

Angola 2003/2004

Waiting for elections

Armindo Miranda

R 2004: 11

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CMI Reports

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Map of Angola and its provinces



1. Introduction

The present report is the fifth in a series that the Chr. Michelsen Institute has been producing annually on socio-economic and political developments in Angola. Commissioned by the Norwegian Embassy in Luanda, these reports are meant to provide an independent analytical perspective on the country's development trends, to facilitate the work of the Norwegian development assistance community involved in Angola and to stimulate debate about the issues involved. In previous years, the reports have covered selected themes such as Angola's system of higher education (2000), the role of national and international NGOs in development (2001), aid in the context of peace (2002) and democratic decentralisation (2003). This year, the theme is the political situation in Angola in the context of the upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections in 2006-2007.

Democratic multiparty elections are a novelty in Angola – the only such exercise in the country's history was carried out in 1992 and had disastrous results: the main opposition party refused to accept the results of the first round of the presidential election and plunged the country into another decade of war. New elections are therefore seen by almost all as an event of tremendous significance: many see new elections as a crucial step to consolidate the process of democratisation, which is still fragile and ambiguous; others hope that elections will correct some of the ills that mar current governance in Angola – that the need to win votes will force the regime to clean up its act, improve transparency and accountability and deliver on an agenda of basic social services.

This study articulates the following perspectives:

1. Angola is a difficult development partner and the strategic objectives of Norwegian assistance to Angola, while commendable, are problematic.
2. Angola may be well-endowed in natural resources, but it is not a rich country – it is a very long and difficult way from mineral deposits to dinner on the table or a place at school for every child. Education, which people in Angola desperately lack, may be the only known mass antidote to the “curse of oil”.
3. Elections will probably not bring regime change. The most likely outcome will be a larger majority for MPLA in Parliament.
4. The historical opposition issued from the liberation movements, which were both defeated and co-opted by the government, seems at present unable to present voters with an alternative because it is too divided and institutionally weak.
5. Some of the organisations in civil society that had been brought to life as a peace movement in a context of war have now been overtaken by the events. They were wrong in assuming that peace could not be achieved militarily, and they may be wrong in insisting on a restorative reconciliation rather than on forward looking socio-economic growth policies.
6. Due to the weakness of the opposition, progress in the area of governance will to a large extent depend on reform within MPLA.

7. Angola has no political prisoners and no formal press censorship – political dissent has to a large extent been co-opted or bought out through the discretionary and often illegitimate use of public resources. Measures to impose accountability and transparency may threaten this political culture and some crucial aspects of the stability of the system.
8. In terms of opportunities for donor assistance, the judiciary represents a sector that offers promise in terms of the feasibility and impact of such assistance. We see a potential greater role for donors in terms of strengthening the judiciary in numbers and quality and to promote its independence from the executive and legislative branches of government.
9. There is also a need to improve the quality of the political processes – for instance, by supporting independent, quality-oriented media outlets in their struggle to establish themselves; by stimulating formal political debate in academic circles and elsewhere; and by supporting research that improves the quality, transparency and accountability of governance.

This study benefited from the collaboration of many individuals and institutions, particularly all those who made themselves available for lengthy interviews by the author during his visit to Luanda in August 2004 (see Annex 1), the staff of the Norwegian Embassy in Luanda who provided the necessary introductions, and the colleagues in the Angola-team at CMI for their support throughout the process. The study draws liberally on information accessed through the Internet, including newswire compilation services such as those run by Prof. Franz Heimer (Angola News) and António Teixeira (Africaluso Yahoo-group) or discussion lists such as Kathleen Sheldon's on Portuguese-speaking African countries at Humanities-Net.

The author wishes to express his gratitude to all who assisted him, and to exempt them from any responsibility for the views put forward in this study.

Bergen, November 2004

2. Socio-economic trends 2003/2004

On the socio-economic front, 2004 was a good year for Angola – with the latest estimates of GDP growth standing at just below 12 per cent for the year. Angola's economy is based (for about 54% of the GDP in 2001) on oil incomes, and these are determined by the volume of production and the price of oil in the international markets. Developments on both accounts were very favourable, and in the case of the latter, well beyond expectations. With the coming online of new fields, crude oil production increased past the 1 million barrels a day mark. The price of crude, which the Government had cautiously projected to be about US\$ 23 per barrel in 2004, reached nominal record levels above US\$ 50 per barrel, bringing in hundreds of millions of US dollars of additional revenue. Some calculations reported by Angolan media suggest that for the first half of 2004 alone, additional revenue amounted to US\$ 270 million.

Angola is also one of the world's largest producers of diamonds – ranking fourth in terms of value of official production, although market sources believe that with smuggled production, Angola is actually the third largest producer. It is considered to have some of the world's highest grade diamond deposits. According to official sources, reserves are estimated at 40 to 130 million carats in alluvial and terrace deposits, and 180 million carats in kimberlite pipes (<http://www.angola.org/business/sector/mining/basic.html>) – although much of the country remains unprospected. Official diamond production in recent years (2000-2003) has generated about \$700 million annually: total production, including illegitimate mining, could exceed US\$ 1 billion annually. Official diamond exports represent somewhere between 5 and 10 per cent of the GDP. In terms of weight, official estimates put production figures at 6 million carats in 2004 and industry sources predict that Angola's annual diamond production could reach 10 million carats by the end of 2005.

These good results on the extractive industries front has enabled Angola to pursue what the IMF calls “a fragile stabilization” (Gasha 2004), characterized by declining inflation rates and greater stability of the national currency. Prices, which had risen by over 100 per cent annually in 2001 and 2002, rose by only 77 per cent in 2003. The Government's objective was to bring inflation down to 20 per cent in 2004. While that objective will certainly not be met (prices had already risen by some 22% in the first eight months of 2004) the Government is still expected to be able to contain inflation to less than 50 per cent for the year – which would still be a remarkable achievement.

The national currency, the kwanza (Kz), has also traded in a narrow band between 80 and 88 to the US dollar since September 2003, with practically no difference between the informal and the formal currency markets. The “strong kwanza” policy, which experts believe to be sustained by massive sales of foreign exchange reserves by the central bank, is one of the main reasons behind the slowing of inflation. It also amounts to a subsidy of importations, which benefits all consumers – but especially the urban elite.

The Government in May 2004 reduced its subsidies to fuel, water and electricity, raising the price of petrol to 20 Kz/litre (approximately US\$ 0.25). The Government has indicated that it would eliminate such subsidies through a process of gradual reductions. Fuel subsidies cost US\$ 647 million in 2003, or 12 per cent of the national budget. This reduction helped cushion to some extent the impact of the rising oil prices on Government expenditure: since Angola has little oil refining capacity and imports some 90 per cent of its fuel, increases in international oil prices lead to more costly fuel subsidies.

These macro-economic successes have important political implications. They are based on a number of arbitrations and trade-offs that will please some constituencies and hurt others: the standing of the ruling party will be strengthened among those sections of the population that benefit from macro-economic stability – but at the same time life will become more difficult for those who rely on goods (such as petrol, cooking gas) and public services (electricity, water) that are being less subsidised than in the past. In any case, the macro-economic successes have pleased domestic business interests and the international donor community and strengthened the hand of the reformists in MPLA and the Government, particularly the Finance Minister, José Pedro de Morais and the Deputy-Prime Minister Aguinaldo Jaime, who oversees the economic and financial portfolios. They are both economists with distinguished careers: Pedro de Morais had served as Planning Minister in the 1990s and was subsequently an Executive Director at the IMF; Aguinaldo Jaime is the former Governor of the national bank.

There are numerous other signs of progress on other fronts as well. According to a recent overview provided by the UN, in the education sector, official government figures now indicate that one million more children are in school, compared to one year ago. In the public health sector, five million more children have been vaccinated against polio in the past two months, bringing Angola closer to polio-free status and towards its goal of reducing child mortality rates. In terms of infrastructure, dozens of bridges and nearly 1,000 km of roads have been reconstructed and rehabilitated, allowing thousands to return to their homes and reach markets to trade their goods. Although more than a million Angolans still require food aid, almost half a million more hectares of land were cultivated. By the end of 2004, the internally displaced persons (IDP) return process will be officially complete – meaning that that nearly 4 million people would have returned to their areas of origin, two and half years after the end of the conflict, which is a truly remarkable achievement.¹

In spite of all these signs of progress, the overall picture of socio-economic development levels is dismal. According to the 2004 World Human Development Report, Angola ranks 166th among 177 countries in terms of the Human Development Index, which aggregates a wide range of socio-economic indicators. A peculiarity of the Angolan situation is the discrepancy between its HDI ranking and its GDP per capita ranking, the former being 38 places lower than the latter. In other words, Angola is not only doing poorly in terms of comprehensive socio-economic development but it is doing worse than its wealth would suggest. This discrepancy is typical of oil-based economies

¹ Based the United Nations Integrated Region Information Networks reporting on a statement by the Acting UN Resident Humanitarian Coordinator at the quarterly meeting of the Humanitarian Coordination Group, 23 September 2004 (<http://allafrica.com/stories/200409230870.html>)

– but the case of Angola is special, however, because countries scoring this low on the Human Development Index scale are usually not oil economies and have per capita incomes less than half that of Angola.

In spite of the reorientation towards a market economy undertaken over a decade ago, Angola remains an inhospitable environment for businesses. The recently released World Competitiveness Report 2004-2005 (World Economic Forum, 2004) ranks Angola 103rd out of 104 nations in terms of their so-called Growth Competitiveness Index – an indicator that combines information on the quality of the national macroeconomic environment, state of public institutions, and technological readiness. Only Chad ranked lower than Angola. And Angola ranked last in terms of the complementary and more specific Business Competitiveness Index, which evaluates the sophistication of the operating practices and strategies of companies, and the quality of the micro-economic business environment in which a nation's companies compete.

The Government presented in late October 2004 its proposed State budget for 2005. The key target indicators are as follows:

- 15% inflation for the year;
- annual oil production: 441.5 million barrels;
- average export price of crude oil: US\$ 26.50 per barrel;
- rate of growth of Gross Domestic product at market prices: 16.1 per cent (21.4 per cent for the oil sector and 10.4 per cent for the non-oil sector)
- Gross Domestic Product at current prices: Kz 1,874 billion (roughly US\$ 1,600 per capita, at current exchange rates, not adjusted for purchasing power)

Fiscal revenue is projected to attain some Kz 638 billion, of which two thirds will be oil related. Government spending is targeted at about Kz 806 billion, resulting in a budget deficit of about 9 per cent of the GDP. This implies an increase of the budget deficit by 3.6 per cent in relation to 2004, which is due to a decline in the effective taxation rate of the oil sector, from 27.4 per cent to 22.7 per cent of the GDP and an increase of capital expenditure from 5.8 per cent to 13.0 per cent of the GDP.

However, to contain the deficit growth, it is envisaged that current expenditure will decline from 36.2 of the GDP to 30.0 per cent, as a consequence of a reduction of government spending on goods and services from 14.5 per cent of the GDP to 10.0 per cent, as well as a reduction of spending on subsidies from 4.5 per cent of the GDP to 1.1 per cent.

In order to finance the deficit, the Government envisages to use some US\$ 600 million of treasury reserves accumulated as a result of the high oil prices in 2004.

The functional distribution of expenditure in the 2005 budget is as follows:

- Administration: 23.0 per cent, 7 percentage points less than the projected figure for 2004;
- Defence and public order: 17.9 per cent, an increase of 5,4 percentage points;
- Social Sector: 23.0 per cent, an increase of 2.9 percentage points
- Productive Sector: 14.8 per cent, an increase of 9.1 percentage points;
- Debt service: 21.3 per cent, a reduction of 10.4 percentage points.

The threat of AIDS

In the medium to long term, a major challenge to Angola's socio-economic development prospects may come from the spread of AIDS.

At the end of 2003, UNAIDS estimated that Angola had some 240,000 persons living with HIV, although the high end of the estimation would put the figure at 600,000 (UNAIDS 2004). The estimated HIV infection rate for Angola thus remains under 10 percent for non-elderly adults, less than half of the rate in neighbouring Congo or Zambia, and about one-fourth the rate in Botswana. Decades of warfare trapped Angola in what has been described as a kind of medical time warp: borders were closed; civilians moved cautiously or not at all; and the disease that has ravaged this continent more than any other largely bypassed Angola, rates of HIV infection being especially low in the interior provinces such as Huambo, where the fighting was most intense. The danger is now that peace, combined with the social dislocation, poor health and low education levels created by war, have put the country on the path to reach the infection rates of its neighbours in just a few years. Adding to the danger are the opening of new trucking lanes and the surge of hundreds of thousands of refugees returning from camps in countries with far higher HIV rates. In addition, soldiers from both sides of the conflict are resettling across Angola, and bringing infection to areas where previously it was rare. Sudden jumps in infection rates have been recorded in Luanda, the capital, among prostitutes and pregnant women. Young adults and teens are considered among the most vulnerable and the most likely to spread HIV to others and in Angola, an estimated 70 per cent of the population is under 25.

A nationwide survey of HIV/AIDS prevalence is currently under way; its results are expected to be available in late December 2004, but the Ministry of Health has indicated that it expects the study to show a sharp rise in the number of HIV infected persons, particularly in the coastal provinces of Luanda and Benguela, as well as in the province of Cunene, which borders Namibia.

3. Angola as a development partner

Angolan authorities often voice disappointment that unlike other post-conflict countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq, Angola has not received a peace dividend in the form of the massive influx of development assistance that it would need to meet its rebuilding and development needs – and even the full scale of its current humanitarian needs. On his return from the opening of the United Nations General Assembly 59th Session in September 2004, the Foreign Affairs Minister was quoted as saying that the international community was practicing “discrimination” and that “in identical [post-conflict] situations, the international community has had one attitude relative to some countries and another in relation to Angola”.

There are several reasons why Angola’s situation does not quite compare with that of Afghanistan and Iraq. One is obviously that Angola is not linked to a broader security threat to the West or its allies. Another, perhaps more importantly, is that reconstruction aid to Afghanistan and Iraq is being pledged in the context of a regime change brought about by military intervention of sections of the donor community: it is something that they “own”, willing or not, and for which they will hopefully feel a long term commitment and financial responsibility. That was not the case in Angola. While the international community may collectively rejoice with the end of the Angola civil war, the outcome of the war – a military victory for MPLA – did not bring the regime change. Of course, the commonly accepted notion that Angola is a rich country that should not need aid also makes it all the easier to hold back official development assistance.

The flows of official development assistance (ODA) have thus been very limited, as shown in table 3.1.

