out again, due to sporadic fighting in the UNITA demobilization camps, and the MPLA's concern that the UN had not disarmed and demobilized the UNITA forces (WBG 2002).

In 1998 UNITA split into three groups. UNITA Renovada is composed of some of UNITA's members of the National Assembly. Abel Chivukuvuku formed a second group, and those loyal to Savimbi comprised the third group. The fighting continued between Savimbi and the MPLA. Savimbi was well prepared for battle as he had bought sophisticated weapons, mainly from North Korea and the Ukraine, using revenues from the illicit diamond trade (IRIN 2002). The conflict came to an end on April 4th, 2002 when the "Memorandum of Understanding" peace agreement was signed by UNITA and the government. This breakthrough came less than two months after the death of Savimbi on February 22nd of 2002. The remaining members of UNITA had agreed to the peace talks soon after Savimbi's death (IRIN 1999).

Structural Indicators

I. History of Armed Conflict: Armed Conflicts, Refugees Produced, IDP and Others of Concern

Peace-generating factors	Conflict-generating factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peace agreement signed April 4th, 2002 by UNITA and government • UNITA split into three factions since 1998, only one of which is militarized (IRIN 2002) • Militarized UNITA forces lost their first and only leader, Jonas Savimbi (NYT 2002) • UNITA suffered heavy defeats in last conflict period, not likely to renew fighting (NYT 2002) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict at level of "war" (at least 1000 deaths per year) for most of past 27 years. Estimated that 1.5 Million people have died in civil war (CIA 2002) • 435,000 refugees produced, 4,000,000 IDP (HRW 2002) • Refugees and IDP now returning home without food, or seeds and tools for agriculture (IRIN 2002) • UNITA soldiers and relatives (approximately 84,000 soldiers, 430,000 people in total) placed in quartering areas for demobilization with families, but lack adequate food, shelter, medicine (IRIN 2002) • Number of weapons to be taken from UNITA soldiers unknown (IRIN 2002) • Uncertain if the government will provide post-conflict support to UNITA soldiers that it promised (employment, tools, seeds, vocational training,) (NYT 2002) • Government plans to close the quartering camps on October 15th, but agencies in Angola (UN and WFP) say preparations not been made to provide food, pre-planning shelter, programs to transport and resettle these people in their areas of origin (IRIN 2002) • Ongoing conflict between Angolan army and rebel separatists in Cabinda, FLEC-FAC. Separatists want referendum to determine political status. Cabinda provides 60% of Angola's oil (IRIN 2002)

II. Governance and Political Instability: Level of Democracy, Regime Durability, Restrictions on Rights and Press freedom and Corruption Score

Peace-generating factors	Conflict-generating factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both UNITA and MPLA represented in government Joint Commission will appoint UNITA members as governors, ambassadors and administrators (IRIN 2002) Elections scheduled for 2004 (Econ. 2002) There are independent media outlets and journalists in Angola (AI 2000) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> President Eduardo dos Santos still in power (first elected in 1979). Often stated goal of UNITA is removal of President dos Santos from office (IRIN 2002) Violations to right of assembly, right of free expression and right of movement. Police brutality, use of lethal force and disappearances of individuals in police custody common. Extra judicial killings by FAA of civilians common (AI 2002) Both UNITA and FAA carry out deliberate and arbitrary killing of civilians, torture, ill-treatment of prisoners, rape and pillaging and use of child soldiers (AI 2002) Journalists (Angolan and foreign) subject to harassment, inability to travel within the country, sometimes prevented from leaving Angola. Those who criticize MPLA or President dos Santos targeted for detention and threats of violence (AI 2002) <p>Scores (CIFP): Civil and Political Rights: 8 (1 is "free", 9 is "not free"); Level of Democracy: 7 (1 is "strongly democratic", 9 is "strongly autocratic"); Regime durability: Angola 8.8 (1 is "high durability", 9 is "low durability"); Restrictions on Press Freedom: 8.2 (1 is "free", 9 is "not free") Corruption: 9 (1 is "low", 9 is "high") (CIFP 2002)</p>

