

## CHAPTER 5

# A MOVING TARGET IN 2002? INITIAL DD&R POLICIES AND PRACTICE

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### **The programme for the socio-economic and professional reintegration of ex-UNITA military, 23 May 2002**

Immediately following the signature of the Memorandum of Understanding, the government of Angola initiated the development of a demobilisation and reintegration strategy, while the Angolan Armed Forces was tasked with the practical management of the quartering, disarmament and initial demobilisation of UNITA ex-combatants.

The development of reintegration policy by the government was also a requirement of the 'Memorandum of Understanding', pertaining to the section on the 'Vocational Reinsertion of Demobilised Personnel of the Ex-UNITA Military Forces into National Life'.<sup>77</sup> The first clearly defined policy made public by the Government of Angola came under a two year programme entitled 'Programme for the Socio-Economic and Professional Reintegration of ex-UNITA Military'.<sup>78</sup> Approved by the Permanent Commission of the Council of Ministers on May 23 2002, this programme followed the recommendations of the Council of Ministers in its session of 17 April, where the preparation of an instrument for the social reintegration of UNITA military was requested. This programme was supposed to have been implemented during the second semester of 2002 (starting in July 2002), and covered what at the time was the estimated number of UNITA military and para-military in the quartering and family gathering areas: 50.000 ex-combatants and 250.000 of their dependents. Under the implementation control of the Inter-Sectoral Commission for the Peace Process and National Reconciliation (CIPP), this programme was estimated at a total cost of \$55,479,531, of which the government would contribute \$27,739,765 and other donor sources \$27,739,765.

The government regarded this as a sub-component of previous demobilisation and reintegration efforts interrupted with the resumption of the war, under the 'General Reinsertion Programme'. As a result of the circumstances in the country, the current programme was aimed at improving the quality of the package of benefits and opportunities given to ex-military demobilised

from active service during the Lusaka process. Furthermore, as was the case with the emergency plan for resettlement and return, the reintegration of former UNITA combatants was conceptualised within a socio-economic development perspective and in the context of the consolidation of peace and national reconciliation.<sup>79</sup> In this regard, priority reintegration activities were identified through an initial assessment of the expectations of the target group.<sup>80</sup> The programme also foresaw the need for a specific set of actions directed at child soldiers focusing on the localisation of families, psychological support, general education and professional training.

The programme considers a number of priority intervention areas centred on training and professional reconversion. These included education, support to the creation of small income generating activities, road and social infrastructure rehabilitation, rehabilitation of energy sources, creation of jobs in the public and private sectors, support to the resettlement and community development of rural populations. In this regard, UNITA's demand for an immediate absorption framework for ex-combatants who wish to work in the education and health sectors, as well as in public administration, was positively considered and the creation of 6 specialised brigades/units is also foreseen. Priority was also placed in the rural areas to enable the 'social decompression' of cities through the re-launching of agricultural production and cattle farming. In parallel to these, the programme highlights the need to raise awareness of the target population and of society in general towards the acceptance of a 'new way of conducting social relationships'. Resettlement support is prioritised with the attribution of food assistance, clothing and domestic utensils kits; agricultural inputs kits and an emergency monetary contribution of USD 100 equivalent.

As regards execution, the political management of the programme was to be the responsibility of the Inter-Sectoral Commission for the Peace Process and National Reconciliation (CIPP). Implementation would be undertaken by IRSEM although an important role would be played by provincial, municipal and communal administrations. In practical terms, the activities enumerated above would be undertaken through a web of area-specific sub-programmes, suggested by several government ministries and departments. Two examples of this are the 'sub-programme of actions in the agricultural sector' and the 'sub-programme on professional training'. In this way, each priority activity is planned according to a specific area.<sup>81</sup>

## **International technical assistance: The World Bank and the Angola demobilisation and reintegration plan**

...demobilisation will help the GoA [government of Angola] to reduce the risk of renewed conflict. By increasing security in remote parts of the country, where most of the conflict was fought, it will also encourage spontaneous return of displaced civilians to the rural areas, the re-establishment of civilian administration, and the resumption of poverty-reducing agricultural growth. In addition, the consolidation of the peace process would enable the GoA to reduce the size of its own armed forces and to reallocate public resources to social sectors.<sup>82</sup>