Table 3.1: *Angola: Flow of official development assistance (ODA), most recent data*

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003
Total net ODA	306.67	288.59	421.37	498.74

¹ Preliminary figures; in millions of US dollars

Source: OECD Development Assistance Committee, Destination of Official Development Assistance and Official Aid, Disbursements (Table 2A). Online database at <http://www.oecd.org>

Although the United States are the most important bilateral source of ODA, most of Angola’s ODA comes in fact from Europe, either through the European Commission or through bilateral aid programmes. But the level of bilateral commitments is very low, as shown in table 3.2.

Table 3.2: *Ten top donors of gross ODA*

	2001-2002 average (million US\$)
1-United States	71
2-European Commission	62
3-Netherlands	24
4-Japan	24
5-Norway	20
6-IDA	16
7-Sweden	14
8-Germany	13
9-Portugal	13
10-Spain	12

Source: See table 3.1

These flows are quite small compared to direct foreign investment (FDI). As shown in table 3.3 Angola regularly attracts 10-15 per cent of all FDI to Africa and is thus one of the top destinations for FDI going to Africa, currently competing with Equatorial Guinea, another oil economy, for first place in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Table 3.3: *Foreign direct investment (inward flows), Angola and some comparators*

	2000	2001	2002	2003
Angola	879	2,146	1,643	1,415
Nigeria	930	1,104	1,281	1,200
South Africa	888	6,789	757	762
Africa	8,728	19,616	11,780	15,033

Millions of US dollars

Source: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. World Development Report 2004. Country fact sheet: Angola. (online at <http://www.unctad.org>).

Angola's position as an FDI destination is expected to be considerably strengthened in the coming years. Chevron-Texaco, the largest oil producer in Angola, recently announced that it planned to invest USD 11 billion in its operations in Angola during 2003-2008.

These flows, however, do very little to alleviate poverty, because they are directed towards the infrastructure of the oil industry, and have very little multiplier effect. The Government would need much greater amounts of aid and investment if it were to meet its humanitarian and development objectives. A preliminary costing exercise recently reported by the media indicated that the first phase of the Poverty Reduction Strategy programme would require USD 3 billion up to 2007.

Moreover, Angola's balance of payments has in most years been hugely negative, because the recorded incomes from oil and diamond exports are much smaller than the combined costs of debts servicing, imported goods and services, profit repatriation and

other transactions. If the full extent of capital flight attributable to illicit transactions was taken into account, the picture would look even worse.

Table 3.4: *Current-account balance (millions US\$)*

1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004*
- 1,711	796	-1,431	-644	-610	600

* Sources: Up to 2003, Economist Intelligence Unit Estimates; **IMF visiting team estimates. Sources: Economist Intelligence Unit (2004), p. 5 and IMF (2004)

Ever since its victory over UNITA in 2002, the Government has been calling for a Donors' Conference. Such a Conference would provide not only a useful amount of fresh money, but also a vote of confidence from the international community for the Government. The need for this vote of confidence appears all the more pressing now that MPLA is approaching nation wide elections and would need to convince voters that it can deliver on the provision of basic social services.

Donors have been using this resource crunch as an opportunity to achieve a number of development policy objectives. While expressing sympathy for the idea of a donors' conference (Belgium, for instance, offered to host it, like they did in 1995 in the wake of the Lusaka Agreements), and recognizing the need for it, they have also advised the Government that a prerequisite for a successful donors' conference is the support of the Bretton Woods institutions. These in turn have insisted on a number of conditions: the IMF would again attempt to establish a "Staff Monitored Programme" (SMP) – although the two previous attempts have failed for insufficient Government cooperation with regard to the transparency of public finances. Donors have also rallied behind the Bretton Woods institutions' requirement that the Angolan authorities commit to a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), that would provide the foundation for the country's development policies, including ODA-related priorities.

For most donors, it is important that this Bretton Woods package (Staff Monitored Programme and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper) be pursued as a whole, because, on the one hand, the macro-economic balances which are of greatest concern to IMF do not necessarily result in socially responsible policies while, on the other hand, viable poverty reduction policies need a sound and sustainable financial foundation.

An IMF staff mission visited Angola in July 2004 for so-called "article IV annual consultations" and they issued a communiqué which was encouraging in tone, but firmly underscored that much remains to be done before a Staff Monitored Programme can be started. Since such communiqués are carefully worded and in this case closely read by the donor community for any ODA-relevant guidance, it may be useful to quote it a some length here:

"Significant progress has been made towards macroeconomic stability over the last year, although the policy mechanisms adopted have resulted in some distortions to the domestic economy. The 12-month rate of inflation has declined to below 50 percent and the rate of depreciation of the kwanza exchange rate has slowed markedly. However, external debt levels have continued to rise in dollar terms, international reserves are low, and the potential cost competitiveness of Angola goods has been reduced.

(...)

"Recent improvements in transparency, particularly regarding oil revenues, external debt, and transactions involving Sonangol, resulted in some commendable clarification of the government's overall fiscal position in 2003, but major deficiencies remain in fiscal information. Weak monitoring and control of public expenditure is inhibiting assessment of the current fiscal position.

"Reliance on expensive oil-backed loans from commercial banks has burdened the economy with heavy debt servicing commitments and Angola's external position will continue to be very difficult for the remainder of this decade.

"To address Angola's pressing social and infrastructure needs, very high rates of GDP growth will be needed for a sustained period. This will require macroeconomic stability. One possible policy scenario discussed by the mission envisaged a rapid reduction in inflation to single-digit levels, based on improved fiscal control, together with resolute action by the central government and the central bank to control liquidity through the management and issue of domestic debt.

(...)

"To direct additional resources to urgent social priorities, reductions will be needed in other spending commitments, notably the very large payrolls of both the civilian and military sectors and continuing subsidies to consumers. These can be achieved through measures to eliminate 'ghost workers', cut numbers of personnel, and bring energy and water prices this year into line with costs.

"The achievement of high rates of economic growth also requires a conducive business and investment environment. This requires that firm measures are taken to ensure that regulations, property rights and contracts are transparent and uniformly enforced; and to limit corruption and anti-competitive privileges.

"Noting progress in the provision of essential information, and in the expectation that further important data on recent fiscal transactions and oil-related production costs will be made available, the mission looked forward to commencing detailed discussions within the next few months on a clear specification of policy objectives for the Angolan economy, in the context of preparation for the 2005 budget, which could form the basis for consideration of a staff-monitored program."

While the relationship between the IMF and the Government is warming up, it is clear that the IMF is proceeding cautiously and that there is a gap in the perceptions and expectations held at both ends. The Government is keen to project great optimism on having not only a Staff Monitored Programme, but actual lending by 2005. In October 2004, much was being made in the Angolan official media of the impending 2-day visit to Angola by Takatoshi Kato, one of the IMF's three Deputy Managing Directors. The Government hopes that Angola would benefit from the so-called "Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility" (PRGF), the IMF's low-interest lending mechanism for low-income countries. However, the IMF requires that a PRGF programme, if applicable, be framed around a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), from which the targets and policy conditions of the PRGF programme could be directly derived. With regard to Kato's visit, the IMF's spokesman in Washington pointedly noted that it should not be construed as programme related and that Kato, a recent appointee to the IMF with Angola in his regional portfolio, was simply taking the opportunity of a trip to the region to familiarize himself with the country.

The IMF has reasons to be cautious. Not only has Angola a previous history of failed Staff Monitored Programmes, but the nature of its regime and its political institutions

suggests that it could again walk away from such commitments if the Presidency were to conclude that the Programme's requirements, either with regard to transparency or to public subsidies, were too costly politically.

Regarding the Poverty Reduction Strategy process, the Government, assisted by UNDP, devised an interim strategy known by its Portuguese acronym ECP (*Estratégia de combate à pobreza*) that could serve as a guiding document until a Donors' Conference produces the ODA necessary to implement a full-fledged and longer-term PRS. The ECP was approved by the cabinet in February 2004, but it has not been discussed by the parliament, nor officially submitted to the Bretton Woods institutions. According to the World Bank, "when the Interim PRSP is presented by the Government to the Executive Board of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), it will be accompanied by an assessment of the strategy by Bank and Fund staff – the Joint Staff Assessment (JSA)" – suggesting that the process is still far from complete.

Critics of the PRS processes point out that these documents tend to be essentially for external consumption (i.e., to satisfy donors' requirements) and that unless they are linked to the Governmental budget processes they will have little impact on actual policy making. However, it is important that Angola is finally developing its economic planning capacity. In all the years since independence, Angola has been able to produce only one 5-year plan, in the early 1980s: the experience was so disastrous that it was never tried again. Ironically, modern macro-economic management in the context of an open, market-oriented economy is likely to require more sophisticated planning than the nominal "centrally planned economy" of wartime ever did.

The Millennium Development Goals

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are the eight development priorities at the core of the Millennium Declaration, a global development agenda agreed upon by 91 heads of state and 189 member nations at the UN Millennium Summit in 2000. The goals are operationalised in terms of quantitative targets, which are 18 in total (see Annex 3). The United Nations system and most bilateral donors, among others, are using the MDGs as the main framework for their development cooperation programmes.

The Angolan authorities have formally embraced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and are integrating them in their medium and long-term planning exercises – such as the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper and the Reconstruction and Rehabilitation programme. With assistance from UNDP, the Ministry of Planning released in 2004 a study about the status of the MDGs in Angola, providing for each of the goals (1) an assessment of status and trends; (2) the challenges in meeting the goal; (3) existing policies and programmes addressing the goal; (4) assistance priorities and (5) capacity for monitoring of progress – this latter looking specifically into a set of six indicators: issues of data collection capacity; quality of the recent data; capacity for statistical monitoring; capacity for statistical analysis, capacity to incorporate statistical analyses in policies, plans and resource allocation mechanisms; and mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation (*Agências das Nações Unidas 2003*). The study provides a sobering overview of the socio-economic conditions in Angola, although much of the data are outdated or represent little substantiated estimates.

Table 3.5: *Will the goals/targets be met?*

Goals/targets (nr.)	Probably	Potentially	No	No data
Extreme poverty (1)		v		
Hunger (2)		v		
Universal primary education (3)			v	
Gender equality (4)			v	
Child mortality (5)			v	
Maternal mortality (6)			v	
HIV/AIDS (7)				v
Stop/revert Malaria (8)			v	
Stop/revert Tuberculosis (8)			v	
Stop/revert trypanosomiasis (8)				v
Reverse loss of natural resources (9)		v		
Access to safe drinking water (10)			v	
Improvement of quality of life (11)			v	

Source: adapted from Agências das Nações Unidas (2003), p. 68.

The chances of achieving the goals for 13 key targets were assessed by the study as shown in table 3.5. None of the selected key targets were found likely to be achieved, and only three out of 11 were thought to be “potentially” achievable. Most of the others were rated “not achievable” and in two instances, there was simply no data.

Obviously, one of the main benefits of an exercise of this kind is to force planners to think systematically and make the necessary connections between means and objectives, including monitoring mechanisms. The detailed attention that was given in this study to the assessment of the country’s capacity for statistical and analytical monitoring seems truly exemplary, although the emerging picture is far from uplifting.

The Falcone affair and its implications

The Falcone affair, often called “Angolagate”, has further damaged the image of the Angola regime during the last few years, and had some notable developments in 2004, which are illustrative of the nature of the regime and the difficulty of its relations with the international community.

As the reader will recall, Pierre Falcone is an Algeria-born French businessman with multiple nationalities and residences. In late 1993 and early 1994, Falcone and Arcadi Gaydamak, a Russian businessman based in Israel, helped arrange the sale to Angola of over US\$ 600 million worth of weapons, including tanks and helicopters, supplied by a Slovakian company that procured the weapons from Russia, Bulgaria and Ukraine. Thanks to their sensitive role in Angola, Falcone and Gaydamak are alleged to have befriended the President and the two men are reported to have been given not only Angolan citizenship, but also a stake in virtually every key sector of the Angolan economy, from food to diamonds to oil. In 1999, the Angolan government picked Falcon Oil Holdings, a Falcone-owned firm registered in Panama, as a minority partner to ExxonMobil on a huge offshore site.

Falcone's dealings with Angola became the interest of the French judiciary system, because of it being part of a wider corruption and money laundering scandal with far reaching ramifications into the world of French politics. Falcone was initially charged with "illegal arms trading, fiscal fraud, misuse of social benefits, abuse of trust and influence peddling" (Global Witness 2002, p 26) and placed in provisional detention for one year – until a major part of the case collapsed on a technicality and the authorities decided to release him on a US\$ 15 million bail (later reduced to one third of that sum on appeal). When he was arrested in December 2000, he had exhibited an Angolan diplomatic passport. His line of defence during his detention was that he was a diplomat. President dos Santos is said to have written several times to the French authorities to confirm that Falcone was mandated by him and that Falcone could not testify because of the need to protect the "superior interests of the Angolan nation"; it is also understood that it was Sonangol that posted the bail on his behalf. After his release in December 2001 he was placed surveillance and barred from leaving the French territory. In September 2003, however, President dos Santos appointed him as counsellor of the Angolan delegation to UNESCO in Paris; shortly after his appointment, he left France for a visit to Angola and continued to travel widely – under the protection of his diplomatic status.

When the French authorities indicated that their judiciary was not inclined to recognize Falcone's diplomatic immunity, the Angolan Government responded on two fronts: on the diplomatic front, it put the Franco-Angolan relations in a limbo, by delaying the acceptance of the credentials of the new French Ambassador – who was left unable to exercise his official functions for about six months. On the economic front, the Government instructed Sonangol to indicate to Total, the French oil company involved in the exploration of various oil fields in Angola, that its contracts were in jeopardy and that the contract for sub-block 3/30, which was about to expire, would not be renewed.

The flexing of the oil muscle for political purposes is a new development in Angola. The MPLA regime has previously indicated its willingness to protect Angola's commercial relations, even in the face of the gravest political difficulties – as was the case with the US oil interests in the era before the first Clinton administration.

The United States

Political relations (as distinct from commercial relations) between Luanda and Washington have not always been good: the United States provided both overt and covert support to MPLA's adversaries since even before independence and did not recognize the Government of Angola until the first Clinton administration in 1993. Yet, Angola has been a loyal commercial partner for American oil companies, even – in an often noted twist of events typical of the cold war - detaching Cuban soldiers to protect US oil installations from US backed rebels. Today, Chevron Texaco remains the main operator in Angola's oil industry, with an extensive, high-profile presence in Luanda. Angola is the United States' eight largest supplier of oil, with a share of about 8 per cent of US oil imports; this share that is expected to continue growing as the US seeks to diversify its sources away from the Middle-East and in particular to increase the share of its imports from Sub-Saharan Africa from the current 15 per cent to 25 per cent over the next 10 years.