III. Population Heterogeneity: Ethnic and Religious Diversity Score, Risk of Ethnic Rebellion

Peace-generating factors	Conflict-generating factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No dominant ethnic group by population (CIA 2001) No ethnic cleansing of a particular group (LOC 2002) <p>Scores (CIFP): 1. Ethnic diversity: 9 2. Religious diversity: 8 3. Risk of ethnic rebellion: 6</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High ethnic and religious diversity (CIA 2001) Rural-urban and class cleavages, linked to political and ethnic affiliations (FAST 2000) Lost autonomy: for the Bakongo, the Kongo Kingdom of the mid 16-17th centuries; for the Ovimbundu, 22 kingdoms in the mid-18th century; for the Mbundu, the south-west kingdom of Ndongo. (LOC 2002) Historical rivalry between kingdoms over slave trade and resources (Ibid.) Militant mobilization: for the Bakongo (FLEC), support from ethnic kin in Congo and DRC; in case of UNITA, support and/or facilitation from Zaire (FAST 2000) Distrust between UNITA (Ovimbundu) and MPLA (Government-mestizos and Mbundu)-likely related to resource control (FAST 2000) Perceived economic discrimination of Cabinda by strict government control over oil resources (MAR 1999)

IV. Environmental Stress: Rate of Deforestation, People per square km, Freshwater Resources

Peace-generating factors	Conflict-generating factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Good freshwater resources (WBG 2000) Rate of deforestation not bad (Index/GRS: 6), forestry could be developed (FAO 2000) Good natural resources could add US\$150 million to economy (FAO 2000) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Under use of arable land -- 4% of potential arable land is in use (FAO 2000) Landmines prevent agricultural land from being developed. (UNDP) Land tenure issue could be a source of conflict (FAO) Soil erosion due to pasture overuse and population pressures (CIA)

V. Militarization: Military Expenditure, Total Armed Forces

Peace-generating factors	Conflict-generating factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Disarmament of 80,000 UNITA soldiers and integration of 5,000 ex-UNITA soldiers into FAA De-mining efforts to make land usable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High military expenditure (\$1.2 billion (FY97)) (CIA 2001) Military expenditure is high as a percentage of GDP (21.2% of GDP in 1999) (SIPRI 2002) 400,000 ex-UNITA soldiers and families living on quartering camps (IRIN 2002) CIFP Scores: High total expenditure military: 9; Total Armed forces per 1,000 people: 6

VI. Human Development: Access to Improved Water Source and Sanitation, Life Expectancy, Infant Mortality Rate, Maternal Mortality Rate, HIV/AIDS, Primary School Enrolment and Children in the Labour Force

Peace-generating factors	Conflict-generating factors
No factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 38% of total population has access to safe water (UNICEF 2002), 38% with access had improved access to water (World Bank, UNHDR 2000), CIFP: 9 44% of population has access to sanitation (HDR 2000), CIFP: 7 Average life expectancy was 38 years in 2001 (CIA), CIFP: 9 172 infant deaths per 1,000 live births (UNICEF 2002); 295 children out of 1,000 die before the age of 5 (UNICEF 2002), CIFP: 9 Maternal mortality rate is 1,500 per 100,000 live births (WHO 1994-7), CIFP: 9 (1995) Increased prevalence of AIDS -- 5.5% of adults age 15-49 in 2001 (UNAIDS report), CIFP: 9 Increased AIDS-related deaths -- 24,000 in 2001 (UNAIDS), CIFP: 8 27% of children (of relevant age) enrolled in primary school (UNESCO 2000), GRS: 9; 15% of children (of relevant age) enrolled in secondary school (UNESCO 2000) GRS: 8 About 7,000 child soldiers of 6.4 million possible children under 18 (HRW 2001), GRS: 7 Poor access to health care -- 8 physicians per 100,000 people (HDR 1990-9) Increased drug trafficking, which could lead to abuse (CIA, ODCCP report 2002)

VII. International Linkages: Economic Organizations, Military and Security Alliances, UN Organizations, International Disputes

