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THE WAR IN ANGOLA:
INTERNAL CONDITIONS FOR PEACE AND RECOVERY

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INTRODUCTION

The war in Angola and its possible termination has recently received considerable international attention, particularly from the initiation of the formal peace negotiations between Angola, Cuba, United States and South Africa in early May 1988.

Throughout this period, however, the prospects for peace has largely been considered from an international angle. The main themes have been the plausibility of South Africa settling both for peace in Angola and independence for Namibia, and the possibility of Angola letting go the Cuban troops given a continued external support to Unita and a continued domination of South Africa in Namibia. The questions of peace in Angola and independence for Namibia have been interrelated since Chester Crocker introduced the “linkage policy” in 1981, and has most likely delayed both processes by several years.

The main purpose of the present paper is to look at internal options for peace and recovery. Obviously external and internal factors are closely interlinked, as a continued war-situation will effectively preclude any sound and peaceful development in Angola. However, it is also true that the violent conflict in Angola could not have been sustained for 14 years without a national base and that peace and recovery will depend on a solution also of internal problems.

Below we will look more closely at the implications for the prospects of peace and recovery of 1) the political structure, 2) the economic options and constraints, and 3) the socio-economic conditions in Angola. To include socio-economic conditions in a paper on peace and recovery may seem like an overestimation of popular influence. However, the combination of the detrimental economic and social conditions in which most Angolans now find themselves and the history of popular (armed) resistance indicate that the recovery process will have to involve all strata of the population if it is to succeed.

First, however, follows a brief presentation of the state of the armed conflict as this presents itself in February 1989.
THE PRESENT STATE OF THE WAR SITUATION

The immediate background of the conflict in Angola is the war of independence between 1961-1975, which terminated with a situation where the three major liberation movements MPLA, FNLA and UNITA could not agree on how to share power. Attempts to reconcile the parties were made through the Alvor conference in 1975 and several other initiatives, but the agreements fell apart as a result of antagonisms related both to political views, national support base, external ties, and personal relations. The main actors in the war that followed, and now has lasted for 14 years, have been the MPLA (with support from Cuba and the Soviet Union) and UNITA (with support from South Africa and the US). Other foreign powers, such as East Germany, Zaire, Israel, Congo and Zambia have had more marginal roles. The FNLA, as well as the Cabindan based FLEC, have largely stayed away from the scene.

Though the formal peace process started in mid-1988, informal contacts have taken place throughout the 1980s. The formalization of contacts was a combined outcome of external interest groups wanting to end a war that had turned to their disadvantage, and of the Angolan government wanting to end a war that had come to threaten both the economic and political basis for the present Power holders.

The most important aspects for Angola of the agreements made between May 1988 and the final ratification of an accord in New York December 22, 1988 have been:

South-Africa was to withdraw its troops from Angola, and terminate its direct support to UNITA.

South-Africa was also to prepare withdrawal of its troops from Namibia and prepare the ground for independence in the country in accordance with the UN Resolution 435.

And Cuba was to withdraw the 50,000 of its troops within a period of 2 years, expel the ANC (which has 4 military and 3 civilian camps and at least 6,000 members in the country), and pull back Swapo forces to at least 200 km north of the Namibian border.

In addition, the US came to insist on national reconciliation (for them a euphemism for a coalition government) between UNITA and the MPLA. Important aspects not agreed upon have been the question of continued economic support to UNITA from the US, and the role of Zaire as an active supporter of the same movement.

As of February 1989, it seems clear that South Africa has gained most from the peace-process so far, and that the question of a final peace in Angola still is an open one. The present situation seems to be as follows:
Angola has started to send away the Cuban troops according to schedule.

South Africa is at the same time in the process of securing a physical and economic influence in Namibia, which most likely will be substantial also in case of a formal independence.

Unita suffers from internal strifes and attacks by government forces, but receives external aid from the US and South-Africa and will thus continue to play a role.

Angola has also taken measures to expel ANC-members, who now only have Tanzania and Ethiopia as relatively secure bases for a continued struggle.

The political development in South Africa has led to uncertainties as to the degree of support for the peace-settlement. Presently, Pik Botha seems rather alone in appreciating the New York accord.

For Angola, the combination of the withdrawal of Cuban troops and the uncertainty related to the character of Namibian independence must be unsatisfying. The recent attacks on Angolan territory across the border from the Caprivi Strip (February 4) and the continued support to Unita by South Africa highlights the uncertainty now apparent. Angola has responded by renewing contacts with Congo for a possible move of Cuban troops to that country as a security measure in case the situation gets worse.