The relationship with the United States is currently at its best ever, as illustrated by the visit of José Eduardo dos Santos to President Bush in the White House in May 2004. There have also been contacts at the military level, including a visit by the U.S. Military Commander for Europe. It was rumoured that the US was interested in establishing a military outpost in Angola, but this was officially denied. However, the US offered to train Angolan officers at military facilities in the US. Since language courses were specifically mentioned, the signal is that this is still a tentative, low key relationship – but a politically significant step nevertheless.

USAID's assistance is governed by a programming document drawn up in 2000, the *USAID/Angola Strategic Plan 2001-2005* – which has recently been extended for one further year – supplemented by annual Budget Justifications presented to the US Congress. USAID describes the US national interests in Angola as socio-economic, humanitarian, and political, with assistance being directed towards “economic rehabilitation, effective national reconciliation, resettlement and reintegration of war-affected populations, reconstruction of crucial infrastructure, and the establishment of democratic and free market economic processes” (USAID 2004). Under the so-called “democracy objective”, funds are currently earmarked for activities “to support and strengthen civil society coalitions, promote independent media, encourage transparent and accountable governance, secure land tenure rights, ensure free and fair electoral processes, and mitigate community level conflicts”. The agency notes that the coalitions that it supports have lobbied government institutions, raised awareness among citizens, influenced the Government (...) to respond to citizens' concerns, and contributed to UNITA's successful transformation from an armed movement to a viable political party”. USAID is currently looking to expand its activities in the media sector, specifically in the area radio broadcasting, “to increase the dissemination of objective, timely information”.

Both the US Democratic and Republican parties maintain USAID-funded listening posts in Luanda, through their international research organisations – the National Democratic Institute (NDA) and the International Republican Institute (IRI), whose local offices work closely together. Their aim is to promote multiparty democracy in Angola. Another prominent organisation is the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, which has links to the German Social-Democratic Party. One particularly valuable initiative of the IRI is the survey of political attitudes and perceptions among the population - the first ever such study in Angola – which is discussed at length in the next chapter.

2004 saw the arrival of a new US Ambassador to Angola, Ms. Cynthia Efird, whose last prior position was as director of Diplomacy and Public Relations in the Bureau of African Affairs of the US Department of State. Both the Angolan Ambassador and a delegation from UNITA were guests of the Democratic Convention in Boston, the latter invited courtesy of USAID, their trip being facilitated by the National Democratic Institute's office in Luanda.

The United Nations

The United Nations' position was greatly weakened by its inability to ensure UNITA's compliance with the successive peace agreements, and in particular UNITA's flaunting of the arms embargo imposed by Security Council resolution 833 (1993). The

withdrawal of the UN Observer Mission (MONUA) in February 1999 marked the end of the UN's role as peace-broker in Angola.

The United Nations system continues to play a very important humanitarian and development-related role in Angola – although it is no longer the lifeline to the international community that it was in the days prior to the Bicesse agreements or at the height of the emergency in 2002, when the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs had to cope with more than two million people barely surviving and at least three million receiving humanitarian assistance. The acute phase of the emergency was declared over in July 2003, and the Office shut down in early 2004, after transferring the remaining functions to the Government authorities and United Nations agencies responsible for humanitarian and transition activities.

The last Consolidated Appeals Process document prepared by OCHA for 2004 contains a strategic roadmap for the years ahead, as the focus moves from relief and recovery in the short term, to recovery and development in the longer term:

The main goal for relief and recovery partners in 2004 is to work in partnership with the government to address remaining emergency needs while working to contribute to quickly upscale and progressively upgrade basic social services in resettlement and return areas, strengthen institutional capacity, and improve legal frameworks and procedures for basic social services delivery.

The strategic goal for recovery and development partners during the next two to five years is to assist in the creation of an enabling environment for the consolidation of peace, national reconciliation, the promotion of social justice and equitable distribution of resources, full civic participation by supporting the respect for human rights, national poverty reduction efforts, sound economic management and diversification, achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and the empowerment of all Angolans in the development process (UNDAF main goal).

The strategic goal for development partners during the next five to ten years is the gradual attainment of the Millennium Goals and targets adopted in 2000 by the UN member states, including the Government of Angola, during the Millennium Summit, and the fulfilment of the core social, economic, political and cultural rights expressed in Angolan law. (UN OCHA 2004).

The UN presence in the country is led by the Resident Representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), who is also Resident Coordinator of the United Nations System and United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator.

The assistance provided by the United Nations System in the coming years will be governed by a document called United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) 2005-2008, drawn up in alignment with the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper and the Millennium Development Goals. The broad priority areas will be basic social services, sustainable livelihoods and decentralization/governance issues.

One of the main functions of UNDP is to coordinate donors vis à vis the Government – through the Angolan Ministry of Planning, which acts as counterpart for international development cooperation. UNDP officially is satisfied with the level of coordination among donors, which is greater than in many countries. Some donors however consider it insufficient, blaming it in part on the shortcomings of the Ministry of Planning, which is short on staff and vision. Critics hope that the Ministry of Planning and the

Ministry of Finance will eventually merge, which will give donors a technically stronger, and politically a more forward-looking and responsive counterpart.

UNDP was the focal point for international assistance to the 1992 electoral process, drawing on its own technical resources and those of the Department of Political Affairs in the United Nations Secretariat and also channelling part of the assistance provided by bi-lateral donors. Key aspects of UNDP's role were the coordination of international assistance and the logistics of the electoral process, which were worked out with the national counterpart, the Ministry of Territorial Administration. It is likely that UNDP will again be called upon to provide crucial assistance for the upcoming elections. For the 1992 elections, UNDP was the convenor of an informal donors' coordination arrangement, the International Elections Working Group – an entity which might usefully be revived and expanded in view of the upcoming elections.

Another UN agency that has played, and continues to play, a crucial role is the World Food Programme, which continues to distribute some 10,000 metric tons of emergency food to an estimated population of more than one million beneficiaries. WFP assistance has been going on for so long that sections of the Angolan bureaucracy seem to have lost sight of its humanitarian nature. The media recently reported that ENANA, the national airport operator, demanded that WFP paid all airport taxes, including navigation, landing, passenger and parking fees for its flights. It was also reported that tonnes of food were recently stuck for months in Luanda's port, waiting for the government to pay customs and port taxes, until the dispute was eventually resolved among the Government agencies concerned.

The European Union

The EU agreed on a common position towards Angola in 2002 (2002/495/CFSP). This provided the foundation for the EC/Angola Strategy for 2002-2007, signed with the Government in January 2003. The Council of the Union reviewed the matter in October 2003 and adopted a set of objectives and guidelines for the Union's engagement with Angola; these were reaffirmed and extended for another year at the recent Council of Ministers Meeting in October 2004. It may be useful to recall here the contents of that document, since it frames in a very detailed and explicit way the scope and conditions for development cooperation between Angola and its most influent group of donors:

“The European Union will pursue the following objectives with regard to Angola:
(...)

- support the process of national reconciliation and democracy, through the promotion of good governance and a culture of tolerance among all political parties and all sectors of civil society (...)
- taking note of the steps already taken in this regard, encourage the Government of Angola and all the political forces to hold free and fair general elections as soon as possible once conditions are met, to accelerate the constitutional reform process, fully to respect the rule of law and justice throughout Angolan territory, to promote and protect human rights and to foster the role of civil society in contributing to national reconciliation and democracy building in the country;
- encourage the Government of Angola to intensify its efforts to relieve the serious humanitarian situation and favour actions of mine-clearance, social reintegration and resettlement of all the internally displaced people, refugees and former soldiers, including

child soldiers, (...) and to create the conditions to allow the international community to complement these efforts;

- to encourage the Government:

(i) to implement transparent management of public resources and full accountability for the benefit of all Angolans, thus laying the ground for sustainable economic and social development;

(ii) to support the pursuit of sound poverty-oriented macroeconomic policies so as to ensure better prospects for poverty reduction, economic growth and sustainable development for the country;

(iii) to increase its efforts and budgetary resources to the health, education and agricultural development sectors;

(iv) to conclude an agreement with the IMF;

(v) to complete the necessary preparatory work to ensure a successful outcome of the donors' conference on the reconstruction of the country;

(vi) to agree on a comprehensive plan with the aim of reducing poverty;

- encourage co-operation and understanding among the countries in the region with the aim of improving regional security and economic development.

In order to further the above mentioned objectives, the European Union will:

- conduct a regular political dialogue with the Angolan authorities as envisaged in the Continuo Agreement;

- offer to assist efforts by the Government of Angola to strengthen democratic institutions and practices so as to allow the holding of free and fair legislative and presidential elections and to ensure respect for human rights, the rule of law and independent civil society;

- offer to assist efforts by the Government of Angola to accelerate the constitutional reform and will provide assistance to develop a pluralistic democracy based on institutional strengthening of the parliamentary process and a multi-party system as well as capacity building to foster a dynamic, participatory civil society;

- offer to assist efforts by the Government of Angola to reinforce overall administrative capacity, creating a coherent and functional country-wide administration and market oriented policies, and to strengthen capacities in the legal and judicial system;

- offer to assist efforts by the Government to reform the Angolan economy through cooperation with the IMF in co-ordination with the international community, to help the Government in its fight against corruption and poverty; encourage and assist the Government of Angola in its efforts to prepare a poverty reduction and growth facility programme and to reinforce its dialogue with the IMF;

- reiterate its solidarity with, and commitment to the Angolan people, by continuing to contribute to the efforts to improve the humanitarian situation and alleviate the suffering of the most vulnerable groups among the Angolan population, without prior categorisation, inter alia, by encouraging the Commission of the European Communities to take all measures rapidly to implement all available funding in support of the peace process in coordination with the United Nations and the international financial institutions, the Union will continue to

-assist the Government of Angola in addressing the humanitarian situation and needs arising from demobilisation and reintegration programmes which are necessary for a full-scale reconstruction of the country. The Union urges the Government to make rapidly an accurate evaluation of the most pressing needs of the Angolan population;

- offer to assist the Government of Angola to intensify its efforts to tackle transmissible diseases, and in particular to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS;

- offer to assist the Government of Angola in the rebuilding and reconstruction of the country, encouraging its intention to convene an international donors' conference with EU support and paying due regard to the rules of transparency and accountability within a democratic environment, while inviting it to allocate the resources necessary to implement economic and social policies that will improve the lives of the citizens of Angola as part of the peace dividend;

- be prepared to participate in mine-clearance operations (...)."²

² Minutes of the 2532nd Council Meeting, Luxemburg, 13 October 2003, doc. 13098/03 online at http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/gena/77596.pdf

Although Portugal is a member of the European Union, and therefore has to abide by the Union's common policy directives, its status as the former colonial power sets it apart from its partners in the Union. It is in many respects the most influential partner in the international community – because of the language, the shared culture of their elites, the institutional memory and also the continued bonds of commercial interest (Portugal supplies about one fifth of Angola's imports, more than any other country). Families may have members in both countries, individuals may have both nationalities and not only the elite but also the middle class travel back and forth. All this gives Portugal a privileged level of access to Angola's political and economic centres of decision, and lucrative opportunities for Portuguese businesses – well beyond the US\$ 10-15 million that it provides annually as bilateral official development assistance. To what extent Portugal is willing and able to use its influence to consistently promote democracy and the rule of law in Angola is something that the Portuguese authorities are reluctant to discuss with third parties. European Union partners privately complain that these privileged relationships are sometimes leveraged in ways that are not necessarily in line with the interests and objectives of the Union. Portugal does not belong to the Paris Club for the treatment of Angola debt and therefore it was able to conclude in August 2004 separate negotiations for the settlement of its claims, amounting to some US\$ 800 million.

The emergence of “no-questions asked” partners

In the face of the considerable amount of conditionality involved in the Western donors' relations with Angola, it is important to note the increased interest of rapidly industrialising developing countries in Angola as a source of oil. Competition is fierce and deals are often sweetened with financial arrangements, such as concessional loans for development projects. These bilateral relations are particularly valuable because they are essentially “no-questions asked” trading arrangements, although the aid component may be tied to goods and services from the lending country. In 2003, China granted Angola a US\$ 2 billion oil-backed credit line – precisely at a time when Western donors, and the IMF in particular, were becoming increasingly critical of such arrangements because of their lack of transparency, their vulnerability to graft and corruption and ultimately their cost.

Analysts believe that this loan, coming in a time of difficult liquidity situation for the Government, subsequently put China in good position to win the allocation of a 50 per cent stake in offshore Block 18, which is expected to start production in early 2007, with a target production rate of 250,000 barrels per day. The stake was previously held by Shell, which had in fact already reached an agreement with an Indian company for its sale for US\$ 600 million, when the Government instructed Sonangol to exercise its preemption rights. Subsequently, the Chinese state-owned media reported that Sonangol sold the stake to China, explaining that “China had managed to swing the deal by offering aid to the tune of \$2 billion for a variety of projects to Angola, compared to India's offer of \$200 million for developing railways” (International Oil Daily, 22 October 2004).

At the time of writing, the Indian Government reportedly had not given up on its hopes to secure the oil stake for the Indian company and was working out a “customized” political and economic package for Angola that could sweeten the deal and outbid

China's offer. The Angolan Government was apparently sending mixed signals, sometimes saying that it might consider India's offer and in other occasions that India should forget about that particular deal and wait for other opportunities.

Towards greater transparency

A crucial aspect of the reformists' agenda is to ensure that Angola lives up to its agreements with the Bretton Woods institutions, particularly with respect to so-called transparency issues. The IMF has imposed as a condition for its support that Angola opens its books, so that the true situation of the country's public finances may be known.

An important step in this direction was the publication in March 2004 of a study called "Diagnostic of the Oil Industry".³ The study was commissioned in November 2000 by the National Bank of Angola (then headed by Aguinaldo Jaime) acting on behalf of the Ministry of Finance and with support from the IMF and the World Bank. The exercise was meant to promote transparency from the start: the contract for the study went to KPMG, chosen on the basis of an international tender, and the terms of reference for the study were made public six months later, in June 2001.