Peace-generating factors	Conflict-generating factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Membership of UN, African Union, SADC and the EU's ACP (CIA 2001) Peace brokerage between Uganda and DRC; Rwanda and DRC (FAST 2000) Good relations with Namibia, undercutting UNITA supply bases in border region (IRIN 2002) Humanitarian projects carried out with UN and EU aid (BBC 2002) Greater international cooperation in aid and control of illegal smuggling (IRIN 2002) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ineffective membership in economic organizations Personal interests of oil companies, diamond-smuggling networks and private security industry (FAST 2000, DT 2002) Destabilizing neighbours: a) DR Congo: lack of control over UNITA bases in west of country; b) Congo: support for ethnic kin Bakongo in Cabinda in pursuing secession; c) S.Africa: historical mistrust and support for UNITA (MAR 1999) Refugee influx into neighbouring states and spillover of fighting (FAST 2000) Government involvement in conflict in DR Congo (HRW 1999) Continued UN & US sanctions undermining UNITA transformation (IRIN 25 Sep 2002) <p>Scores (CIFP):</p> <p>1. Economic Organizations: 8 2- Military/Security Alliances: 9 3. UN Organizations: 5-6 4. Multipurpose and Miscellaneous Organizations: 7 5. Total International Disputes: 2 1- Low membership/No disputes; 9- High membership/Many disputes</p>

VIII. Economic Performance: GDP Growth Rate, GDP per Capita, Inflation, Total Debt Service

Peace-generating factors	Conflict-generating factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Growing economy- GDP growth rate 3.2% in 2001 (WBG 2001) GDP- 9.5\$ billion US in 2001 (WBG 2001) Economy dependent on oil (60% of GNP and 90% of government income) and there has been a rise in oil prices since mid 1999 Peace settlement lures in foreign investors (esp. in the oil industry) Implementation of the National Reconstruction Service to create employment Presence of many oil MNCs with interest in ensuring peace in Cabinda Partial implementation of adjustment programs to ensure long-term growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Weak economy due to decades of civil war Low GNP per capita 240\$ US in 2000 (WBG 2001) Gross disparity of income, wealth is in the hands of a few. From 1995-1998, richest 10% of population increased wealth by 44% while poorest 10% saw a 59% decrease in their wealth. (Human Development Report 1999) High inflation rate (1990: 2.4%, 2000: 248%, 2001: 344.4%) (Consumer Prices) (World Bank 2001) Most of labour force (85%) is engaged in agricultural sector which is a small percentage of GDP (5.7% in 2000) High external debt: \$10.377 billion US in 2000 (World Bank 2001) Total Debt Service 2000: 1.179 billion US\$ CIFP score: 9 Exchange rate: kwanza per US dollar - 17,910,800 (Jan 2001) (CIA 2001)

Stakeholders

Key Actors / Stakeholders	Peace-generating		Conflict-generating	
	Primary Actors	Secondary Actors	Primary Actors	Secondary Actors
Local	NGOs Churches	UNMA	UNITA Government troops	FLEC-FAC
Regional	South Africa Namibia	African Union SADC	DR Congo (Zaire) Congo	Rwanda
International	UN, EU and Troika (USA, Russia, Portugal)	USA, Committee of Friends of Angola IMF, FAO, UNDP	Diamond-smuggling rings Private Security Industries	Oil-industries

Outcome Scenarios

Worst-case scenario: Conflict resumes

- UNITA soldiers revolt.
- Peace agreement fails – conflict renews.
- Fighting intensifies with Cabinda separatists, interfering with oil production.
- Social conditions worsen (i.e. internal displacement, access to health/safe water/sanitation).
- Humanitarian agencies and NGOs leave the country.
- International aid stops.
- Agency-run medical facilities close.
- Food distribution stops – mass starvation and malnutrition.
- Continued internal displacement of people – greater poverty, prostitution, drug use and spread of HIV/AIDS.
- Continued destabilization of neighbouring countries as UNITA/ government conflict spills over borders.

Best-case scenario:

- Reintegration of UNITA soldiers successful.
- Government provides jobs, training, and resources to former UNITA soldiers.
- Humanitarian agencies and NGOs continue work; help improve social conditions such as health care, sanitation, water access and education.
- Government fulfills promise to help de-mine pastures and fields, other organizations also help.
- Government institutes land laws and redistributes land equitably.
- Free elections in 2004.
- Improved accounting of oil profits and entrenched penalties for corruption.
- Redirection of oil profits from military spending to improvement of social programs.
- Expanding education and vocational training to create a more diverse workforce.
- Enforcement of civil and political human rights.