Even though peace is still not at hand, however, the long term trend points toward a final solution with MPLA in power. All parties involved, with the exception of Unita, seem to be interested in this. The ultimate US aim is to have a government strong enough to protect western economic interests, but (particularly during the transitional period) weak enough to be influenced. For South Africa a policy of destabilization will be useful for some time to come, but in the long run they cannot afford not to have contacts with a country as potentially strong and economically important as Angola (in contrast to the rest of the countries in the region, South Africa is in no position to assert economic pressure on Angola). The Soviet Union seems to have accepted the war as an internal problem to be solved by the Angolans. And for the present government in Angola, a final solution is most likely a matter of life or death.

THE INTERNAL CONDITIONS FOR PEACE AND RECOVERY

Parallel with the development in the military conflict, there have been developments within Angola pointing in the direction of peace and recovery.
The problem is, however, that most of these developments precondition a peaceful situation: Recovery in important economic sectors like agriculture and mining will be jeopardized by continued military activities in the countryside. Necessary investments in infrastructure and industry will be jeopardized by continued military build-up. A continued war will effectively preclude the popular support necessary for recovery to succeed. And lack of results from the policy of reconciliation and economic liberalization will jeopardize the position of the present power holders in relation to more dogmatic elements.

The Political Situation

The political situation in Angola is characterized by a strong centralization of power in the presidency and a small group of people centred around the Defence and Security Council. President José Eduardo dos Santos himself is generally regarded as an able and careful president.

Formally the state apparatus is subordinate to the ruling party (MPLA—Partido de Trabalho) and its Political Bureau and Central Committee. A Council of Ministers is regarded as an executive body responsible for overseeing the implementation of party policy. In addition there is an elected People's Assembly, with the task of promoting the execution of the objectives of the People's Republic of Angola as defined by the MPLA-PT.

Whereas the former bodies in reality have limited power in relation to President dos Santos and his closest associates, the Party and the People's Assembly are in addition characterized by lack of representativeness with farmers, women and industrial workers being particularly underrepresented.

As concerns external bodies like the military, the police, and the national security service, these now seem to be under the control of the President. Without fairly rapid results of the pragmatic policies followed, however, people advocating more dogmatic policies may come to the fore from the ranks of these institutions.

Popular external organizations like the Organization of Angolan Women (OMA), the Labour Organization (UNTA), and the Youth Organization of the MPLA (JMPLA) are visible and active, but their direct impact on foreign policy matters seem to be limited. In particular the JMPLA have played itself off the side-line through a dogmatic orientation and initiatives f.ex. to limit the freedom of churches now guaranteed by the Government.

The inefficiency of the state bureaucracy is another dominant feature of the political structure, and one which is likely to represent a considerable obstacle for economic recovery. Not only did the Angolans inherit the red
tape and lethargy of the Portuguese colonial civil service. They also have had to fill it with middle-level cadres lacking basic qualifications, as practically all such positions formerly were filled by the Portuguese themselves. Previously many top positions were also filled with people having active participation in the war of independence as their strongest asset, but more qualified technocrats are now slowly taking over.

As concerns decision-making and executive power in national affairs, there is formal structure of decentralization on the regional, municipal and community levels involving the Party as the main body. Though varying between areas and levels, traditional structures are at the same time supposed to be fairly intact. Though one cannot today speak about a decentralized system, there are thus formal political structures on which to build a policy of recovery. As concerns policies, the pragmatic and westward-looking line of president dos Santos has become dominant. Looking more closely at statements and initiatives by the Angolan leadership from 1975, such a line has always been there but the same pragmatism has not always made it pertinent. When it has come to the fore now since 1984/85 this is partly a result of a wish to become more independent in relation to communist regimes, and partly of a need to counter harsh economic realities. The economic reform-program SEF (opening up for foreign capital and a liberalization of the economy) and membership in the IMF (opening up for access to debt rescheduling through the Paris Club) are both seen as prerequisites for recovery.

The line has met with opposition particularly from dogmatists within the party, but these and other people in the political structure seen as obstacles for the favoured policy have at least for the time being largely been replaced (Maria Mambo de Café and now recently Manuel Alexandre Rodrigues "Kito" are cases in point). People advocating a continued planning economy, a tougher stand towards former and present antagonists, and continued relations with the eastern block are still present, however.