The aim of the project was to conduct a broad study of relationship between the petroleum sector and the public finances of the country, to assist the Government to increase transparency in the flows of revenues from petroleum production, and to build managerial capacity for monitoring the flows of such resources. As the authors emphatically pointed out, "as stipulated by the Government and the World Bank, our work does not amount to an audit conducted in accordance with international auditing standards and does not give the same level of assurance as an audit would". The KPMG experts also stressed that they did not attempt to verify the accuracy or completeness of the data, information and documentation provided by the various sources for the purpose of the study. In other words, the objective was not to "name and shame" or even to provide an authoritative assessment of the amounts of oil revenue involved in illicit payments or questionable transactions, but rather to establish a technical basis for sound management of the oil revenues assuming that there would be political will to proceed in that direction. It may be noted that the report holds the Norwegian experience with Statoil and the Petroleum Directorate as an example of successful arrangements that influenced the philosophy of some of the key recommendations.

The study contains detailed recommendations regarding arrangements in six areas: technical matters; legislative, regulatory and fiscal matters, revenues inflows and outflows; accounting arrangements; institution strengthening; managerial capacity enhancements and future needs. However, the authors advise that the main priority should be focused on just three recommendations: a review the petroleum revenue management legislation; the creation of a Petroleum Revenue Management Agency; and the transfer of the role of the Concessionaire from Sonangol to the Ministry of Petroleum.

³ A 30-page executive summary of the study, in Portuguese and English versions, can be downloaded from the site of the Angolan Ministry of Finance: <http://www.minfin.gv.ao/noticia/outra032.htm>

Although the study was more of a forward-looking and institutional development nature than an investigative audit, it did not fail to notice many disturbing accounting discrepancies and institutional arrangements that seemed to lend themselves to graft and corruption.

The ultimate value of this exercise will depend on the extent to which the study's recommendations will be acted upon,. However, the publication of the report in early 2004 – including in electronic form – appears to be a major landmark on the road to governance reform in Angola.

Another significant development relates to the institutional arrangements surrounding the US\$ 2 billion loan from China for infrastructure public works: the Government not only set up a board of supervisors drawn from the various governmental agencies who have a stake in the loan and its use, but their names were also made available to the public, suggesting that a higher standard of transparency and accountability was being sought for this kind of transactions.

4. The political arena in Angola

The current democratic institutions in Angola result from two sets of agreements concluded between MPLA and UNITA: the Angola Peace Accords (known as the Bicesse agreements, from the name of a village near Lisbon, where the talks were held in 1991) and the Lusaka Protocol of 1994. (FNLA, the third historic liberation movement, was militarily defeated by MPLA in 1975 and soon lost much of its influence; it was not involved in those agreements.)

The Bicesse Agreements provided for all the freedoms and rights of a multiparty democracy, including, for the first time in Angola, multiparty elections. In order to facilitate the formation of political parties, a subsidy of US\$ 50,000 and a vehicle were provided to those registering a new party. By 1997, when the subsidies were discontinued, the number of registered parties had reached 128 (see annex 1).

In absence of subsequent elections, or even public opinion polls, most of what is known about the political landscape in Angola is based on the results of the 1992 elections. It may therefore be useful to recall here some of the highlights of that process.

The presidential and parliamentary elections were held simultaneously on 29 and 30 September 1992. For the presidential elections, there were 11 candidates. For the parliamentary elections, 18 parties presented candidates.

Table 4.1: Results of the elections, 1992

Party*	Candidate	Presidential elections (1 st round)		Parliamentary elections		
		Votes	%	Votes	%	Seats
MPLA	José Eduardo dos Santos	1,953,335	49.57	2,124,126	53.74	129
UNITA	Jonas Savimbi	1,579,298	40.07	1,347,636	34.10	70
PDA	António Alberto Neto	85,240	2.16	8,014	0.20	-
FNLA	Holden Roberto	83,135	2.11	94,742	2.40	5
PDLA	Honorato Lando	75,789	1.92	8,025	0.20	-
PRD	Luís dos Passos	59,121	1.47	35,293	0.89	1
PSD	Bengui João	38,243	0.97	33,088	0.84	1
FPD	Simão Cacete	26,385	0.67	-	-	-
Ind.	Daniel Chipenda	20,646	0.52	-	-	-
PLD	Anália Pereira	11,475	0.29	94,269	2.39	3
PRA	Rui Pereira	9,208	0.23	6,719	0.17	-
PRS				89,875	2.27	6
AD				34,166	0.86	1
PAJOCA				13,924	0.35	1
FDA				12,038	0.30	1
PDP-ANA	[Mfulumpinga Lando Victor]**			10,620	0.27	1
PNDA				10,281	0.26	1
CNDA				10,237	0.26	-
PSDA	[André Kilandomoko]**			19,217	0.26	-
PAI				9,007	0.23	-
Total		3,941,875		3,961,277		220

* For full names of the parties, see Annex 1.

**Candidates who were approved but subsequently withdrew, pledging support for Jonas Savimbi.

As shown in table 4.1, MPLA and UNITA dominated the contest on both elections, capturing together close to 90 per cent of the vote and relegating the other parties to an almost insignificant role. Some analysts believe that the concentration of the vote on the two main parties would have been even larger, had it not been for a flaw in the design of the presidential ballot (leading to thousands of votes for José Eduardo dos Santos to be counted as votes for António Alberto Neto or Honorato Lando) and for a number of illiterate UNITA supporters erroneously selecting PLD on the parliamentary ballot, thinking that UNITA candidates occupied the same position in both ballots. This analysis is supported by the comparison of the performance of each party (see table 4.1 above) in both elections.

Two features of the election results are particularly noteworthy. One is the poor performance of Holden Roberto, and his party the FNLA. Their ethnic power base, the Bakongo, is thought to represent some 10 to 15 per cent of the population – yet they received less than 3 per cent of the vote. The other important result is the relative success of the PRS, whose ethnic power base is among the Chokwe, who predominate in the Lunda North and Lunda Sul provinces of Northeast Angola. Thanks to the rules of composition of the Parliament, PRS was able to elect 6 MPs and thus emerge as the third largest party in Parliament, although it had got slightly fewer votes than FNLA and PLD.

The 1991 Constitutional law provides for 90 of the 220 seats in Parliament to be allocated to representatives of the Provinces, on a uniform basis of 5 seats for each province, irrespective of population size. The distribution of those seats, which constitute the so-called Provincial Circle, gives some indication of the regional/ethnic political power bases.

Table 4.2: *Distribution of Members of Parliament elected by the provincial circles, by party of affiliation*

<i>Province</i>	<i>MPLA</i>	<i>UNITA</i>	<i>PRS</i>	<i>FNLA</i>
Benguela	2	3	-	-
Bengo	4	1	-	-
Bié	-	5	-	-
Cabinda	4	1	-	-
Huambo	1	4	-	-
Huíla	4	1	-	-
Kuando-Kubango	1	4	-	-
Kuanza-Sul	4	1	-	-
Kuanza-Norte	5	-	-	-
Kunene	5	-	-	-
Luanda	4	1	-	-
Lunda-Norte	3	1	1	-
Lunda-Sul	3	-	2	-
Malange	5	-	-	-
Moxico	4	1	-	-
Namibe	4	1	-	-
Uíge	3	2	-	-
Zaire	2	1	-	2
All Provincial circles	58	27	3	2

MPLA is represented in all provincial circles, except for Bié. In fact, in 13 provinces it has a majority of deputies (3 or more) and in 3 provinces it holds all 5 mandates. UNITA is represented in 13 of the 18 provincial circles, but holds the majority of mandates in only 4 provinces, including Bié where it holds all the mandates. PRS is represented only in the Lundas, the stronghold of the Chokwe ethnic group; and FNLA is represented only in the provincial circle of Zaire, which is predominantly Bakongo.

While the Bicesse agreements were about multiparty democracy, the Lusaka Protocol – formally seen as an addendum to the Bicesse Accords – defined a power sharing arrangement between MPLA and UNITA. Under the provisions for reconciliation between the conflicting parties, UNITA's leadership would receive private residences, political offices in each province, and central headquarters in Luanda. UNITA leaders would also hold a series of posts as ministers, deputy ministers, ambassadors, provincial and deputy governors, and municipal, deputy and commune administrators. Although much of what was agreed at Lusaka turned out to be unimplementable, a so-called Government of Unity and National Reconciliation (GURN) was finally set up in April 1997, with UNITA holding four Minister posts (Trade; Geology and Mines; Health; and Hotels and Tourism) and seven Deputy-Minister posts (Defence; Interior; Finance; Agriculture; Public Services; Social Reintegration; and Social Communication). These portfolio allocations continue to this day.

Although the creation of the GURN seemed at first an important political concession from MPLA, it also had great benefits for the President's party, because it put UNITA in a double bind: it was no longer just the main opposition party, fighting the government through parliamentary and extra-parliamentary means, it was also at the same time part of the Government. Inevitably, at some point those members of UNITA leadership in ministerial positions would have to choose between their allegiance to the Head of Government and their allegiance to the President of UNITA. The potential for this situation leading to a break-up of UNITA was obvious and it materialised in September 1998, when the Government suspended the participation of its UNITA members, as well as that of the UNITA members of Parliament, pending a clarification of their loyalty to the Lusaka protocol. This crisis led to a split between those who wanted continued access to power, and came to form UNITA-Renovada and those who were willing to go back to the bush and help Savimbi in his increasingly desperate quest for the Presidency. The UNITA-Renovada members of cabinet were reinstated, the others were expelled. The split between the two fractions was patched up after Savimbi's death, but it remains a fault line in UNITA.

The President has made it clear that UNITA's members of Government serve entirely at his pleasure, like those from his own Party. He may choose not to appoint certain candidates nominated by UNITA and he may choose to retain UNITA's incumbents even after they have lost UNITA's support – as is actually the case at the time of writing.

Thus, it may be argued that one of the main aspects of the legacy of Lusaka has been a "power-sharing" arrangement that undermines UNITA's autonomy and credibility both as opposition and as Government and effectively neutralises it on both fronts.

The political parties

The three historical parties (MPLA, UNITA and FNLA) all began as national liberation movements, each of them weaving various ideological strands into a fight against the Portuguese colonial power and later against each other. How these movements evolved ideologically is largely related to the external support that was available – from the United States, the Soviet block, at times from China also, and regionally from interested parties such as South Africa and the Congos. That support in turn followed a logic of its own, dictated by superpower rivalry and or other political conditions exogenous to Angola, such as the apartheid regime's struggle for survival.

MPLA went through a bloody ideological crisis in 1977, when an ultra-leftist coup attempt led by Nito Alves was quashed and an unknown number of militants, that some put in the thousands, were liquidated. That crisis seems to have weaned MPLA away for any interest in ideological controversy and the party shed its last nominal Marxist-Leninist references at its 3rd Congress in 1990 in what was a relatively consensual affair. In 2004, the party formally ceased to operate through cells based in the workplaces – organisational units are now territorial.

A visit to MPLA's headquarters suggests that the Party has lost much of its formal power. The building appears very quiet – militants and cadres who used to work there are now tending to more lucrative pursuits. But the Party remains what many see as the only institution in Angola that is present in every village, town and city ward – a greater degree of presence than even the church or the army. The Party is not known to have financial resource constraints: it was well placed to take over businesses that were privatised by the Government and as long as it remains the Government Party it is unlikely to run out of discretionary funds. Besides, like the other parties, it receives from the Ministry of Finance US\$ 10 per year for every vote that it got at the 1992 Parliamentary elections.

However, MPLA's greatest asset may be the intellectual and technical clout of the elites that it nurtured, in a country so desperately short in educated people. Many of these middle class Angolans may have lost interest in the Party, or be outright disgusted by its corrupt political culture, but politically they have nowhere to go: no other party has as yet come close to present a suitable alternative.

As the incumbent party, MPLA will go into the elections with an overwhelming advantage in relation to UNITA – not to speak of the rest of the opposition, which has very limited technical, political and institutional capacity. MPLA has always presented itself as a nation building, inclusive and militantly non-ethnic party – contrary to UNITA, FNLA and the much smaller PRS, for whom ethnicity is very much part of the political calculation. MPLA is putting forward policies, projects and plans, promising reform – including more transparency and greater investments in basic services. The national daily, the national radio and television, which are all controlled by the Government, ensure that the message gets across to the best effect – while the opposition, to the extent that it has the capacity to respond, appears to be systematically reactive rather than proactive, divided and ridden with struggles for personal power.

The Presidency

In September 2004, José Eduardo dos Santos celebrated 25 years as President of Angola. He is currently the third longest sitting ruler of Sub-Saharan Africa, after President Eyadema of Togo and President Bongo of Gabon. Such political longevity is not only uncommon – it is also quite astonishing, given the military and political turmoil that have characterized Angola since independence. He managed to survive not only most of his peers on the African continent, but entire regimes (communism, apartheid) – and what counts most, the most determined of his political enemies, Jonas Savimbi of UNITA.

His style of governance is an object of fascination to most watchers of Angolan politics. As President of the Republic, President of the ruling party, Head of Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, his mandate and powerbase is significant. Yet, compared to the tyrannies exercised by many of his peers in comparable situations in Africa, his rule has been restrained and relatively benevolent. In spite of the subservience of the official media, cult of personality is kept to decorous levels. Although those who have worked with him assure that he has difficulty relinquishing power to others, even in matters of detail, the public image that he cultivates is that of a statesman who advises and suggests, but does not actually run the business of Government. In the official lingo, he does not “preside” or “lead” the sessions of the Council of Ministers. He “orientates” them.

Among the means at his disposal to enforce allegiance and loyalty, he uses the carrot much more than the stick. The most spectacular demonstration of this was perhaps the way the UNITA leadership was treated following the military operation that killed Savimbi: they could all have been easily liquidated but, instead, they were shown mercy and no efforts were spared to facilitate their “reconciliation”; those who needed medical attention were brought to the Military Hospital in Luanda, Angola’s best health facility, or sent abroad for treatment; their children were given scholarships. For an authoritarian regime of this calibre, it is also remarkable that there are no political prisoners in the country⁴.

His ideological leanings are unknown; he does not fulminate in public against his adversaries in the country or against foreign powers. He has steered the conversion of the MPLA from a virtual Marxist Leninist party into a centre-left party with full membership in the Socialist International – and perhaps even, some critics say, a mere commercial association with no social agenda. He also repositioned Angola from what many in the West saw as a frightening bridgehead of Soviet influence in Central Africa, to an increasingly warm ally of the United States and was rewarded with a visit to President Bush in the White House in May 2004.

He appoints and dismisses ministers; as president of the MPLA, he also has a say on how the party’s parliamentary bench is run – and that bench comprises 59 per cent of the seats in parliament, virtually ensuring that any law supported by the President will pass, except perhaps for constitutional laws that would require a two-thirds majority.

⁴ Amnesty International’s Annual Report 2004 notes a number of human rights violations in the country, including brief detentions of demonstrators and journalists as well more serious violations related to the repression of the insurgency in Cabinda.

