The devastating 27-year civil war in Angola finally came to an end in April 2002, giving millions of Angolans—including the more than four million displaced by the war—a new chance to lead normal lives. Yet because the conflict had been so pervasive and protracted, many Angolans had never experienced anything but war. What kind of “normal” life can people look forward to? And what will it take to create such conditions?

In October 2003, the Stanley Foundation hosted a discussion of these issues entitled “Strengthening the UN-Angolan Partnership to Help Angola’s Displaced and War-Affected.” The meeting took place in Geneva, where many UN agencies are headquartered, with 30 participants from the government of Angola, Angolan civil society, donor governments, key UN agencies, and the World Bank.

The discussions in Geneva focused on the range of challenges involved as Angola moves from severe humanitarian emergency to stability and economic development. Indeed, many Angolans who don’t have land for even subsistence farming and cannot be reached by road teeter on the brink of survival despite the war’s end. Yet others who earn some income from agriculture or petty trading are poised to increase their earnings. This in a country that has significant income from its mineral

Recommendations

Participants recommended the following steps to lay the groundwork for a smooth and successful post-war transition:

• Launch of a special UN appeal to cover the needs of the transition, such as ensuring that displaced persons who return home find liveable conditions.

• Maintenance of a strong UN team on the ground to preserve the legacy of a strong relief operation and ensure the success of the hand-off, especially between OCHA and UNDP.

• Development of a successor mechanism to the Emergency Response Fund that was so valuable in providing resources for urgent needs.

• Public disclosure and debate as key government policies are prepared—including the poverty reduction strategy paper—as part of a broader move toward transparency.

• A strong donor effort to build government capacity to tackle an ambitious transition agenda.
wealth, including diamonds, and from oil, which is expected to increase.

**Returning to “Nothing Left”**

Participants in the Stanley Foundation conference drew up an agenda for this moment of post-war transition that addresses many of these issues. Many of the Angolans who still confront emergency conditions are those who returned to home communities where nothing was left—no dwellings, subsistence crops, or even safe drinking water.

As the Angolan government, local NGOs, and international agencies confront these gaps, they will have as a guidepost a set of standards developed by the government called the Norms and Regulamento for the Resettlement of Displaced Persons, which is the most comprehensive legislation on the rights of the displaced anywhere in the world. These were formulated in conjunction with the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Internally Displaced Persons, with whom Roberta Cohen works, and in accord with the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement developed by the special representative.

The United Nations is likely to remain involved in Angola by helping its government organize its response to humanitarian needs. However a key UN agency, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), will be phasing out its presence in 2004. The conference highlighted the importance of a smooth “handover” from OCHA to its sister agencies, including a successor to the Emergency Response Fund that has enabled the United Nations to move resources quickly to where they are most urgently needed. Already the Stanley Foundation conference has been credited with catalyzing a UN funding appeal for the transition in Angola.

HIV/AIDS was also stressed as an urgent problem—one that “could decimate the next two generations just as the war did for the past two,” as one participant said. Ironically, the isolation caused by war protected Angola against the spread of the virus. But now increased commerce and migration with regional neighbors make it possible for the disease to spread with the same speed that is devastating other Southern African nations.

After decades of war, recovery and development in Angola present varied, formidable challenges and will require the commitment and cooperation of all involved—the government, donors, international organizations, and NGOs.

Representatives of all of these actors were present at the Stanley Foundation’s Geneva conference and approved the following summary of their discussion.

**Toward a Strengthened Partnership for Angolan Recovery and Development**

This meeting was conceived to further the dialogue among the government of Angola, donor governments, international organizations, and members of Angolan civil society to discuss the future of Angola, build greater trust and confidence, and establish new partnerships as Angola moves toward recovery, reconstruction, and development. Participants agreed that after decades of war, this is a propitious moment to define new relationships and develop new mechanisms between the government and the international community for a successful transition.

The general view at the meeting was confidence that the peace is lasting, but that it needs to be consolidated so it brings the maximum benefit to all Angolans. The recovery effort confronts issues of socioeconomic equity that could open ruptures within Angolan society.

The government of Angola and UNITA were both praised for working together to implement the Luena
Memorandum of Understanding to demobilize and disarm their forces—though there are still important issues of reintegration for ex-combatants.

