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**Moose outlines Angola situation to house lawmakers**

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WASHINGTON -- Peace, stability and democracy are necessary in Angola if the African nation "is to play a constructive role in the region and join the other newly formed democracies of southern Africa," says George Moose, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs.

"A stable and prosperous Angola will also be key to help its northern neighbor Zaire recover from its current troubles," Moose added April 24 in prepared remarks before the House of Representatives International Relations Committee's Subcommittee on Africa.

Meanwhile, Moose made plain to lawmakers that "the U.S. is deeply concerned about reports of Angolan involvement in Zaire," adding that "this can be a complicating factor in both the Angola and Zaire peace processes."

According to Moose, the "greatest cause for optimism" in Angola is the commitment by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA opposition leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi "to seek a peaceful future for their country. Since the signing of the Lusaka Protocol in November of 1994, the cease-fire has basically held. This is the longest period without warfare that Angola has known in decades."

At the same time, he said: "I do not, however, want to minimize the challenges to peace" which still exist, and that gains already achieved "could be threatened by the poor state of the Angolan economy and institutions. At present, there is very little capacity within government to provide even the most basic services to Angolans, be it water in the city of Luanda, improved seeds to farmers or justice and the protection of human rights."

Following is the text of Moose's remarks as prepared for delivery:

**ANGOLA'S GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY**

Good morning. Mister Chairman, members of the Subcommittee, I welcome this opportunity to appear before you to testify on our continuing efforts to consolidate peace and democracy in Angola. I wish also to thank the subcommittee for its longstanding and continuing interest in Angola. Bipartisan support for the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol has been key to our successful participation in the Angolan peace process and to the important progress we are now seeing.

## WHY ANGOLA MATTERS

The search for peace, democracy and economic development in Angola has been important to eight U.S. administrations. Angola is potentially one of Africa's richest countries, but war has consigned its people to poverty and suffering. The United States has, nevertheless, built an important economic presence in Angola, almost exclusively in the oil sector. Our investment there now totals nearly \$4,000 million dollars; seven percent of our imported oil comes from Angola. With the exciting new oil reserves now being discovered off the shores of Angola, that investment should increase substantially. With peace, the opportunities for trade and investment in other economic sectors will increase dramatically.

Our interest in Angola is more than material, however. The humanitarian disaster caused by more than 30 years of war killed hundreds of thousands of Angolans on all sides, first colonial power against independence movements, then rival independence movements against each other. One of these movements, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), seized Luanda in 1975 and formed the government. Since that time, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) has waged a civil war against the MPLA government. The War also destroyed most of Angola's infrastructure and institutions. The United States has provided nearly \$500 million for emergency relief since 1985 to feed, shelter, and care for those most affected.

Peace, stability and democracy are also necessary if Angola is to play a constructive role in the region and join the other newly formed democracies of southern Africa. A stable and prosperous Angola will also be key to help its northern neighbor Zaire recover from its current troubles.

## A MILESTONE REACHED

The Lusaka Protocol, Signed in November 1994 and to which the United States is an official observer, provides a blueprint for the two sides in Angola to disengage militarily and for UNITA to disarm and transform itself into a political party sharing in a Unity Government and participating in the National Assembly. Despite the many delays, we have witnessed important steps in recent months. In December UNITA declared that it had completed the military tasks required by the Lusaka Peace Accords, and the formation of an integrated national military began with incorporation of nine UNITA generals into senior positions in the national army. Earlier this month we witnessed several more equally important achievements in peace process implementation, including the passage of the law establishing for UNITA President Jonas Savimbi his new position as leader of the largest opposition party with special rights and privileges, the seating of 67 UNITA parliamentarians in the National Assembly, and the inauguration on April 11 of a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation in which UNITA took up the four ministries and the seven vice-ministerial positions promised it by the Lusaka Protocol.

These events are milestones in ending decades of conflict and bloodshed in Angola. UNITA can now participate openly and fully in the political process, and the ruling party of Angola,

the MPLA, under President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has committed itself to political pluralism and working constructively with former enemies.

The formation of the Unity Government also highlights the success of the U.N. Peacekeeping force (UNAVEM III), which has made the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol possible. A well-led and well-disciplined force, UNAVEM III demonstrates that a U.N. peacekeeping force with a clear mandate can be indispensable in helping the two opposing parties move out of a cycle of violence. It is also more cost-effective than dealing with the cost of war in lives, destroyed infrastructure, and a threat to future generations from land mines. UNAVEM III is still the world's largest U.N. peacekeeping mission.