But the strength of the Parliament has not really been tested: most legislation is established by presidential decree and parliamentary debates tend to be perfunctory, superficial and with no surprising outcomes. The centre of power is in the presidency – the President himself and his inner circle of advisers and relatives, known as “the Futungo”, from the name of the presidential compound at Futungo de Belas in the outskirts of Luanda, where José Eduardo dos Santos used to reside until recently. One of the functions of the Futungo is to arbitrate the system of informal incentives and rewards for good political behaviour, that has provided politicians, the military brass and the President’s family members with fabulous opportunities for enrichment and unaccountable personal fortunes.

One of the weak points of this system of control is the post of Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is often deputised to represent the President, but, although the post has high visibility – certainly more visibility than the President on a day-to-day basis – it is a mere political housekeeping function, with no real power. However, it has happened in the past that Prime Ministers, men such as Lopo do Nascimento and Marcolino Moco, strengthened by their standing in the party, sought to stake their own course – resulting in their prompt dismissal and subsequent political marginalisation. The difficulty to operationalise these functions is such that the President may well decide that he might do better without a Prime Minister: the position was abolished in December 1978 and only reinstated some 13 years later, in July 1991, following the Bicesse agreements; later, the post remained vacant between January 1999, following the dismissal of França van Dunem, to December 2002, when the current Prime Minister, Fernando Piedade dos Santos, was appointed. Mr. Piedade dos Santos had previously been director of the police and Minister of the Interior, and is thought to have impeccable loyalty credentials.

Some analysts have suggested that José Eduardo dos Santos is now at the highest point of his political career – having won the war and brought Angola to the point where it could start rebuilding and developing as a democratic, peaceful country. The implication is that he should consider stepping down now, “while the going is good”. However, as it is often the case with regimes of this nature, there is no orderly mechanism for succession and continuity once the strong man leaves the scene – it is always too soon to groom a successor, lest he became a rival, and then it is suddenly too late. There is also the pesky problem of personal immunity once the ruler leaves office – especially when the ruler’s reputation is as tainted by corruption as is the case here.

José Eduardo dos Santos indicated in 2001 that he would not run again for election; more recently, however, he has sometimes suggested that he might reconsider his decision “in response to popular demand” while on other occasions he has spoken of profound political changes in the couple of years ahead.

The question of the future of Angola lies much more fundamentally on what will happen to the Presidency in the next few years, should José Eduardo dos Santos need or want to step down, more than on the results of the Parliamentary elections. As we argue later in this report, the results of the elections are to a large extent predictable. On the contrary, the turmoil that may ensue from the presidential succession process, which is likely to undermine - or at least severely disturb – a number of corrupt power-

balance arrangements, is essentially unpredictable and could have many different outcomes, including very negative ones.

Civil society

Civil society organisations are also a product of the post-Bicesse liberalisation and they have received considerable attention from the international donor community; as is generally the case in developing countries, civil society organisations are seen as useful channels to target humanitarian and development assistance to specific population groups; in addition, they enable donors to bypass the Government, when donors have doubts about the Government's implementation capacity and integrity or simply do not wish aid resources to be seen as an expression of political support for the Government. With respect to Angola specifically, in addition to those considerations, there is also a sense that civil society organisations may lift the political arena from its sterile MPLA-UNITA deadlock. That was particularly the case in the final years of the war, where a burgeoning movement emerged around the notions that there would be no military solution to the conflict, and that peace and reconciliation had to be sought through dialogue, to identify the root causes of the conflict and viable forms of accommodation. This view was strongly supported by the churches and organisations of religious inspiration such as *Jubileu 2000*, and by the Government of South Africa – keen to export its model of post-apartheid reconciliation to the various conflict zones of Africa.

The events of 2002 proved the so-called peace movement wrong – there was indeed a military solution to the conflict and it hinged on the elimination of Jonas Savimbi personally. Without Savimbi, the war was effectively over. The bullet that killed Savimbi also wounded, perhaps fatally, civil society organisations as a potentially significant political force rallied around the call for peace.

This does not mean that civil society organisations have no role to play; as in other countries, they enable the representation of interests that are not readily accommodated by the political parties and they can be an important supplement and corrective element to party politics. There are still many conflictual situations in Angola – some rooted in political intolerance, others in ethnic prejudice and competition for economic resources – and it is important that such conflicts of interests are articulated, studied and acted upon to prevent their escalation into violence.

The electorate

At the initiative of the International Republican Institute (IRI), an organisation of the US Republican Party, the Angolan social research centre AIP conducted in 2003 a survey of people's perceptions in relation to the coming elections (AIP 2004). The survey was conducted among 4,300 persons aged 18 and over, drawn from 7 of Angola's 18 provinces (estimated to comprise some 85% of the country's population). This was the first political poll ever conducted in Angola and provides a fascinating picture of Angolans' attitudes with regard to political processes.

The survey reveals a high degree of politicisation of the population, with over one third of the respondents being current members of a political party (half of them described as activists); additionally, five per cent are former members of a political party. This relatively high level of formal and active party affiliation may reflect the tradition of

State-party culture, which provided many incentives, formal and informal, for people to become members. In explaining the reasons for membership, which are often multiple, nine in ten people cite the party's political programme and about half of them cite the charisma of the leadership. Factors like the party's regional (i.e., ethnic-based) power, the material advantages of being a member or the example of families and friends are each mentioned by nearly half of the people.

In spite of the limited electoral experience, according to the survey the majority of Angolans (nine out of ten) understand that voting is a right rather than an imposition. Furthermore, nearly two-thirds of the respondents consider that elections are important for all, and slightly more than half believe that they can "change things for the better". Although respondents that were of voting age in 1992 seem to approach the coming elections with more scepticism than last time, only about 20 per cent express negative attitudes (such as either doubts that the elections will bring change or certainty that they will bring no change at all) and one in ten say that they mistrust the whole process. A notable change of attitude in relation to 1992 is that there is now considerably less fear and uncertainty about what the results of the election will bring, compared to what people now say they felt in 1992. The idea that people will not vote because they associate elections with war is not borne out by the survey – although such attitudes were detected in limited areas and small subgroups of the voting population.

However, the survey suggests that a lower proportion of people may vote this time compared to the first elections. In the sample, 86 per cent of the respondents who were of voting age in 1992 said to have voted, while only 68 per cent of all respondents now say that they will vote in the coming elections and 23 per cent were undecided. In order for the abstention rate to remain at the same level as in 1992, eight out of ten presently undecided would need to be persuaded to vote. Depending on what happens in the run up to the elections, more people may decide that they will not vote, particularly if they think that the outcome of the election is predetermined by the relative strength of the contending parties.

This is a cause of great concern to MPLA leaders, not because they worry that they would not win the elections, but because the legitimacy that they seek from the elections for continued MPLA rule is based on a high electoral turn-out. A hollow victory, not only would not play well with those who have a stake in the democratisation process – the opposition, civil society and the international community – but would also deligitimise the formal political arena as the place where change can be fought for and achieved. It is expected that in their campaign MPLA leaders will stress the civic value and the personal satisfaction of exercising the right to vote – like people attend sporting events for the love of the sport even when the outcome of the match appears highly predictable.

The majority of respondents (eight out of ten) assume that new elections will be freer and fairer than in 1992. The survey also attempted to discover what criteria people would use to determine whether elections were free and fair. For most people (nearly nine out of ten respondents) it is access to the voting act itself: that no citizen of voting age be prevented from registering as voter, and that no citizen with a voter's card be prevented from voting. The first concern highlights the importance of the electoral

preparations, the second the importance of proper supervision of the voting itself. These concerns are highlighted more specifically by other criteria, mentioned by about three quarters of the respondents, such as the appointment of a competent and non-partisan president of the National Electoral Commission and possibility for political parties to have access to the polling stations and to be present at the counting of the votes. The presence of international observers was seen as important by two thirds of the respondents; a United Nations presence, specifically, was mentioned by a smaller majority, with people in Luanda been keener on it.

Consistent with those concerns, respondents appeared receptive to the Government's arguments regarding the need to delay elections until a number of material conditions are met. In respect of what factors they considered would determine the quality of the elections, most respondents (again eight out of ten) mentioned the return of internally displaced persons and the conclusion of the demobilisation process; factors such as the time necessary for the establishment of the electoral register or the reorganization of the political parties were also mentioned by about three quarters of the respondents – the latter factor being particularly prominent in the minds of respondents in the capital. Only a small majority of respondents mentioned the political will to set a date for the elections as a condition for the quality of the process. In other words, no matter how impatient people may be for elections to be held, there is a clear sense that they need to be done right – and for that there are clearly many obstacles and issues that need to be resolved.

The survey did not ask which party the respondents favoured – it would be too sensitive. But it tried to ascertain to what extent people remained loyal to the party that they voted for in 1992 – under certain assumptions, it could give an indication of the extent to which the results of the coming elections would duplicate those of 1992.

The emerging picture is a very open one. First of all it must be noted that roughly half of the voting age population in 2006 would have been born after 1974 and were therefore too young to vote in 1992. Secondly, among the people who voted in 1992 (hereafter, “the older voters”) only about half say that they will vote for the same party, while less than one in ten say that they will not vote for the same party. This leaves about 40 per cent of the “older voter” population to be won over either by the government or the opposition. The important point is that, contrary to some popular speculation, there is no massive trend of MPLA voters or UNITA voters joining “the other side” either because MPLA did not deliver on its promises or because UNITA restarted the war. But a significant group of “older voters” are not sure of their allegiances and might be persuaded to vote differently this time.

One of the most fascinating aspects of the survey is its probing of people's perceptions of the political parties. In spite of the relatively high levels of formal political affiliation, there is an abundance of negative feelings and connotations regarding the way political parties operate. The most common complaint displayed is the distance between voters and their elected representatives – almost eight out of ten respondents say that party leaders and members of parliament are never around to listen to the concerns of their constituents. Three quarters of the respondents agree that many parties have been diverted from their original purpose and transformed in pressure groups to serve the interests of a handful of individuals. Two thirds of the respondents see a link between

the poor performance of public services and the close ties of public officials to political parties. Half of the respondents believe that in order to get a good job, one needs to belong to a political party. There is also widespread resignation or cynicism regarding political corruption: only 60 per cent of the respondents state that they would withdraw their support if they knew that some of the party's leaders were corrupt.

The study also enquired about which institutions were most trustworthy and least trustworthy to solve people's problems. A detailed interpretation of the replies is not easy – in particular because there is a large atomisation of the replies among the 22 institutions proposed, as well as a polarisation of attitudes, often along a divide centre/periphery (i.e., Luanda/Other provinces). In general, based on the balance between “most trustworthy” and “least trustworthy” ratings for each institution, it appears that people tend to have a dim view of public institutions – in particular the police – and the political parties. That attitude is specially strong in Luanda, where discredit is also attached to local administration institutions, the Parliament and its members, and the courts. The most trusted institutions are the churches, and the widespread perception of the churches as a reliable solver of people's problems suggests that there is considerable political capital in the hands of the church authorities. People in the periphery put great confidence in the President, who is much less trusted in Luanda: in the periphery, people's awareness of the President's immense discretionary powers possibly weighs more than his inaccessibility. The Governmental media (in particular the national radio and the public television station) show surprising strength in trustworthiness among Luanda respondents, while people in the other provinces are more reserved.

Concerning the question of what voters considered as the most important factor for their choice of candidates, the study revealed that respondents did not seem to attach much importance to the party affiliation, or even the ideas of the candidate: less than 10 per cent of the respondents cited those factors – less than 5 per cent for party affiliation. The main consideration cited by most respondents was the candidate's reputation for not being corrupt, followed by previous political experience, and previous government experience. This would support our assumption that the power of incumbency will favour MPLA in the coming elections, possibly outweighing the negative effect of MPLA's reputation for corruption.

The media

Article 32 of the 1992 Constitutional Law asserts that “freedom of expression, assembly, demonstration, association, and all other forms of expression shall be guaranteed” and in the run up to the election, there was a burgeoning of the independent media – mostly weekly newspapers and magazines. As the country reverted to war, however, severe restrictions were again imposed on all forms of political dissent, including in the media – both by the Government and UNITA in the areas under their respective control. With the end of the conflict in 2002, there was again a relaxation of those restrictions particularly in the printed media. As Human Rights Watch notes in its recent report “in 2003 alone, four new weekly newspapers were established and the detention of journalists became less common” (Human Rights Watch 2004). However, there have been episodes of intimidation (including arbitrary detention) of journalists working on stories that could embarrass political personalities and the Government has at its disposal an arsenal of laws, including defamation laws

that criminalize criticism of the Government and other public authorities. Although such laws have not been applied in recent years, Human Rights Watch finds that “national legislation still imposes greater restrictions on freedom of expression than permissible under the constitution (or international law)”.⁵

There is still only one daily newspaper, *Jornal de Angola*, which is controlled by the Government and serves as mouthpiece for MPLA’s views and positions. The reach of the private media remains largely limited to Luanda and some coastal urban areas and, given the high levels of illiteracy, the low purchasing power of the population and the lack of transport and distribution infrastructure, the impact of the printed media beyond the Luanda middle classes is probably negligible.

Radio broadcasts are a different matter, and the Government has steadfastly opposed the efforts of Radio Ecclesia, a catholic private radio station transmitting on FM in Luanda, to start broadcasting nationally on the AM band. Unlike FM transmitters, which have a limited territorial coverage, one AM transmitter could cover most of Angola’s extensive territory. The Government has argued that in many countries AM frequencies are reserved for official radio stations. Radio Ecclesia therefore requested permission to broadcast nationally on FM, but the Government has not responded. In fact, the Governor of Huíla recently stepped in to prevented the catholic seminary in Lubango to set up an FM transmitter. Radio Ecclesia has often been critical of the Government, and its hugely popular call-in programmes offer listeners a unique opportunity to vent discontent and frustration against the authorities. Given the high level of confidence that people have in the Church, as attested by the results of the IRI/AIP survey, and the Church’s actual and potential role in the political arena, offering it a national broadcasting platform is a step that the present Government is not enthusiastic about making – at least not as long as the Ministry of Information remains in the hands of Hendrik Vaal Neto, an ex-FNLA leader turned MPLA.

⁵ For a detailed analysis of the legislation, including specific wording, see Human Rights Watch 2004.

5. Political developments in 2003-2004: Towards an election date

Elections: calendar and modalities

The only multiparty elections Angola have ever held took place on 29 and 30 September 1992, with simultaneous presidential and parliamentary elections. Although international observers declared the elections to have been fair, Jonas Savimbi, who came second in the first round of the presidential election, did not accept the results, withdrew from Luanda and restarted the war.