Looking at Unita, there is little doubt that the movement has serious internal problems, although it is still likely to play an important role in coming events.

First of all the movement has clearly been weakened by the prolonged struggle itself. There are signs of war weariness among its adherents, and a large number seem to have left combating units (see below). The development of factions (notably the young guard, Unita intellectuals abroad, and the so called Cunene group) is at least partly an outcome of being involved on the losing side of a never ending war. The political style acquired by Savimbi to counter internal splits, with an increasing use of family members and relatives coupled with a growing authoritarianism and personality cult, have enhanced the problem of dissidents and factions.

Equally serious for the position of Unita, however, is the recent weakening of the organization through military defeats (most recently in former
strongholds along the important Benguela railway) and reductions in supply of arms and other resources from its allies. The utility of Jamba as a base is now reduced, with the Zaire and US-Israeli base at Kamina within Zaire territory increasing in importance.

The government has utilized this situation to introduce an extensive program of clemency and an intensified diplomatic offensive towards the US. The principle message from the government to the US is that they will go a long way toward national reconciliation (by them not interpreted as implying a coalition government), provided Savimbi himself is kept out of the process. Moves have been made by several of the parties involved to secure a future for Savimbi abroad, at least during the current transitional phase. Morocco now seems to be the most relevant alternative.

The policy has met with some success. A large number of soldiers are supposed to have left Unita, several top people have either come into discredit (like former foreign secretary Tito Chingunji) or have rallied to the MPLA (like José Mandala). Other former antagonists (like Daniel Chipenda, several intellectuals previously living abroad, and maybe now also Arthur Tchibassa of Flec) have been reintegrated into the Angolan political structure.

Despite the weakening, however, Unita as a political factor is still to be reckoned with. As noted, both the US and South Africa will need Unita in their political strategy at least for the time being. The only factor that can prevent a continued external support now seems to be a change of policy from the part of Zaire, and the country is exposed to a considerable pressure from other African states to stop their active support to Unita. As we shall return to, there are also internal reasons for not dismissing what Unita represents from the process of reconciliation.

Returning now to the internal political prospects for peace and recovery, a basic problem for all organizations involved is the lack of a popular support base.

At this stage, people have a basic distrust in the ability of any of the existing organizations (including both the Government and Unita) to solve the problems the country is facing.

The common basis for this distrust is the dismay Angolans still feel over the inability of their leaders to come to terms in 1975.

For the MPLA, the main additional factor is the connection people draw between the constantly deteriorating socio-economic situation since 1975 and the Government. They do not blame the Government for the war as such, but (partly justified) for not investing more efforts and resources into socio-economic issues. Additional factors are some widely attended scandals among the political elite (involving diamonds and foreign bank accounts),
and the view of the MPLA as still being too much dominated by mestiços who people still distrust.

For Unita the dismay is first and foremost affiliated with its extremely brutal methods of guerilla war and its strong attachment to and dependence on South Africa. South Africa is unanimously considered the “incarnation of evil” among Angolans. Many, but far from all, also consider Unita to have the main responsibility for the renewal of war after 1975 through its collaboration with South Africa.

There are also other groups that have become “marginalized” in Angola during the past 14 years: In Cabinda the separatist sentiment is still fairly strong. The small but important group of mestiços have already been mentioned. There is a fairly large number of Angolan intellectuals abroad who still consider it difficult to return. And the estimated 60000 people in the armed forces, 50000 in the militia and 25000 armed followers of Unita becoming civilians after years of military service represent an important category. Those with higher education will most likely have few problems, but for others the transition may be difficult and easily lead to continued marginalization.

Mention should also be made of a new “ethnic group” which may sit with a key role in the future development. These are the so called “retornados”, or people having lived in Zaire during all or large parts of the war of independence and now returning. Most of them are Kongos from the north, and they have often acquired education and skill during their time of absence superior to that of other Angolans. They represent a large group (approximately 500 000), and 200 000 are thought to live only in Luanda. When they have had problems being integrated and acquiring positions they are qualified for, this is a result of a basic distrust. Distrust because of the long historical schism between north and south in Angola, their affiliation with the FNLA, and their motives for returning. Their position can be exemplified by the general view of them being responsible for the situation at the parallel market, being the dominant economic reality for the large majority of Angolans.