Most likely scenario:

- Limited revolts and banditry by UNITA soldiers due to lack of employment, vocational training, and food, shelter.
- Continued tension with Cabinda separatists and sporadic fighting.
- Continued presence of humanitarian agencies and NGOs providing emergency food and medical support.
- Ongoing civil and political repression of MPLA dissenters.
- Continued malnutrition, poor education, lack of access to safe water and sanitation throughout Angola.
- Little development of infrastructure – communications, transportation, housing – making reintegration, economic growth and social stability more difficult.

Sources

"Angola," The World Bank Group Countries, <<http://www.worldbank.org/afr.ao2htm>> cited September 19th, 2002.

"Angola at a Glance, 2002," World Bank Group, <http://www.worldbank.org/data/countrydata/aag/ago_aag.pdf> (cited September 19th, 2002).

"Angola: A country study," The Library of Congress, <<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/aotoc.html>> (cited September 25, 2002).

"Angola Data Profile- 2001," World Bank Group, <<http://devdata.worldbank.org/external/CPProfile.asp?CCODE=AGO&PTYPE=CP>> (cited September 29th, 2002).

"Angola gross and net enrolment ratio (both primary and secondary levels) statistics," United Nations Economic and Social Council Organization (UNESCO), September 2002, <http://portal.unesco.org/uis/ev.php?URL_ID=3753&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=67&reload=1030033979> (cited October 1st, 2002).

"Angola Peace Monitor", ACTSA - Action for Southern Africa, Vol. VIII, no.12, 10 September 2002, <<http://www.actsa.org/Angola/apm/>> (cited September 26, 2002).

"Angola Unravels," Human Rights Watch, <<http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/angola/#TopOfPage>> (cited September 19, 2002).

"Angola and Zambia: UNHCR to repatriate Angolan refugees," IRIN, September 18th, 2002, <http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=29961&SelectRegion=Southern_Africa&SelectCountry=ANGOLA-ZAMBIA> (cited September 29th, 2002).

"Basic Health Indicators: Angola country profile- 2000," World Health Organization (WHO), <<http://www.who.int/en/>> (cited September 24th, 2002).

"BBC World News: Africa," BBC, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/africa/>> (cited September 22, 2002).

Cauvin, Henrie, "Rebels Without a War Wait for Help in Angola," The New York Times, September 29, 2002, <<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/29/international/africa/29ANGO.html?ex=1034355288&ei=1&en=4fce563975af57c3>> (cited September 29th, 2002).

"Charting Angola's Future," Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), April 23, 2002, <www.fao.org/english/newsroom/news/2002/3818-en.html> (cited September 22nd, 2002).

"Child Soldiers Global Report 2001," Human Rights Watch, <<http://www.hrw.org/africa/angola.php>> (cited October 3rd, 2002).

"CIA World Factbook-Angola," CIA, <<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ao.html>> (cited September 19th, 2002).

"Closure of camps will complicate humanitarian operation," IRIN, September 29th, 2002, <http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=30043&SelectRegion=Southern_Africa&SelectCountry=ANGOLA> (cited September 29th, 2002).

"Country Indicators for Foreign Policy" CIFP, <<http://www.carleton.ca/cifp/>> (cited September 19, 2002).

"Country Report 2001- Angola," Amnesty International, <<http://web.amnesty.org/web/ar2002.nsf/afr/angola!Open>> cited September 23rd, 2002.

"Country Report: Angola," United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention (UNODCCP), <http://www.undcp.org/southafrica/country_profile_angola.html> (cited October 3rd, 2002).

"Country report: Angola- 2001," Forestry Outlook Study of Africa (FOSA), <<http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/003/X6772E/X6772E00.htm#TOC>> (cited September 25th, 2002).

Daily Telegraph (UK), <www.telegraph.co.uk> (cited September 25, 2002).

Economist, <www.economist.com> (cited September 21, 2002).

European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation, <<http://www.euconflict.org/>> (cited September 24, 2002).

FAST- Swiss Peace Foundation, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, <<http://www.swisspeace.org/fast/default.cfm>> (cited September 25, 2002).

FEWER- Forum on Early Warning and Early Response, <<http://www.fewer.org/>> (cited September 21, 2002).

“Final Report of the Monitoring Mechanism on UNITA Sanctions,” United Nations Security Council, <<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/docs/monitoringmechanism.htm>> (cited September 25, 2002).