Until the war formally ceased with the Luena agreement in April 2002, the scope for organising credible elections was limited. Towards the end of the war, however, with Savimbi diplomatically isolated and militarily contained, elections appeared increasingly as a long overdue step. Many voices in the opposition and civil society questioned the legitimacy of the sitting parliament, which had been elected for a term long expired, and the even shakier legitimacy of the presidential mandate, given that the required second round of the presidential election had never taken place. Among the donor community, the United States led the pressures in that direction, in particular through an ad-hoc entity called Consortium for of Elections and Political Process Strengthening, formed by three US-based organisations (the International Foundation for Election Systems, the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute). They conducted a so-called “Joint Pre-election Assessment” in August 2001, to determine the prospects for holding general elections (IFES 2002). The Consortium did not propose a specific date for elections, but identified a number of “critical processes” that needed to be undertaken to make the elections administratively sound and legitimate, and estimated the authorities would likely need at least 18 months to organize elections according to the existing laws and regulations and consistent with the recommendations of the Assessment.

It may be useful to recall here the detailed schedule of tasks and timeline suggested by the Consortium, which was based on internationally accepted criteria for elections, including those developed by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Parliamentary Forum:

A. 12 to 24 months before elections

1. Determine what kind of elections will be held
2. Delimit Constituencies
3. Draft National Electoral Commission (NEC) regulations
4. Nominate NEC members
5. Approve Electoral Law
6. Consolidate laws to ensure consistency among laws governing elections at national through local levels

B. 12 months before elections

1. Survey of voter register – predict number of eligible voters
2. Publish Election Calendar/timeframe for election date
3. Independent, chartered accounting firm on board
4. Hire full NEC Staff/office space/supplies

5. Adopt budget allocations
6. Draft budget to cover elements/materials including but not limited to:
 - a. Staff time for overall and discrete election activities, such as training, staffing the registration update/card issuance, voter education processes
 - b. Creation of a voter register, whether via issuance of “universal” ID cards for all, or an additional special voter registration receipt – plus funds/time to amend and exhibit a final version before the elections
 - c. Election forms – carbonless but in duplicate
 - d. Ballots – design, size, envelopes, etc.
 - e. Ballot boxes – assuming that nothing is left over from 1992
 - f. Voting booths – these can be manufactured locally
 - g. Polling station supplies (including wire “in-box” trays for ballot bundles)
 - h. Signs/Tents for Assembleia de Registro/Voto
 - i. Media/Civic education blanket coverage
 - j. Enforcement of election/campaign rules and regulations
 - k. Tabulation system/centres

C. 90 days to 11 months before election

1. Open registration period – centres open 30 days, announced at least two months in advance – population encouraged to register; advance publicity for election date
2. Review/input of results by CNE at provincial and national level, create provisional register (30 days)
3. Register exhibited, parties and voters encouraged to confirm they are listed properly
4. Review results, input data changes, produce final register 90 days before the election by national and provincial CNEs – make available at cost or reduced cost to political parties
5. Issue voter registration cards
6. Distribute materials to registration centres
7. Train staff
8. Kick-off voter registration education campaign
9. Accredite domestic and international monitors/observers
10. Order/receipt of voter registration supplies
11. Identify voter registration stations
12. Survey potential sites for registration/polling stations – accessibility, stationary vs. mobile – in conjunction with national ID cards? How many trips can/should Angolans make for registration and voting?

D. 30 to 90 days before election

1. Order ballot materials
2. Nomination Day
3. Kick-off (or new phase of) voter education campaign

E. Final 30 days before election eve

1. Deadline for all eligible people to be registered
2. Distribution of non-sensitive materials to polling stations
3. Final day of campaign
4. Pollworker training

F. Election Day(s)

1. Actual voting
2. Preliminary results transmission at polling station, provincial and national levels

G. Post Election day(s) – up to 6 months following

1. Certification and Release of complete results (72 hours after the national count is complete)
2. Adjudication of election disputes
3. Accounting/Expense Reconciliation/Audit of financial statements
4. Production of Final Report (25 days after the certification of final results)

The Government’s response to the Consortium was that elections should be held as soon as practicable, but that it was nevertheless essential to ensure that the

preparations were of such quality that the validity of the results of electoral results could not be questioned and lead to a repeat of the 1992 disaster. Every time the question of the elections was raised, the standard response from the Government was that proper conditions for elections needed to be created – without much evidence that concrete steps were being taken towards that end.

What calculation lies behind the Government's reluctance to act is unclear. It is generally believed that the Government could have won by a large margin had it organised elections in 2002, with UNITA deeply divided politically and in organisational disarray following Savimbi's death.

Nevertheless, it would have been a largely hollow victory, and undoubtedly seen as such by the international community, since at that point logistical conditions would have been much worse than in 1992 - many areas were inaccessible, or had been destroyed and their inhabitants displaced. The ostensible reason for the delay articulated by MPLA was that the country was not ready for elections – neither materially, nor psychologically. Time was necessary to rebuild some of the critical infrastructure destroyed by the war, put in place an electoral apparatus (comprising both institutions and legislation) and let the emotional wounds of the war heal before the electoral campaign stirred up conflict once again.

Apart from the validity of that argument, UNITA initially needed time to overcome its serious internal divisions, reorganise and re-establish itself before it could fight an election – so it certainly welcomed a respite. But subsequently, there was a growing sense in public opinion that the Government wanted to delay elections indefinitely, because of the advantages of incumbency and MPLA's inherently undemocratic State party culture. Many have argued that sections of the elite derive extraordinary benefits from the predatory practices of the present regime, its corruption and unaccountability, and thus would like it to continue forever. Others point at the more legitimate desire on the part of the Government to build up a portfolio of achievements before MPLA candidates have to face the voters. In any case, given the electoral history of Angola, the President had undoubtedly a point when he affirmed, during his visit to Washington in May 2004 that “we would not like to rush into holding elections like we did in 1992. We would like to prepare the elections so that Angolans may conscientiously take part in the polls and freely elect the candidates of their choice, and ultimately the results accepted by the people as a whole.”

Countering Government's inaction, UNITA in August 2003 seized the initiative and presented its own list of tasks leading up to elections. The schedule comprised 16 tasks as follows:

1. Approval of the electoral legal package:
 - 1.1. New Constitution;
 - 1.2. Abrogation of act 18/96, in particular the clause stipulating that a population census must be held prior to future elections
 - 1.3. Electoral law
 - 1.4. Law on electoral observation
2. End to the extension of the administration of the State
3. Restoration of the freedom of movement (persons and goods)
4. Campaign for special free civil registration of adults and issuance of ID cards
5. Abolition of the Civil Defence Organisation and disarmament of the civilian population

6. Resettlement of displaced persons
7. Creation of an Independent National Electoral Commission
8. Creation of independent Provincial Electoral Commissions and National Directorate of Elections
9. Electoral registration
10. Training of electoral staff
11. Preparation of electoral materials
12. Civic education
13. Presentation of candidatures for parliamentary and presidential elections
14. Disbursement of funds for the candidates' electoral campaign
15. Electoral campaign
16. Conclusion of the preparatory electoral process.

UNITA indicated that it would be possible to hold the elections by mid-2005 if there was sufficient political will on the part of the Government to do so, even taking into account the need for sound preparations.

Six months later, MPLA responded with a memorandum presenting the party's own list of tasks. This was the first articulation by the party in power of what they had in mind specifically when they alluded to "conditions" that had to be created prior to holding elections. The list was as follows:

1. Discussion and approval of a National Consensus Agenda with the participation of all relevant stakeholders
2. Drafting, discussion and approval of the Voter Registration Law
3. Preparation of technical and logistical conditions for voter registration
4. Schedule of voter registration
5. Approval of the new Constitution
6. Drafting, discussion and approval of the electoral laws, consistent with the parameters defined by the new Constitution
7. Set up the electoral management body (National Electoral Commission or Council)
8. Immediate tasks of the electoral management body
9. Reconfirmation of registered voters
10. On-site assessment by both national and international institutions to determine whether the conditions in the country are suitable for holding elections
11. Scheduling of the elections by the appropriate constitutional entity, 3 to 6 months prior to the election
12. Presentation of candidatures for President and Parliament to the appropriate body
13. Start of the electoral campaign and voting
14. Consolidation and implementation of the National Consensus Agenda

The publication of this memorandum greatly exasperated the opposition. Some of the tasks proposed by MPLA were reasonable, some were not. But there was a sense that even reasonable tasks were not being undertaken and would probably not even begin without a definite timeline for election. Given that MPLA controls both the legislative and the executive power, action cannot proceed unless and until endorsed by MPLA.

The constitutional tangle

Looking at both lists, it is worth noting that UNITA and MPLA agreed on the need for a new constitution prior to elections. As the USAID-funded Consortium had noted, the constitution neither facilitates nor inhibits the election process, because electoral procedures are covered in the electoral law – technically speaking, a new constitution would not be a prerequisite for elections. But to the extent that the constitution would

provide a framework for power sharing – as the Consortium put it, “a real peace treaty among political parties as well as civil society actors” – it would certainly be helpful, or perhaps essential. But MPLA wanted to go beyond that, and have the opposition also sign onto a “National Consensus Agenda” which would include a long-term development plan; and the elections would still be subject to a determination by unspecified entities that conditions were suitable.

The opposition therefore decided to strike at a part of the legislative process in which the Government had shown interest, namely the drafting of a constitution. Angola has been living with a Constitutional Law adopted in 1991 and amended on two subsequent occasions to fit evolving political circumstances. It had been drafted essentially as an enabling instrument for setting up a new Republic, based on the multi-party democratic principles of the Bicesse Agreements. The Parliament of that Republic, once elected, would draw up a permanent Constitution. That did not happen due to the resumption of the war, but in 1998 a 44-member Constitutional Commission was finally established with members drawn proportionally from the various parliamentary groups (see box 5.1).

Box 5.1 - Political parties represented in the Constitutional Commission

The Constitutional Commission is composed of 44 members, drawn from the deputies of the National Assembly. It consists of a President, 4 Vice-Presidents, 4 Secretaries and 35 other members.

- **MPLA** – 25 members (including the President of the Commission, one Vice-President and one Secretary)
- **UNITA** – 14 members, including one Vice-President and one Secretary
- **PRS** – 1 member, Vice-President
- **FNLA** – 1 member, Vice-President
- **PLD** – 1 member, Secretary
- **AD-Coligação** – 1 member, Secretary
- **PAJOCA** – 1 member

Source: <http://www.comissao-constitucional.gv.ao/paginas/composicao.htm>

The Commission in turn established a technical working group, mandated to prepare a draft project of the Constitution for consideration by the Commission. The technical working group consisted of 21 experts designated by five of the parties in the Commission (MPLA, UNITA, PRS, FNLA and PLD) and was led by Prof. Rui Ferreira - an MPLA constitutional expert who coordinated in 1991 the revisions leading to the current Constitutional Law.

By 2000, the Constitutional Commission had agreed on a set of 27 “fundamental principles” that were to guide the work on the future Constitution. Those include the principles that Angola should have a semi-presidential regime and a multiparty democratic system, with separation of the three branches of power; a market-oriented economy based on private entrepreneurial initiative; a non-partisan public administration; and institutional guarantees of freedom of the press.

In May 2004, just as the technical group completed its task, all the parties of the opposition, including UNITA, decided to suspend their participation in the Constitutional Commission until the President consulted with the parties and a definite timetable for the electoral process was approved.

From that moment on, the political debate in Angola revolved around two entangled themes: the date of elections and the promulgation of the Constitution.

On the elections front, in early July the President convened the Council of the Republic, an advisory body comprising the heads of all parties represented in Parliament and a number of other political personalities. The Council recommended that elections be held at a date “up to” September 2006 – a victory for the President, who had been publicly stating his preference for 2006 as the most likely date. Based on that time horizon, MPLA drew up a 2-year calendar for the preparation of the elections (see chart 5.1), which was subsequently adopted by the Council of Ministers.

The opposition has tried to maintain its demand for elections in 2005 and presented an alternative calendar, but that option is becoming less feasible as time passes. The opposition’s current calendar does not include the adoption of the Constitution, just the package of electoral laws that would be adopted in the period up to December 2004. Subsequently, the Government would “create the conditions for the installation of the National Electoral Commission”, a process to be concluded by February 2005. Another task scheduled by the opposition is the disarmament of the civilian population and the effective abolition of what the opposition calls “militias linked to MPLA Committees”, tasks that the Government has indicated intent to pursue but does not want to include in the electoral process.

Another issue raised by the opposition – specifically, the Liberal Democratic Party led by former presidential candidate Anália da Vitória Pereira – concerned the timing of the Presidential and Parliamentary elections. She proposed that instead of holding simultaneous elections as in 1992, the Parliamentary election should be held first, to be followed by presidential elections one year later. According to media reports, in her view this sequence of events would give greater stability to the country – although it seems difficult to make that case convincingly, since it would in effect maintain the country in a state of heightened political agitation for a much longer period. By October 2004, her proposal was not attracting much interest, perhaps also because of the added costs and the logistical problems that it would entail. (The Government has estimated that the elections would cost US\$ 430 million, including US\$ 90 million for voter registration alone, although the figure seemed exaggerated to many in the donor community).

An interesting development was the almost bizarre demand put forward by the “Political Council of the Opposition”, a little known coalition of 14 small parties put together by Alberto Neto, leader of PDA: instead of holding a regular presidential election, the Council called for the Government to organise the second round of the 1992 presidential election. The reasoning behind this proposal was that, as stipulated by the electoral law, if one of the two top candidates died or gave up between the two rounds of the election, the third most voted candidate would take his place. In this

case, since the second most voted candidate, Jonas Savimbi had died, Alberto Neto, who came third with about 2 per cent of the vote in 1992 would be competing against José Eduardo dos Santos. One might expect that this demand would be quickly dismissed as an absurdity by the political establishment, given the reality of the facts and the legal determination that the second round of the presidential elections should be held not later than one month after the first round. However, several MPLA leaders – most notably Bornito de Sousa, leader of the MPLA’s parliamentary group - offered encouragement, declaring that it was an idea that “made sense” and which the parliamentary groups ought to discuss. Of course, nothing would suit MPLA better than an election in which the sitting President would be challenged by a candidate with no name recognition, backed by a party with insignificant following. On the other hand it would be hard to convince democratic-minded voters, and indeed the main opposition parties, as well as the international opinion, that this would be a worthwhile, legitimate and credible electoral exercise.⁶

The Constitution

On the constitutional front, the Government first pressed for the opposition to return to the Constitutional Commission, leaders of MPLA describing the situation as one of “constitutional crisis”. After progress had been achieved on the question of the calendar, the opposition continued to boycott the Commission, pressing for additional concrete steps such as the creation of an Electoral Commission. At that point, the Government changed tactics asserting that since the technical group had produced a good draft project of the Constitution, the Constitutional Commission could now be abolished, the discussion of that draft and its eventual adoption taking place in the plenary of the National Assembly.