The problem of the return of millions of internally displaced persons, refugees, and ex-combatants to areas not yet sustainable (as defined in the Norms and Regulamento for the Resettlement of Displaced Persons) present the government with an immediate challenge to ensure the reintegration of these communities and the development of community-based approaches to their reintegration.

Because of Angola's geographic dimensions and variations in the war's impact on different populations in different regions, significant numbers of Angolans remain dependent on assistance for their very survival while others have very serious (if not life-threatening) humanitarian needs and still others are poised to begin developing economically.

The range of economic, social, and administrative issues that confront the government after decades of war represents a tremendous undertaking. It includes dealing with the continuing emergency while at the same time moving toward reconstruction and development. A partial list of major areas of policy includes: good governance with greater transparency, consolidation of democracy, ensuring that the rights in the Angolan constitution have full effect as well as those contained in international human rights agreements to which Angola is a party, just distribution of wealth (including land), and sustained economic growth based on macroeconomic stability.

Angola's government, which has significant resources of its own, will naturally play the largest role in the country's recovery and development. The donors nonetheless have an important role to play and need to ensure they support the government in key strategic areas. Donors have indicated that increased efforts by the government, including more effective use of its resources as well as greater transparency, are important to laying the groundwork for sustained international support.

The collective partnership for recovery—and indeed the recovery itself—will be particularly strengthened when the government of Angola engages in public consultation over key matters of policy. The current debate over the proposed land law was cited as an example of such consultation, and participants looked forward to a similar round of discussions of the draft Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). This is part of a broader set of preparatory steps for a possible donors conference.

A continued public airing of plans will be invaluable in setting expectations against which policy and implementation can be judged, paving the way toward the normal give-and-take of democratic governance. The Norms and Regulamento, which participants recognized as a groundbreaking effort to incorporate international standards for the internally displaced into domestic law, can serve this function well. Concrete mechanisms for full implementation of the government's declared policies, however, will depend on development of stronger government administrative capacity and infrastructure, which should be a priority throughout the recovery and development effort.

In the transition from humanitarian crisis to stability, one enduring asset from the war period is the machinery that the United Nations and the Angolan government together built into one of the world’s largest and most successful relief operations.

At a day-to-day level, the UN-Angolan humanitarian partnership manifests a very healthy interplay of expectations and results through the various mechanisms for consultation, monitoring, assessment, and planning that have been developed by the government, UN agencies, provincial authorities, and NGOs.

The UN Agency Hand-Off
As the UN presence shifts (including the phase out of OCHA during 2004), it will be crucial to strengthen the existing systems through which all of the local and international humanitarian actors consult, coordinate, collect data, set priorities, and mobilize resources. Because of the government’s shortfall in capacity, it will be some time before it can assume
many of the functions currently filled by the United Nations’ specialized agencies, funds, and programs, though this should be the medium-term objective. The transfer of responsibilities and programs between UN agencies presents its own challenges, and the transition in Angola gives the agencies an opportunity to set a new standard of effectiveness for the so-called “handover.” Unless this is done well, the population itself will pay the price in an erosion of services, sometimes with tragic consequences. A successor to the Emergency Response Fund should be maintained as a device to move resources quickly to where they are most urgently needed for humanitarian or recovery needs.

Humanitarian donors should seize on the consolidated appeal on transition currently being discussed among the government, the United Nations, and the NGOs to achieve for all Angolans the minimum settlement conditions, including those set forth in the Norms and Regulamento.

Setting Priorities, Bolstering Women, Confronting AIDS

Indeed, the Angolan government outlined for the conference the key priorities for such a transitional program: meeting ongoing emergency needs; increasing food self-sufficiency; ensuring safe drinking water; provision of shelter and basic survival items; distribution of seeds, fertilizer, and tools; mine clearance; reconciliation, resettlement and reintegration; and improving basic social services throughout the country such as availability of medicine and medical attention as well as staffed and functioning schools. As the government tackles these challenges, along with its other priorities of strengthening good governance and establishing solid legal frameworks, its progress should generate long-term development assistance from donors.

Prioritizing the special needs of women is critical not only to ensuring their survival—and thereby that of their families—but more broadly to their communities’ prospects for successful reconstruction. Populations that should be targeted for assistance and protection include single heads of household, unaccompanied minors, women and girls forced to live and work under the former UNITA forces, and male children associated with the armed forces. Other vulnerable groups include the handicapped, elderly, and unaccompanied minors, including street children.