I also would like to publicly recognize another U.N. partner that has contributed much to the success of the peace process, the U.N. Department of Humanitarian Assistance and its office in Luanda which has provided much of the international support that enabled the peace process to move forward. They have played a leading role in the Joint Commission, and in coordinating humanitarian aid to support the process.

## THE CHALLENGES AHEAD

### GOVERNANCE - INCLUSIVITY

The formation of the Unity Government does not signal the end of the Angolan peace process. Rather, it is a step on the road to lasting democracy. It will take years of working together for Angolans to learn to fully trust each other, especially after the bitter experience of the failed peace efforts of 1991-92. The formation of the Unity Government and the challenge of working together on a daily basis will be a severe test of peace, and reconciliation will certainly not come without effort and goodwill. The administration will continue to work closely with both the MPLA and UNITA, and with the other participating parties to help the Unity Government succeed. We will particularly focus on seeing that UNITA is allowed to play a meaningful role within the Unity Government and is given governmental resources and political space to play that role. Angola needs a credible political opposition to give voice to a large minority of its population and to provide a constructive dynamic within the Unity Government. We have made this clear to all.

The concern over the security of UNITA officials in Luanda was Dr. Savimbi's stated reason for not attending the Unity Government inauguration in Luanda April 11. We want to encourage a meeting between him and President dos Santos in Angola, and also hope Dr. Savimbi will soon travel to Luanda. Both actions will build confidence in the peace process and be an example to members of both parties that their leaders are fully committed to making the Unity Government work. UNITA shares fully in that responsibility, and we will continue to work with UNITA to help it do so.

### MILITARY INTEGRATION

Many particular tasks and obligations remain to be completed. The selection of UNITA troops for incorporation into the Angolan Armed Forces has been declared complete, but

many of those selected have not yet been inducted. Of those ex-UNITA men inducted some have reportedly already deserted, complaining of the poor conditions they found in the service. For the new armed forces to work, a minimal standard of living must be provided for all its members. The selection of UNITA personnel into the national police remains open and must be addressed now.

## DEMOBILIZATION

Nearly 100,000 other UNITA and government troops need to be demobilized, returned to their home areas, and given the chance to engage in productive work. Both UNITA and the government have contributed to delays in the demobilization process. The task is now beginning in earnest and must be completed expeditiously. Demobilization will clear the 15 quartering camps of UNITA troops. Those camps were created to house soldiers for about three months to allow them to be disarmed and processed. The glacial pace of the peace process until now has meant some of the areas have now been open for 18 months. Any lingering UNITA complaints about conditions in the areas will be resolved by integrating or demobilizing all the remaining ex-soldiers and closing the camps, which will permit the military peacekeeping units of UNAVEM III to withdraw.

We recognize the importance of concluding the demobilization process peacefully and expeditiously. USAID has provided critical assistance to move this process along over the past two years and will continue to assist demobilized soldiers with skills training and support, for the communities that the former soldiers will rejoin in civilian life.

## MAKING THE UNITY GOVERNMENT REAL

Perhaps the most delicate of the immediate tasks will be the normalization of the Unity Government's authority throughout Angola. The country has for too long been divided physically as well as emotionally.

The Unity Government must proceed carefully but systematically to end this division and to take up its responsibilities everywhere. I am encouraged that the groups tasked with this process include UNITA as well as MPLA members and must work closely with UNAVEM III according to the program that has been approved by the Joint Commission. I would observe that state administration should be providing services, including health, education, and infrastructure, as well as extending police and military authority. It is important to note that UNITA has many trained people such as teachers, doctors and administrators who can play useful roles in a peaceful Angola. Further, we encourage the new government to portray this process as normalization, not the imposition of Luanda's authority, and certainly not as a victory over UNITA.

## ZAIRE

We are deeply concerned about reports of Angolan involvement in Zaire. This can be a complicating factor in both Angola and Zaire peace processes. Both UNITA and Katangese members of the old government's armed forces have been publicly accused of fighting for the

opposing sides in Zaire and reports indicate that the Katangese have played an important military role in support on the rebel alliance. UNITA admits that it maintains a presence in Zaire to guarantee its supply route. We have raised our concerns about these reports of Angolan military involvement at the highest levels of both the old and new government and of UNITA. We will continue to urge restraint by all parties and have called upon President dos Santos to support OAU Special Representative Sahnoun's initiatives.