What is important here is that the lack of active support for the MPLA government and marginalization of large groups have created a political “vacuum” between politicians (or what Angolans call “responsáveis”) and the people which will have to be filled if active engagement is to take place. Notably, “responsáveis” are here not only centrally placed politicians, but also MPLA representatives at the level of regions, municipalities, villages, cooperatives and factories. People will have to feel that their interests are represented, be this as members of ethnic groups(Ovimbundu, Mbundu, Bakongo, Chokwe etc.), professions (farmers and peasants, intellectuals, industrial workers, bureaucrats) , or other interests (women, youth, urban dwellers etc). Today the MPLA does not have such a broad base, or rather: They have not had the possibility of broadening their support base since independence.
Thus a policy of national reconciliation is necessary. Recent official talks by the President and unofficial talks with former antagonists (including Unita) indicate that the government has realized this. Non-governmental institutions (like the Luanda-based Liga Angolana de Amizade e Solidaridade com os Povos, LAASP) have also been erected to ease harmonization. Most likely (and with the best chances to succeed) is that the reconciliation will take place in the form of a coalition a careful integration of former antagonists into stately and private structures still dominated by the present government, and not through a coalition government.

At the same time, moreover, a basic problem for the MPLA becomes that of restoring confidence in the government’s capacity to govern. This can only be done by pursuing an economic recovery involving all strata of the population, and without too much delay. Continued dissatisfaction can easily be exploited, something the coming to the fore of Holden Roberto (recently having had meetings with Unita’s old allied Houphouet-Boigny in Abidjan and spreading leaflets in Angola indicating return) is a reminder of.

The Economic Situation

With its large and varied natural resources, including oil, a large hydroelectric potential, numerous minerals, and large tracts of arable land, Angola has a better point of departure for economic recovery than most other countries in Africa. Adding to the favourable position is the varied network of economic relations now encompassing all the most important economic powers in both the East and West, and the independence of South Africa as the regional economic superpower.

The economic situation now, however, is that all sectors except for oil produces far below potential and are severely affected by structural inefficiency.

The oil production has increased from 172,000 b/d in 1973 to 470,000 b/d in the end of 1988. The production increase has largely counteracted the fall in oil prices since 1985. Angola has also secured a production sharing agreement (PSA) between the stately Sonangol and foreign companies which is generally considered to be beneficial. Oil production in Angola is finally cheap (3–4 dollars per barrel) in relation to production costs in other oil producing countries.

For the remaining sectors, however, production is down to between 7% (coffee) and 54% (manufacturing industries) of the 1973 level. There are a few isolated exceptions to this bleak picture, but these are industries being heavily influenced by foreign economic interests (like industrial fishing and diamond mining).
The two main factors behind the current state of affairs are the colonial heritage and the war-situation.

The economic structure inherited by the Portuguese was characterized by a modern sector effectively separated from the traditional one (the modern, at the same time, generally being inefficient with a low productive capacity); traditional producers largely being alienated from their own production through an elaborate system of forced labour; a heavy concentration on a limited number of products for export with few positive local implications (silver, rubber, slaves, diamonds, coffee and oil); an infrastructure developed to serve export needs, (and thus not combining national population and production centres); and a strong concentration of skilled jobs and executive powers in the hands of the colonizers. When 300,000 of the 340,000 Portuguese left in 1975, the economy quickly disintegrated.

The implications of the war have been both direct and indirect. Directly, the physical insecurity in 80% of the country has made it difficult or impossible to pursue agricultural or other productive activities; the destruction of physical infrastructure has made it difficult to distribute and sell the little that has been produced; actions of sabotage have effectively precluded capital industries like diamond mining and coffee-production (and made it impossible to start exploiting other natural resources); and the large number of internal refugees and split families has been instrumental for creating an unstable socio-economic situation where traditional strategies of income diversification have eroded. One important implication of the latter has been the need for people to invest most of their time and resources in parallel market activities.

Indirectly, the most devastating aspect of the war has been the lack of capital for investment in industries and other sectors. Most foreign exchange earnings have been used for military purposes (approx. 55%). An additional consequence of the war demands has been the channeling of skilled personnel to military service. Also the majority of people having been sent abroad for education during the past 10 years have entered military service upon their return. And finally, the general atmosphere of insecurity has prevented potential entrepreneurs from investing in economic activities. A large number of able people have simply withdrawn from formal economic life.

No matter what the reasons for the present state of the Angolan economy are, however, looking back will not help. Exploiting the considerable economic potential is a huge challenge, and there are reasons for lowering expectations and see recovery in a long term perspective (as the World Bank has emphasized in a recent report). The big question is whether this is good enough to maintain political stability.