HIV/AIDS confronts Angola with a new threat that could decimate the next two generations just as the war did for the past two. The isolation caused by war protected Angola against the spread of the virus, but now increasing commerce and migration with regional neighbors make it possible for the disease to spread with the same speed that is devastating other Southern African nations. The engagement and personal leadership of President of the Republic of Angola José Eduardo dos Santos in establishing a national commission for HIV/AIDS is an important first step. Due to the sweeping social impact of HIV/AIDS, now massive public education programs will be needed that are tailored to the different needs of urban and rural populations. It is important to note also that malaria and other infectious diseases cause many preventable deaths in Angola, with the attendant impact on the fabric and productivity of communities.

The social compact between any government and its citizens includes both the rights to be protected by the state as well as the people’s obligation to be productive and law-abiding members of their communities. It was suggested that the government and civil society can reinforce this compact by sometimes reversing their customary roles so that the government highlights the rights of the citizens and civil society emphasizes their obligations in respect to current law.

As in any post-conflict society, Angola faces a number of difficult challenges in guaranteeing the rights of its people. For instance, a great many Angolans lack the identity documents that would enable them, as a practical matter, to make their claim to the rights of citizenship. The participants encouraged the government to continue the process of registration without fee, which has already taken place for 160,000 Angolans. And since many areas in the country’s interior lack a functioning justice system, monitoring and reporting mechanisms to detect rights violations and
mechanisms to protect individuals from abuses such as sexual violence must be strengthened.

The Development Agenda
The economic survival strategies that were developed to endure through decades of war are testament to a spirit and determination that will serve the people well in building their own economic security and the economy of the country as a whole. In urban and rural areas alike, individual enterprise and small-scale business will enhance the livelihoods of more Angolans than will even an expanded mineral sector. Indeed, recent studies have indicated that countries with an overreliance on natural resources and the extractive industries are the most vulnerable to chronic conflict and violence—a reality that Angolans know all too well.

The transition strategy must be an enabling process that builds on the creative drive and entrepreneurial spirit of the people and also emphasizes the pivotal role of women in economic life. Micro-financing is an approach that has been shown throughout the world to help unleash this creative potential (often by focusing especially on women). And since much of the employment and economic activity—particularly in the large urban centers—is in the informal sector, these entrepreneurs should have access to economic and legal services in order to transform and develop their livelihoods.

Vulnerable groups, the rural and urban poor, must be guaranteed full rights as citizens and access to key resources such as land, water, and basic services that will allow them the means to participate fully in the reconstruction of their communities and livelihoods. Land reform legislation should provide for the regularization of existing occupation, and the rights of IDPs and rural peoples should be ensured to return and occupy their lands or origin. For others without such homes, arable plots and resettlement conditions will need to be provided in conformity with the Norms and Regulamento.

With the support and cooperation of all the relevant stakeholders, the government of Angola has the opportunity to establish the policy framework and take concrete steps to systematically reduce poverty through strategies that modernize the small farm-holding sector, diversify the economy, and ensure just distribution.

This transition cannot, however, take place overnight, nor should it imply that Angola’s humanitarian needs will soon disappear as the country moves into a new phase of development. But the new phase will nevertheless require rather distinct and fundamental changes of orientation and shifts in program support implementation, partnership arrangements, and in the strategic agenda for development.

In terms of implementation modalities to support the transition and period of development, national authorities will need to take the lead in a number of areas:

- Ensuring that the right operating environment is in place to permit and encourage private enterprise (including speedier access to visas, work permits, and licenses in accord with current law).

- Judicial and land reforms.

- Education programs such as basic literacy and vocational training to equip Angolans for new options and opportunities.

- Programs to attract highly qualified and skilled Angolans abroad back to their home country.

- Extensive capacity-building to equip the government to deliver these various initiatives, indeed as a component of most (if not all) aid programs.

- Accelerating the approval of its program of decentralization.

- Fully assuming the challenges of ownership of the national social and economic agenda, including the important aspect of coordination of development partners.