U.N. -- and American -- sanctions prohibit weapons sales to UNITA. Nevertheless, it has continued to make such purchases through neighboring countries, including Zaire. There can no longer be any excuse for this activity. UNITA has also marketed diamonds through other countries, including Zaire. It should henceforth conduct any business operations in accordance with the laws of Angola.

## SHADOWS ON THE HORIZON

The greatest cause for optimism in Angola is the commitment of the people, exemplified by President dos Santos and Dr. Savimbi, to seek a peaceful future for their country. Since the signing of the Lusaka Protocol in November of 1994, the cease-fire has basically held. This is the longest period without warfare that Angola has known in decades.

I do not, however, want to minimize the challenges to peace. The government has made very little and inadequate progress in fulfilling its obligation to disarm the civilian population. The government has armed some police units with heavy weapons. UNITA declared itself disarmed last December, but excepted Dr. Savimbi's personal security force. UNITA has still not disclosed to UNAVEM its size. UNITA has continued to sell diamonds and receive supplies, including weapons, through Zaire.

All of these reports are worrisome. Some actions may be ill-conceived "insurance policies" conditioned by the experience of the failed peace process of 1992. Others may be posturing or concessions to hardliners on both sides who will not abandon the habits of war. We are in constant dialogue with both parties, here and in Angola, and are working with the international community to try to resolve detrimental developments as they arise.

## ECONOMY

I would also mention that the gains of the peace process could be threatened by the poor state of the Angolan economy and institutions. At present, there is very little capacity within government to provide even the most basic services to Angolans, be it water in the city of Luanda, improved seeds to farmers or justice and the protection of human rights. Even with strong commitment, capacity building takes time -- especially to create the broad-based capacity needed in Angola to stretch down through government to the local levels. Hyperinflation has destroyed wages in the public and private sectors and taken away much of the incentive for honest work. The continued lack of fiscal transparency and accountability are also very worrisome. We have continually raised these concerns at the highest levels of the government and have been told that substantive changes could not occur until the war was over. That day is upon us. We expect the Angolan government will act promptly to adopt

much needed changes to the economy. We are working both bilaterally and through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to help Angola implement economic and fiscal policies to correct these problems and to allow all the Angolan people to realize some of the benefits of their potentially rich country. A joint IMF/World Bank mission is scheduled to leave for Angola within the next few weeks.

### UNAVEM III

With the emptying of the quartering areas and the completion of the military and many of the political aspects of the Lusaka Protocol, the need for UNAVEM III and its military component decreases. Last December the U.N. began a phased withdrawal plan that calls for full withdrawal of military peacekeeping units by the end of August of this year. At present, troop strength is 5,500, down from a high-water mark of 7,300. However, UNAVEM leadership and the U.N. Security Council are aware that ultimately, to avoid jeopardizing the peace, the withdrawal timetable must be linked to security conditions on the ground. We need your support for this vital undertaking.

We are now discussing with the U.N. the nature of the international community's presence post-UNAVEM III and will continue to consult with Congress as we work with the Security Council to determine the structure of a follow-on operation. We will notify Congress at least 15 days in advance of Security Council action to establish such an operation. The current mandate for UNAVEM III expires June 30. We believe that a monitoring presence will be necessary to assist in the implementation of remaining Lusaka Protocol tasks and, perhaps more importantly, to give both sides confidence that the international community continues to monitor the peace. Although the structure and numbers continue to be discussed, we visualize a mix of military observers, civilian police, political advisers and human rights monitors to fulfill these goals, and the assets to allow them to travel quickly throughout the country.

The Lusaka Protocol calls for elections at a time when the special representative of the secretary-general judges conditions ripe. We anticipate that will be in two to four years.

### CONCLUSION

Before closing, I would like to commend the extraordinary efforts of the U.N. Secretary-General's Special Representative Maitre Alioune Blondin Beye, whose indefatigable enthusiasm has moved both sides forward at key points, and the dedication of U.S. Special Envoy Ambassador Paul Hare and our current and former ambassadors to Angola, who have brought their skill and determination to making the peace process succeed. I would also note the determined efforts for many months of our mission to the United Nations, especially Ambassador Inderfurth and then-Ambassador and now Secretary Madeleine Albright. The close cooperation of our Portuguese and Russian "troika" partners as observers to the Lusaka Protocol has also been a key factor in constructive international engagement.

Hard work remains ahead for us, but we now can see more clearly our goal: an Angola at peace, a force for stability and economic growth in the region, a place where former enemies

work together and settle disputes through political means, and a country where the people can share in the development of their rich land.

I would be happy to take your questions.