The two pillars of the restructuring plan are a continued emphasis on oil production (with a production of 500,000 b/d planned for 1990), and a
vitalization of the agricultural sector. Emphasis will here be put both on products earning foreign exchange and substituting imports (coffee, cotton, maize and meat respectively), and small-scale agriculture. The latter is conditioned by the fact that 80% of the population are peasants or farmers, and that national production of basic foodstuffs is necessary to avoid spending foreign exchange on food (today representing 15% of total imports).

Other areas of priority are restructuring and development of physical infrastructure (including the strategic Benguela Railway), and a revitalization of the existing (but deteriorated) manufacturing industry.

To attain these goals, the new economic restructuring plan Saneamento Económico e Financeiro (SEF), coupled with membership in the International Monetary Fund, is ascribed a pivotal role.

Central aspects of the plan are:

- Decentralization (of decision-making and responsibility).
- Sanitation of the economy (including a devaluation).
- Liberalization (of prices and wages).
- Foreign investments.
- Privatization (with greater autonomy for enterprises).

Many observers believe, however, that there are a number of basic constraints inhibiting the type of rapid development envisioned by the leaders in Angola.

Most important are the factors already discussed of a large and inefficient bureaucracy, the lack of skilled manpower and entrepreneurial experience, the existence of a parallel market economy which until made superfluous by economic recovery might effectively hamper development, and an exhausted infrastructure and industrial sector.

Additional factors are the lack of active support for SEF among parts of the leadership, and the threat drastic changes (like the development of a strong economic elite) may come to entail for the privileges now enjoyed by the present leadership.

It has also been claimed that SEF as defined actually implies a short-term rehabilitation of the economy, without proper attention being paid to identification of key sectors and socio-economic consequences of economic liberalization.

Also, with several sectors involving options for large profits and prestige among investors (oil, diamond mining, capital-intensive industries, infrastructural development), there are dangers that investments will be channeled to these rather than to a broader set of enterprises with direct implications for employment and income (agriculture and other primary
production systems, small scale industries). With the “trickling down” philosophy apparently being part of the recovery strategy, the Government is likely to accept this. There are already such tendencies among donors and commercial interests, where large projects within the energy sector, infrastructure and urban rehabilitation are preferred at the expense of f.ex. rural development, health and education.

Finally, there are signs of Angola developing an “oil economy” in the sense of embarking upon large and costly projects without sufficient emphasis being put on sector priorities. An example is the huge Capanda dam, costing at least 1 billion dollars and now generally considered a failure. Large single investment projects within an economic environment as weak as Angola’s may prove fatal.

Thus Angola is faced with a situation where a considerable economic potential is to be developed within a fragile economic environment. The strong position of the present political leadership and the access to capital and foreign manpower, is promising for the capital intensive sectors which can be run fairly detached from the national political and economic structures.

More scepticism seems due as to the options for a development involving all strata of the population. On the one hand, the “trickle down economy” and emphasis on market forces for generating growth may prove unrealistic in the economic environment existing. On the other, the primary production systems (from which 80% of the population acquire their livelihood) have inherent structural constraints and will have to receive considerable more attention than up till now if they are to develop (the agricultural sector has only received 5% of the foreign exchange earnings the past years).

Agricultural production now represents a mere 7% of GNP (with a cereal production in 1987 of 335,000 tons and agricultural production per capita falling every year since 1982), and due to the combined effect of low production and breakdown of marketing structures hardly any foodstuffs reach non-producers in the cities.

Before independence, there were 1,2 million farming units having 3,4 million hectares under cultivation. Problems were then related to lack of productive means (ploughs, hoes, seeds etc.), incomplete production groups (with men being away on forced labour), and inadequate agricultural methods (only 14% employing animal draft power, shifting cultivation dominating, and fertilizers and pesticides seldom used). Nevertheless, most units produced a surplus exchanged through an elaborate system of Portuguese “comerciantes" who also supplied the peasants with input factors and consumer goods. In the mid-70s cereal production averaged 500,000 tons a year. FAO estimates indicate cereal needs to be 650,000 tons.
Thus there is a potential for surplus production. The government has laid the political foundation for agricultural development, with an official abandoning of large stately structures and development of a system of agricultural development stations (Estações de Desenvolvimento Agrária) to service private farms. What remains are more resources and a clearer policy for agricultural development.