MPLA considers it essential that a new Constitution be adopted before the elections. The main argument put forward by the Government is that voters need clarity about the “rules of the game” and what kind of mandate they are giving to those being elected. UNITA and other opposition parties now see no need for that particular sequence of events: they think that elections could be held under the present constitutional law, perhaps with some amendments, and with a legislative package regulating specific aspects of the electoral process. Besides, a freshly elected parliament would have much greater legitimacy as a Constitutional body than the current National Assembly, elected in 1992. At the end of September, the main parties of the opposition (UNITA, PRS, FNLA, PLD, FpD, PDP-ANA and the POC coalition) put forward a set of laws in a package meant to cover all aspects of the electoral process, including the official recognition and financing of political parties, voter registration, the national electoral council, electoral monitoring and international observation of the elections, and the role of the mass media. Presenting the package to the opinion the opposition pointedly underscored that the proposed legislative package was consistent with the current constitution.

⁶ In November 2004, after the conclusion of drafting of the present report, President Eduardo dos Santos indicated that the idea of holding a second round of the election should be examined by the Supreme Court and the Parliament, suggesting that he was favourable to it. Additionally, he expressed support for holding the presidential elections in 2007, one year after the parliamentary elections.

It is clear that MPLA is deeply committed to a new constitution and that it has invested considerable effort in this enterprise. The technical working group met assiduously for nearly 5 years and produced a project containing over 350 articles, most of them with numerous paragraphs and sub paragraphs. Underscoring the consensual nature of the work, Prof. Ferreira, who led the Technical Working Group, points to the fact that of 27 fundamental principles adopted by the Constitutional Commission to guide the work on the draft proposal, MPLA contributed 14 and the opposition parties 13; moreover, the group adopted its end product by consensus.

By 2002, there were only three issues that the technical group could not resolve on its own, and which were left for the political parties to settle: (1) whether the Head of State should also be Head of Government (thus defining the nature of the regime as presidential or parliamentary); (2) whether there should be a second chamber in parliament; (3) and the whether the provincial governors should be appointed solely at the discretion of the President or should take into account the political leanings of the local population, which might be different from those of the President. In MPLA's view, these questions were settled at the bilateral discussions held between MPLA and UNITA at Hotel Alvalade in Luanda in December 2002, and which resulted in the so-called Alvalade agreements. At Alvalade, MPLA got UNITA to endorse a "semi-presidential regime" in which the President was also head of Government; in turn MPLA agreed on the creation of the National Council for Local Affairs. It is not the Second Chamber that the opposition initially demanded, but in MPLA's opinion it may in fact be more influential than a Second Chamber. MPLA also considers that it made an important concession in agreeing that, while the President retains the power to appoint the provincial governors, these will be nominated by the dominant political party in the province.

MPLA leaders express surprise that UNITA now does not seem committed to the Constitution's draft project, and point out that UNITA is torn between its State responsibilities and its role as leader of the opposition. Some observers have pointed out that UNITA has undergone a shift of leadership at its Congress in June 2003, so that the current Secretary-General, Isaias Samakuva, may not feel bound by the commitments undertaken by his rival Paulo Lukamba ("General Gato"), who was UNITA's Secretary-General at the time of the Alvalade negotiations. This is not UNITA's official position, however. Like the other parties of the opposition, they find the draft "too presidential". Prof. Rui Ferreira has categorically rejected that characterization, describing the regime proposed by the draft project as "semi-presidential with presidential leanings". Other MPLA jurists, such as Prof. Adérito Correia, recognize that what is proposed is indeed a presidential regime and contend that a such a regime is the most appropriate for Angola. To further undercut UNITA's arguments, Bornito de Sousa, leader of MPLA's Parliamentary Group, quotes statements by the late Jonas Savimbi, who extolled the virtues of presidentialism as the system best suited to African values and culture.

At the time of writing (November 2004), the dispute seems locked and the deadlock might continue for a few more months, since according to the MPLA calendar the adoption of the Constitution may be delayed until April 2005. The opposition, after saying that it would return to the Constitutional Commission, subsequently stalled again, asking for more progress on the electoral preparations. In fact, the opposition's

basic stance is that elections should precede the adoption of a constitution and therefore there is little point in debating the draft project at this point. UNITA has also objected to the efforts made by the Government to give the public wide access to the draft project, notably by publishing it as a free 96-page supplement to *Jornal de Angola*, the national newspaper (República de Angola 2004). In UNITA's view, this had the effect of unduly influencing public opinion towards the acceptance of the current draft, at a stage when it has not even been considered – much less adopted – by any constitutional organ and therefore has no status. MPLA on the other hand, believes that it could find among the 91 members of the parliamentary opposition the 17 votes that it needs to get the draft project adopted with a two thirds majority in the Plenary of the Assembly. Failing that, the Government has indicated that it would abandon the constitutional project for now, but would not permit any amendments to the current constitutional law, including those that might be required to facilitate the electoral process.⁷

⁷ The Constitutional Commission was finally abolished by Parliament on November 2004, with 96 votes in favour, 56 against and 4 abstentions, suggesting a split of opinion across parties. The tasks of the Constitutional Commission were transferred to the First Commission (Constitutional, Legal and Regulatory Affairs).

Chart 5.1 – Electoral timetable proposed by the MPLA in August 2004

2004			2005												2006											
Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep			
Parliament approves and President promulgates new Constitution and electoral laws package																										
Electoral register is drawn up																										
										NEC membership is approved by Parliament, President and political parties																
												NEC starts operating														
															NEC prepares electoral acts											
															Political parties participate in electoral activities											
																		Supreme Court approves candidates for legislative and presidential elections								
																			NEC declares country ready for elections							
																			President announces election date							
																				CNE allocates radio and TV slots						
																							Electoral campaign begins			
																								Elections		

The National Electoral Council

While much public attention has been given to the Constitution and the opposition's boycott of the Constitutional Commission, considerably less interest has been devoted to the future National Electoral Commission (NEC) – how it should be constituted and how to ensure its independence, impartiality and authority, particularly in relation to the ruling party and the Ministry of Territorial Administration, which will be in charge of the electoral logistics. This relative neglect is a cause for concern, the NEC needs to establish itself into a technically credible, impartial and effective institution already well before the election, or risk discrediting the whole exercise.

In the political setting of Angola, with limited experience of multiparty elections and a history of state party rule, there are suspicions that legitimately arise from a situation where the governing party is contesting the election – obviously doing all it possibly can to remain in power - and at the same time laying down the rules by which the contest should proceed. The NEC is the only instance that can attenuate these suspicions from the outset – electoral observation and monitoring, while also being crucial, will take place at a stage when the scope for corrective measures will have become severely limited.

For the 1992 elections, the NEC was composed of members nominated by the President and ratified by the National Assembly. It was presided by a judge of the Supreme Court (selected by the Plenary of the Court) and included five specialists appointed by the President, the Minister of Territorial Administration, the Director General of Elections (appointed by the President after consultation with the political parties), one representative of the National Council on Social Communication, a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, one representative of each registered political party and one representative of each of the presidential candidates. The Provincial Councils and the Municipal Electoral Bureaus were composed on a similar basis. (IFES 2004, p.8)

The recommendations of the USAID-funded Consortium regarding the future NEC emphasised the need to ensure the independence of that body, the transparency in the nomination and appointment procedures and guarantees of political pluralism from national to polling station levels. Moreover, the NEC should ensure that political parties have opportunities for input in the election management process: and that the media has opportunities to report on the process. The Consortium called for the release of the 1992 election report written by the NEC, which undoubtedly contains many lessons that would be helpful for all to study. One of the difficulties of adapting the 1992 NEC framework to current realities is the fact that the number of registered political parties has grown 6-fold, from 18 to 128. There should be a process of recertification which would weed out parties that no longer exist and also parties with insignificant representativity.

Opportunities for assistance

Compared to 1992, the current pre-electoral situation, more than a decade later and in a context of peace, will be different. One difference is that there is no need for the “mad rush for elections”, imposed by the need to secure the validity the Bicesse

Agreements and keep the momentum of that process. Another difference is that, for all the continued interest that reports such as the present one indicate, the international community is much less engaged in the internal affairs of Angola than it was until the conclusion of the Lusaka Agreements in 1994.

In the coming months the international community will be entering into dialogue with the Government about whether or not international assistance will be required and what would be the nature and extent of those needs. In this context, there is need for a new assessment of the pre-electoral conditions in Angola (legal, material and institutional situation). Possibly, this might lead to a joint effort by the international donors, with technical backstopping from the United Nations Department of Political Affairs, integrating and coordinating the international community's financial, material and technical contributions to the electoral process. Generally speaking, the most pressing needs might be for technical and civic training at all levels, to make sure that all citizens have the opportunity to exercise their right to vote free from coercion and in an informed and responsible manner. International observation of the elections will also play a crucial role in safeguarding and certifying the eventual success of the electoral process.

6. What can Norway do?

The current strategic document for Norwegian assistance to Angola (Utenriksdepartementet 2003) was drafted as a stop gap document to enable Norway to respond to the needs and opportunities arising from the Luena cease fire, while waiting for elections. Although a calendar for the electoral process has now been adopted by the Government, not much progress has taken place regarding the clarification of the issues that were pending in 2002, and which can be summarized in one question: what will Angola look like politically after an electoral process? The answer to that question will to a large extent determine what is feasible and desirable in terms of the scope and nature of Norway's official development assistance towards Angola.

Much can happen between now and September 2006, and a number of unfavourable scenarios can be envisaged. The Angolan Government may decide that the political costs of transparency are too high and that it would rather abandon, at least temporarily, the road to a Donors' Conference through the IMF Staff Monitored Programme. Or the political system may be thrown in turmoil if its main linchpin, José Eduardo dos Santos, who has ruled the party and the country for 25 years, is unable to continue providing cohesion and stability. Both scenarios would have serious and possibly adverse implications for development cooperation, particularly at the intergovernmental level.

With the elections now postponed to September 2006, the most consistent course of action for Norway would be to continue its current "holding pattern" aid policy until 2007. The 2003-2005 Strategy purports to focus on three objectives: national and regional security; democratic development and good governance; and, resource management that promotes poverty reduction, sustainable development and social development. It is hard to see in these very broad objectives anything that would limit Norway's capacity to respond appropriately to any needs and opportunities for cooperation that might arise.

Given the focus of this year's report on the political situation in Angola, our perspectives and recommendations concern most particularly what Norway could do in this area, and are not meant to suggest that other aspects of Norwegian development assistance in the humanitarian and social development fields are less valuable or important.

Our analysis suggests that the opposition parties would have great difficulty in leading the process of change in the foreseeable future. Even if the election is fair, and the opposition is given equitable chances of competing, MPLA will consolidate its grip on power. Given the institutional and ideological weaknesses of the opposition, and the stigma attached to having restarted the war, the strength of incumbency will prevail over the erosion of MPLA's credibility among those voters who feel disappointed by the performance of the Government. Within this perspective, Norway should look for ways to encourage and, to the extent possible, support the forces of reform within

MPLA – people who would like Angola to become a more equitable, freer, and less corrupt society and less of an arena for predatory capitalism under authoritarian rule.

Some analysts believe that the crucial elections are those that will eventually be held for local authorities – an extremely complex matter that the Government has been reluctant to address. At the local level, the political balance of forces will be different from the national level – due in part to the ethnic basis of political affinities and the territorially circumscribed power of traditional authorities. This could be an avenue for change, but not necessarily for the better, as discussed in last year's CMI report in this series.

One of the challenges in the area of promoting good governance and respect for human rights is how to operationalise concepts and approaches that are new or at least unusual, into actual practice. We found the Norwegian People's Aid project to train the police in the province of Bengo in human rights issues particularly intriguing, not least because it was started in response to a request from the local police authorities, who saw a need for such training in the face of popular complaints. We recommend that a thorough evaluation of that project be undertaken in due course, with a view to assess its impact and eventual replicability.

There is a high degree of consensus among Western and multilateral donors on the broad issues of conditionality, as articulated, for instance, in the EU Common Policy Statement quoted in chapter 3. This consensus is helpful, and Norway should continue to operate within and to support that policy framework. Through its national business interests in the oil sector in Angola, Norway is well placed to keep flagging issues of transparency and corporate social responsibility.

As the colony of a country that was ruled for almost half a century by a fascist regime, Angola had less opportunity to learn about multiparty politics than the colonies of France or Britain. There is need to promote a democratic political culture and to improve the level of political discourse – which tends to remain focused on rumours and allegations concerning personalities. The Conference on the Transition to Multiparty Democracy organised by the Catholic University in August 2004 - which brought together politicians from all sides of the spectrum and academics for a serious but topical discussion in a non-partisan setting open to all - was a pioneering event of the kind that should be replicated.

Of the three branches of government – executive, legislative and judiciary - the judiciary is the one that could most legitimately and effectively receive assistance from external sources⁸. The development needs of the Angolan law system are complex and extensive and run along two tracks: one is the reconciliation of customary and modern law, which will become increasingly important as development reaches hitherto remote or inaccessible regions, and brings into contact conflicting concepts of entitlement over natural resources, power, authority and personal freedoms, rights and obligations; the other is the strengthening of an independent and technically competent cadre of judges, without which it will be very hard to establish respect for the rule of law. These issues

⁸ While there is also a need to strengthen the Parliament in its functions and quality, and to promote the Parliament's independence from the executive branch, the opportunities for non-partisan foreign assistance are more limited compared to the judiciary.

have been explored only superficially in the context of Angola; in this area too, the need for policy-oriented research and reflection is vast and pressing.

Serious political study, including technically sound polling and other data collection and analysis, should be encouraged. Although MPLA officials boast that the party has detailed political intelligence at the municipality level for the entire country, such data are not publicly available. The recent large-scale IRI/AIP study on people's perceptions of political actors and issues (see chapter 3) was the first of its kind in Angola – and it is positive that Norway has supported the institutional and technical development of AIP, fostering the national capacity necessary to conduct such significant and ambitious tasks.