“Freedom of Expression on Trial.” Amnesty International. <<http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/Index/AFR120082000?OpenDocument&of=COUNTRIES\ANGOLA>> (cited September 23rd, 2002).

Focus on progress in demobilisation process, IRIN, July 2nd, 2002, <http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=28603&SelectRegion=Southern_Africa&SelectCountry=ANGOLA> (cited September 29th, 2002).

“Government Denies Starving former rebels,” IRIN, October 4th, 2002, <http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=30247&SelectRegion=Southern_Africa&SelectCountry=ANGOLA> (cited October 4th, 2002).

“Government wants dialogue over Cabinda,” IRIN, October 3rd, 2002, <<http://www.irinnews.org/Report.asp?ReportID=30233>> (cited October 3rd, 2002).

“Human Development Report 2002”, United Nations Development Program, <<http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2002/en/indicator/indicator.cfm?File=index.html>> (cited September 20th, 2002).

INCORE Conflict Data Service, <<http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/cds/countries/angola.html>> (cited September 20, 2002).

Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN)- United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, <www.irinnews.org> (cited September 25, 2002).

“Background Report on UNITA,” IRIN, <<http://www.relie.../5efaa56e1f13c3130525674a005069f1?OpenDocumen>> (cited September 19th, 2002).

“Internally Displaced Need More Protection U.N. Effort Criticized”. Human Rights Watch. <<http://hrw.org/press/2002/07/angola0703.htm>> (cited October 3rd, 2002).

Le Monde Diplomatique (English Internet Edition), <<http://mondediplo.com/>> (cited September 25, 2002).

Microsoft® Encarta® 98 Encyclopedia. © 1993-1997 Microsoft Corporation

“Military Expenditure Database 2002- Angola,” SIPRI, <http://first.sipri.org/non_first/result_milex.php?send> (cited September 21st, 2002).

“Mine action country profile and program: Angola,” United Nations Development Program, August 1999, <<http://www.undp.org/erd/devinitiatives/mineaction/angola/angola.htm>>, <<http://www.undp.org/erd/mineaction/countries/angola.htm>> (cited September 19th, 2002).

Minorities at Risk Project, <<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/projects/mar.htm>> (cited September 19, 2002).

"Over half a million IDP returns in one month," IRIN, September 27th, 2002, <http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=30132&SelectRegion=Southern_Africa&SelectCountry=ANGOLA> (cited October 4th, 2002).

"Rebels in Search of house and job," *The Economist*, September 12th, 2002, <http://www.economist.com/PrinterFriendly.cfm?Story_ID=1328865> (cited September 12th, 2002).

Relief Web, <<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf>> (cited September 22, 2002).

"Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Office in Angola, S/2001/351", UN Security Council, 11 April 2001, <<http://www.un.org/documents/>> (cited September 23, 2002).

Solomon, Hussein (2000) "Angola- A Case Study of Aggression, Avarice and Anguish", Swiss Peace Foundation - Institute for Conflict Resolution and SDC-Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/publihouse/fast/crp/Solomon_00.htm> (cited September 23, 2002).

"Table of country-specific HIV/AIDS estimates and data, end 2001," Joint United Nations Programme on AIDS (UNAIDS), <<http://www.unaids.org/barcelona/presskit/barcelona%20report/table.html>> (cited September 20th, 2002).

"Terrastat database: Chart of actual and potential available arable land in sub-Saharan Africa- 2000," FAO/AGL (Land and water development division), <<http://www.fao.org/ag/aql/agll/terrastat/wsroust.asp?wsreport=7®ion=7&search=Display+statistics+%21>> (cited September 21st, 2002).

"The Use of Child Soldiers in Africa-1999," Human Rights Watch, <<http://www.childsoldiers.org/cs/childsoldiers.nsf/fffd058ae1d99d80256adc005c2bb8/8a522bccf7ea509980256ae5004e6cc0?OpenDocument&Highlight=0.angola>> (cited October 1st, 2002).

United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF), February 2002, <http://www.unicef.org/statis/Country_1Page5.html> (cited September 18th, 2002).

"WFP warns of funding shortfall," IRIN, <http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=30208&SelectRegion=Southern_Africa&SelectCountry=ANGOLA> (cited October 3rd, 2002).