Also the fishery sector has a large potential as a source of food and employment. Today the bulk of the 500,000 tons of fish produced is taken within the industrial sector and by foreign vessels, but the approximately 10,000 full time and 50,000 part-time fishermen will produce considerable quantities provided access to productive means and a functioning marketing system.

More is needed to revive the pastoral production. The collapse of marketing systems combined with the effects of a general poverty, war, droughts and discontinuing of cattle vaccination programs, have laid to a volume of slaughtered cattle of only 3,700 tons (1985), as compared to 24,500 tons in 1973. Large investments will be needed, at least for a rapid recovery to take place.

The Socio-Economic Situation

Present socio-economic indicators in Angola reveal an extremely difficult situation, also in relation to other countries in Southern Africa.

People in the country have a life expectancy at birth of 43 years, the death rate among children under 5 is 240/1000, only 20% are believed to be literate, and there is a critical shortage of all types of health facilities and personnel. In addition, there are severe problems directly related to the war situation. 550,000 people are internal refugees, 440,000 people in rural areas have been affected by not having been unable to plant or harvest their fields, and of the 440,000 destitute people believed to live in cities a large part have fled from the war. Also, over 50,000 people are believed to be crippled.

Equally serious is the disruption of the traditional social and economic organization in Angola. Families are separated, often with the main breadwinner living away. 25–30% of the households are believed to be female headed, and belonging to the most severely affected part of the population. And the social security the extended family traditionally has represented has lost much of its importance, as the general economic situation has forced people to primarily be concerned with their own immediate household.

Underlining the basic situation of socio-economic insecurity is a spread of violence particularly in the largest cities, and an increasing importance of sorcery.
For most Angolans, the policy of recovery discussed so far has hardly given any practical implications.

Food and capital goods are still virtually unobtainable through official channels. Though the access has improved somewhat on the parallel markets, the prices are still out of reach for the large majority. And most social services (from medical care to transportation) are only obtainable on the "candonga". Thus the daily challenge for most Angolans (including many in executive positions) is still that of working as little as possible in their formal capacities, and spend as much time and efforts as possible in the parallel economy to cater for basic necessities.

Obviously, improving the social and economic conditions so severely affected by the political and economic development the past years will take time. Furthermore, only an economic development directly involving the population can guarantee improvements. However, the severity of the situation also necessitates investments of resources into non-economic sectors like health, education and urban development, and creation of a general environment making it possible for people to react to incentives.

Concerning the latter, it is at the least necessary to create an economic environment where wages pay for basic necessities and where products are paid with prices covering expenses and living costs. Without this, people will continue to function within a parallel economy largely detached from what can be influenced through economic policy measures. With the present enormous gap between supply and demand being at the centre of the problem, a combination of liberalizing the market (to enhance import, production, and distribution of goods) and maintenance of control over basic areas of supply (like productive means for agriculture) seems essential. A devaluation is also part of the SEF package, but it is difficult to see how this can function with the extreme shortage of goods and the lack of control over the economic structures.

Concerning the former, the literacy rate in Angola was around 10% at the time of independence, and despite strong efforts particularly up till 1982 the rate is now probably no higher than 20% (primary enrollment increased from 500,000 in 1975 to 1.3 million in 1982, but fell to 870,000 in 1984). A major problem has been the absence of teachers, who (like so many other people in formal jobs) cannot afford to be at work. Equally serious is the low number of people with higher education. Most of those having received higher education are still abroad.

Concerning health, the high mortality rate and the low average living age among Angolans can partly be attributed to the war and the general poverty situation. There are, however, also basic health problems attached to poor sanitation, lack of access to safe water, and lack of access to detergents and medicines. In addition, the low efficiency of the health care network as well
as the low number of doctors and nurses, hospitals and health posts indicate that large resources will have to be channeled to the sector.

The urbanization process in Angola has been drastic (with 25% now living in towns and Luanda increasing from 400,000 to 1.4 million people since independence), and most “musseques” lack basic necessities like descent housing, water, sanitation systems, and educational facilities. There is also little reason to believe that the industrial structure in Angolan cities will be able to absorb an increasing number of people, and that the rural areas supply the cities with enough food. Thus, parallel with improving the conditions for city-dwellers, the urbanization process now being strong must be turned.

The extent to which the process for economic recovery also will improve socio-economic conditions for the angolans in general will not only be a test as to the intentions and capability of the present government, but most likely also to whether peace and recovery will be maintained. As we stated in the introductory remarks to this paper, popular resistance has a long tradition in Angola and may come to the fore again should conditions not improve.