In respect of the partnership agenda, donor partners (bilateral and multilateral) will need to design
coordination, harmonization, and accountability agendas both among themselves and vis-à-vis the national authorities. They will need to demonstrate increased sensitivity to the specific circumstances of a post-conflict environment and to the need for more flexibility in their interpretation of, and support for, national programs of transition and development. The national and international private sector can play a major catalytic role in Angola’s social/economic recovery and in all consultations on development. These actors can be especially valuable partners in the areas of the financing of infrastructure; corporate social responsibility; facilitating civil society involvement (in the PRSP, community-based programs, etc.); and in consulting with the National Parliament itself.

In terms of the strategic development agenda, economists at the meeting urged that the continuum among the preparation and rearrangement of annual budgetary arrangements, the medium-term PRSP, the reconstruction and rehabilitation agenda, the Millennium Development Goals, and Angola’s long-term vision should be explicitly recognized. This would necessarily underline issues of integrated planning (especially for the PRSP); better governance and dialogue with the IMF and other funding agencies; mainstreaming the capacity agenda; inserting Angola into the regional (NEPAD, or New Partnership for Africa’s Development) and global agenda; and capitalizing on the unique short- and medium-term windows of opportunity for quickly achieving an improved quality of life for the mass of people in Angola.

After decades of war, the challenges of recovery and development in Angola are varied and formidable and will require the committed cooperation of all involved—the government, donors, international organizations, and NGOs. At stake is the question of whether in Angola peace can be more than merely the absence of war; 14 million Angolans are hoping it can and are counting on their government and the international community to help build a peace with prosperity, health, and justice.

This project was initially undertaken in partnership with Arthur Helton, noted expert on refugees and the internally displaced and president of Strategic Humanitarian Action and Research (SHARE). Tragically, Helton was among those killed in the August 19, 2003, attack on UN headquarters in Baghdad. Conference organizers (Refugees International was also a sponsor) decided to proceed as planned and dedicate the meeting to Helton’s memory; Roberta Cohen of the Brookings Institution, a friend and fellow expert on displacement, assumed his duties as chair.

Participant List

Chair
Roberta Cohen, Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution; Co-director, Brookings-SAIS Project on Internal Displacement

Project Director
David Shorr, Program Officer, The Stanley Foundation

Participants Representing the Government of Angola
João Baptista Kussumua, Minister of Assistance and Social Reintegration, Republic of Angola
Joaquin Mangueira, Minister-Counselor, Mission of Angola to the UN Organizations in Geneva
José António Martins, Advisor to the Minister of Assistance and Social Reintegration, Republic of Angola

Other Participants
Simon Bagshaw, Internally Displaced Persons Unit, United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Geneva
Mamadou Beye, International Relations Representative with Corporate Public and Government Affairs, ChevronTexaco Angola
Allan Cain, Director, Development Workshop, Angola
Benjamin Castello, National Chairperson, Angola Jubileu 2000

Laurence Clarke, Country Manager, The World Bank, Angola

Christopher W. Dell, Ambassador of the United States to the Republic of Angola

Ernesto Mulato, Vice President, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

Robert Paiva, Director, External Relations Department, International Organization for Migration

Caroline Peguet, Africa Section, United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Geneva

Lisa Rimli, Research Analyst, Early Warning Unit FAST, Swisspeace, Geneva

Eric Schwartz, Chief of Staff, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Geneva

Marie Spaak, Desk Officer, Response Coordination Branch, United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Geneva

Franz Stadelmann, Humanitarian Aid Department/Africa, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, Bern

Matthias Stiefel, Executive Director, WSP International, Geneva

Koenraad Van Brabant, Senior Programme Officer, WSP International, Geneva

Urs Von Arb, Deputy Vice-Director, Main Division Reception and Return, Federal Office for Refugees, Government of Switzerland

David Whittlesey, Deputy Executive Director for Operations, WSP International, Geneva

Goder Yohannes, Senior Field Advisor, Transition Recovery Unit, Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, United Nations Development Programme, Geneva
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Programs focus on matters including the United Nations and other international organizations, bilateral relations involving the United States, international security issues, global citizenship development, human rights, and global civil society.

The foundation works with a number of partners around the world, including public policy institutions, nongovernmental organizations, schools, media organizations, and others.

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The Stanley Foundation
209 Iowa Avenue
Muscatine, IA 52761 USA
563-264-1500
563-264-0864 fax
info@stanleyfoundation.org