Annex 1:

List of persons interviewed in Luanda 18-31 August 2004

- Alfredo Teixeira, Senior Expert on Governance, UNDP
- Alida Endresen, Counsellor, Royal Norwegian Embassy
- Almerindo Jaka Jamba, Member of Parliament (UNITA), Vice-President of the National Assembly
- André Kodizemba, Assistant to the President of FNLA (Holden Roberto)
- André Paulo, MP, Secretary for Information, FNLA
- Ann Helen Perez Azedo, First Secretary, Royal Norwegian Embassy
- Arne Øygard, Resident Representative, Norwegian People's Aid (Norsk Folkehjelp)
- Artur Quixona Finda, President, Partido Angolano Conservador do Povo (PACOPO)
- Barbara Smith, Resident Programme Director for Electoral Affairs, NDI
- Cesaltina Abreu, Researcher, AIP
- Christine Wilkins, Associate Director, International Republican Institute (Angola)
- Col. Correia de Barros, Vice-President of the Executive Board, Centro de Estudos Estratégicos de Angola
- Dalmácio Benício, Economist, UNDP
- David Mendes, President, Associação Mãos Livres
- Domingo João, Paz e Democracia, Comité Intereclesial para a Paz em Angola (COIEPA)
- Felisberto N'jele, Lt.-Gen. (Rtd), Project Director, Centro de Estudos Estratégicos de Angola
- Fernando Viegas, Researcher, ADRA
- Filomeno Vieira Lopes, Secretary General, FPD
- Franz-Wilhelm Heimer, Professor Emeritus, African Studies Centre, ISCTE (interviewed in Lisbon, 2 August 2004)
- Isabel S. Emerson, Country Director, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
- João da Lama, Registration of Political Parties, Supreme Court
- João de Almeida Azevedo Martins "Jú", Secretary of the MPLA Political Bureau for Political and Electoral Affairs
- José Octávio Serra Van-Dúnem, Senior Researcher, AIP
- Justino Pinto de Andrade, Director, Faculty of Economics and Management, Catholic University of Angola
- Lindo Bernardo Tito, Member of Parliament, Leader of the PRS parliamentary group and National Secretary for Information
- Lisa Rimli, Desk Officer, SwissPeace/"Drivers of Change Project"
- Lopo do Nascimento, director of CESD, (fmr. Secretary-General of MPLA, fmr. Prime Minister, fmr. Governor of Huíla)
- Marcolino Moco, Fmr. Prime Minister
- Martin Johnston, DFID Country Representative for Angola, British Embassy
- Nina Strøm, Second Secretary, Royal Norwegian Embassy

- Pierre-François Pirlot, United Nations Resident Coordinator/Humanitarian Coordinator and UNDP Resident Representative
- Robert S. Miller, Country Director, International Republican Institute (Angola)
- Roberto Soki, Member of the Political Bureau of FNLA
- Rui Ferreira, Professor of Constitutional Law, Faculty of Law, Agostinho Neto University
- Sven Even Froyn, Resident Representative, Norwegian Church Aid
- Vitor Hugo Guilherme, Director, FAS and Officer-in-Charge, AIP
- Willi Haan, Director, Resident Representative, Friedrich Ebert Foundation

In addition to the above interviews, the author also attended a 2-day conference on "The Process of Transition to a Multiparty System in Angola", co-organised by Departments of Economics of the Catholic University of Angola (UCAN) and Coimbra University, and held at UCAN on 19 and 20 August 2004. Speakers included, among others:

- Paulo Jorge, Secretary for International Affairs, MPLA Political Bureau
- Alex Vines, Director of the Africa Programme, Royal Institute of International Affairs (London)
- Abel Chivukuvuku, Member of Parliament and UNITA focal point for constitutional matters
- Luis do Nascimento, Secretary-General of FPD
- Fernando Pacheco, President of ADRA
- Benjamim Castello, President of Jubileum 2000 Angola
- Vicente Pinto the Andrade, Professor, UCAN and prospective presidential candidate

Annex 2:

List of political parties by year of registration with the Supreme Court⁹

The following is a list of the 126 political parties legally recognized in Angola, having met the criteria for registration with the Supreme Court laid down in the Law of Political Parties. The parties represented in the National Assembly are shown in bold.¹⁰ It is believed that a number of these parties have ceased to exist, but there is no precise data about this since there is no mechanism to register the dissolution of political parties.

Name of the party	Year	Reg. No.
ADPA – Aliança para a Democracia dos Povos de Angola	1994	043
ADTA – Aliança Democrática Trabalhista de Angola	1996	101
AN – Aliança Nacional	1996	105
AND – Aliança Nacional Democrática	1994	061
ANIA – Aliança Nacional Independente de Angola	1997	120
APIDA – Aliança do Povo Independente Democrático de Angola	1996	104
CADA – Congresso da Aliança Democrática Angolana	1996	108
CDS – Centro Democrático Social	1995	092
CNA – Congresso Nacional Angolano	1996	098
CNDA – Convenção Nacional Democrática de Angola	1992	009
FDA – Fórum Democrático Angolano	1992	003
FEDA – Frente de Esperança para Democracia de Angola	1997	125
FIJ – Fórum Integral Juvenil	1996	111
FNDDA – Frente Nacional de Desenvolvimento Democrático de Angola	1994	045
FNLA – Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola	1992	011
FPD – Frente para a Democracia	1992	012
FRESA/PJSD – Frente Juvenil de Salvação/Partido Juvenil da Social-democracia	1996	118
FSDP – Frente Social Democrata para o Progresso	1995	088
FULD – Frente Unida para Liberdade Democrática	1995	081
FUPA – Frente Unida Pacífica de Angola	1995	085
FUSA – Frente Unida de Salvação de Angola	1996	102
MDA – Movimento Democrático de Angola	1994	049
MDIA-PCN – Movimento de Defesa dos Interesses de Angola – Partido de Consciência Nacional	1992	017
MIDA – Movimento Independente Democrático de Angola	1995	079
MND – Movimento Nacional Democrático	1996	100
MNEP – Movimento Nacional para Estabilidade e Progresso	1995	065
MPDA – Movimento para a Democracia de Angola	1995	067
MPLA – Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola	1992	001
MPRSN – Movimento Patriótico Renovador da Salvação Nacional	1995	078
PACIA – Partido Angolano Conservador da Identidade Africana	1992	023
PACOPO – Partido Angolano Conservador do Povo	1995	091
PADDA – Partido de Apoio para a Democracia e o Desenvolvimento de	1994	035

⁹ Based on information kindly provided by Mr. Caitano Sousa, Vice-President of the Supreme Court

¹⁰ In addition to the 11 parties shown in bold, a coalition called AD-Coligação Democrática is also represented in Parliament with one member (from FPD)..

Angola		
PADLA – Partidos da Aliança Democrática para a Liberdade de Angola	1994	063
PADPA – Partido de Apoio Democrático e Progresso de Angola	1995	075
PADS – Partido Angolano do Desenvolvimento Social	1994	044
PAI – Partido Angolano Independente	1992	008
PAID – Partido Angolano para os Interesses Democráticos	1994	032
PAJOCA – Partido da Aliança Juventude, Operários e Camponeses de Angola	1992	004
PAL – Partido Angolano Liberal	1992	018
PALDA – Partido de Apoio à Liberdade e Democracia Angolana	1994	058
PALLA – Partido de Apoio à Liberdade Linguística de Angola	1996	115
PALMA – Partido de Aliança Livre da Maioria Angolana	1994	051
PAPPA – Partido da Aliança Pacífica e Progresso de Angola	1995	073
PAR – Partido Angolano Republicano	1996	109
PAUD – Partido Angolano para Unidade e Desenvolvimento	1994	050
PAUDP – Partido Angolano para Unidade Democrática e Progresso	1994	057
PAUS – Partido Angolano Unificado para Solidariedade	1995	087
PC – Partido Conservador	1996	097
PCA – Partido Congressista Angolano	1994	053
PCCA – Partido da Comunidade Comunista Angolana	1994	056
PCDA – Partido de Convergência Democrática Angolana	1994	038
PCDP – Partido da Convenção Democrática e Progresso	1994	055
PCN – Partido da Convergência Nacional	1995	084
PCOP – Partido da Classe Operária e Camponesa	1996	096
PCRA – Partido Comunista Renovador Angolano	1995	080
PCSA – Partido da Comunidade Socialista Angolana	1995	083
PDA – Partido Democrático de Angola	1992	015
PDLA – Partido Democrático Liberal de Angola	1992	020
PDN – Partido Democrático Nacional	1996	117
PDOA – Partido do Desenvolvimento Operário Angolano	1995	090
PDPA – Partido Democrático Pacífico de Angola	1992	013
PDP-ANA – Partido Democrático para o Progresso – Aliança Nacional de Angola	1992	014
PDPS – Partido Democrático para o Progresso Social	1994	047
PDRA – Partido Democrático Radical de Angola	1994	031
PDS – Partido Democrático Social	1996	114
PDT – Partido Democrático dos Trabalhadores	1995	093
PDUA – Partido Democrático Unificado de Angola	1994	054
PELA – Partido de Expressão Livre Angolana	1994	060
PFDA – Partido Frente Democrática de Angola	1994	037
PIR – Partido Independente Renovado	1994	052
PLD – Partido Liberal Democrático	1992	016
PLDSA – Partido Liberal Democrático para Solidariedade Angolana	1995	086
PLPA – Partido Liberal para o Progresso de Angola	1995	074
PLUN – Partido Liberal para Unidade Nacional	1996	099
PMD – Partido de Massas Democráticas	1996	119
PN – Partido Nacional	1995	071
PNCA – Partido Nacional dos Camponeses Angolanos	1996	103
PNDA – Partido Nacional Democrático de Angola	1992	010
PNEA – Partido Nacional Ecológico de Angola	1994	046
PNIA – Partido Nacional Independente de Angola	1994	041
PNPA – Partido Nacional e Progressista de Angola	1994	040

PNSA – Partido Nacional de Salvação de Angola	1996	094
POSDA – Partido Operário Social Democrático Angolano	1995	072
PPA – Partido Pacífico Angolano	1996	113
PPDA – Partido Progressista Democrático de Angola	1993	029
PPDLA – Partido Progressista Democrático Liberal de Angola	1995	064
PPSD – Partido Popular Social Democrata	1996	107
PRA – Partido Renovador Angolano	1992	021
PRCA – Partido Republicano Conservador Angolano	1996	095
PRD – Partido Renovador Democrático	1992	006
PRE – Partido Restaurador da Esperança	1995	066
PREA – Partido Republicano de Angola	1997	121
PRJA – Partido Republicano da Juventude de Angola	1994	059
PRN – Partido de Reconstrução Nacional	1996	112
PRPA – Partido de Reunificação do Povo Angolano	1996	116
PRS – Partido de Renovação Social	1992	007
PRSD – Partido Republicano Social Democrático	1994	048
PSA – Partido Socialista de Angola	1994	033
PSCA – Partido da Solidariedade e de Consciência de Angola	1992	026
PSD – Partido Social Democrata	1992	005
PSDA – Partido Social Democrático Angolano	1992	019
PSIA – Partido Social Independente de Angola	1995	082
PSL – Partido Socialista Liberal	1993	030
PSN – Partido da Salvação Nacional	1995	089
PSPA – Partido Social da Paz de Angola	1994	036
PTA – Partido Trabalhista de Angola	1995	068
PUDAD – Partido da Unidade Democrática de Angola	1997	124
PUFRAS – Partido para Unidade e Fraternidade Social	1997	125
PUNA – Partido para Unidade Nacional de Angola	1994	042
PUP – Partido Unido do Povo	1995	077
PURA – Partido Unido dos Renovadores Angolanos	1996	110
TRD – Tendência de Reflexão Democrática	1994	034
UAPDD – União Angolana pela Paz, Democracia e Desenvolvimento	1995	076
UDA – Unificação Democrática de Angola	1992	024
UDNA – União Democrática Nacional de Angola	1995	070
UDPA – União Democrática dos Povos de Angola	1994	062
ULDA – Unidade Liberal Democrática Angolana	1995	069
UNA-PT – União Nacional Angolana – Partido da Terra	1996	106
UND – União Nacional para a Democracia	1992	022
UNDP – União Nacional para Democracia e Progresso	1993	028
UNITA – União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola	1992	002
UNLDDA – União nacional da Luz para a Democracia e Desenvolvimento de Angola	1992	025
UNPD – União Nacional para a Democracia	1993	027
UNRD – União Nacional da Resistência Democrática	1997	123
UPA – União do Povo Angolano	1997	122
USD – União Social Democrática	1994	039

Annex 3: The Millennium Development Goals and related targets

Goal 1	Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	Target 1	Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1 a day
		Target 2	Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger
Goal 2	Achieve universal primary education	Target 3	Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling
Goal 3	Promote gender equality and empower women	Target 4	Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005 and in all levels of education no later than 2015
Goal 4	Reduce child mortality	Target 5	Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate
Goal 5	Improve maternal health	Target 6	Reduce by three-quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio
Goal 6	Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases	Target 7	Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS
		Target 8	Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases
Goal 7	Ensure environmental sustainability	Target 9	Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and program and reverse the loss of environmental resources
		Target 10	Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation
		Target 11	Have achieved, by 2020, a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers
Goal 8	Develop a global partnership for development	Target 12	Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system (includes a commitment to good governance, development, and poverty reduction—both nationally and internationally)
		Target 13	Address the special needs of the least developed countries (includes tariff-and quota-free access for exports enhanced program of debt relief for HIPC and cancellation of official bilateral debt, and more generous ODA for countries committed to poverty reduction)
		Target 14	Address the special needs of landlocked countries and small island developing states (through the Program of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States and 22nd General Assembly provisions)
		Target 15	Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures in order to make debt sustainable in the long term
		Target 16	In cooperation with developing countries, develop and implement strategies for decent and productive work for youth
		Target 17	In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable, essential drugs in developing countries
		Target 18	In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications

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Summary

The present report is the fifth in a series of annual studies carried out by the Chr. Michelsen Institute on socio-economic and political trends in Angola, at the request of the Norwegian development cooperation authorities. This year's report focuses on the political situation in Angola, in the context of the upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections – the first since 1992.

In 2003-2004 Angola continued to make notable progress in its socio-economic recovery from nearly three decades of war. But the most significant event on the political arena was the announcement that the ruling regime would consent to hold elections in 2006, fourteen years after the first – and so far, only - multiparty elections in the country's history. The present report discusses the roles of the various actors in the political process, including the attitudes and expectations of the population, which were recently the object of a pioneering opinion poll conducted by AIP. A sobering message is that elections – however essential to the democratisation process – is not likely to result in less power for the current president and his party.

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