International technical assistance to the DD&R process in Angola has been led primarily by the World Bank under the Multi-Country Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme.<sup>83</sup> In fact, under its coordination, a group of donors was invited to Angola by the Ministry of Planning to initiate the preparation of an Angolan Demobilisation and Reintegration Plan (ADRP), shortly after the programme described above had been approved. The objectives of this mission, carried out between 14 May and 4 June, were to review and support the government's own plans for the demobilisation and reintegration of combatants as well as assess the government's eligibility to receive support within the framework of the Bank's Multi-Country Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme (MDRP), by discussing financing options with MDRP partners.<sup>84</sup>

At the time of this visit, demobilisation activities were already well under way. In fact, during the twenty days that the mission spent in Angola, the number of soldiers and family members in the quartering areas increased more than two-fold, from 51,354 soldiers and 91,234 family members on 15 May to 84,618 soldiers and 264,225 family members on 2 July. In view of developments in Angola, the mission considered that demobilisation should not take more than one to two weeks per quartering area and should be completed by 31 August, therefore sharing the government's concern that demobilisation should be completed as soon as possible. Nevertheless, the mission warned that this should follow completion of essential registration, identification and counselling activities. Undoubtedly, the mission was aware of the potential risks that a long stay in quartering areas could engender.

Faced with the existence of two seemingly uncoordinated efforts (e.g. the FAA demobilisation programme under the 'Memorandum of Understanding' and the reintegration programme of the Inter-Sectoral Peace Commission discussed

above), the mission felt that an Angolan Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme (ADRP) should in fact integrate both into one single national programme. Consultations with the government for the development of such unified programme were subsequently initiated. In addition to current UNITA ex-combatants, both FAA troops to be demobilised under the 'Memorandum of Understanding' as well as ex-combatants identified following the Bicesse and Lusaka Accords (termed 'old-caseload') were also to be included in one single national programme. Consequently, the government should 'identify different groups of ex-combatants within the old case-load, clarifying what benefits they received and what additional benefits they will be eligible to receive if any'.<sup>85</sup> The rationale underlying the concern with the old case-load has primarily to do with the need to support the reintegration of all ex-combatants demobilised under the Bicesse and Lusaka Agreements (some 92.000) who continue to be socio-economically vulnerable.<sup>86</sup>

Another concern related to the equitable treatment of all ex-combatants to be demobilised under a unified programme, irrespective of previous military affiliation. The Joint Military Commission and IRSEM should therefore ensure that demobilisation procedures are consistent and equitable for all parties. Procedurally, and in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol, combatants to be demobilised would be incorporated into the FAA for administrative purposes prior to their demobilisation and then legally discharged from the FAA. To guarantee the fairness of the process, demobilisation entitlements would be based on decree 9/1996, and therefore depend on the type of discharge: for physical reasons; discharge into the reserve; retirement or special assignments. Some of the mission's recommendations as regards demobilisation are summarised in the box below.

**Box 4:**  
**ADRP Demobilisation Recommendations**

- Identification and verification of those to be demobilised must be undertaken upon arrival in quartering areas;
- Provision of non-transferable identification cards (proper identification system essential to ensure target group integrity during implementation);
- Collection of socio-economic data (socio-economic questionnaire to be administered to all ex-combatants during demobilisation process);

- Basic medical screening (including HIV);
- Pre-discharge orientation (to provide ex-combatants with essential information about programme);
- Payment of a travel allowance;
- Distribution of transitional safety net assistance (TSN);
- Transport to the community of choice.

A second issue of concern regarded the planning of the re-insertion phase to ‘enable ex-combatants to sustain themselves and their families for a limited period immediately following demobilisation’. Reinsertion assistance in the form of a transitional safety net (TSN) was suggested, to cover the basic needs of all new caseload ex-combatants to be demobilised for a period of 12 months. The TSN should take the form of a monetary allowance for all ex-combatants under the ADRP, and differences on the levels of TSN would be solely based on rank, with ranks of FMU would be equivalent to those of FAA.<sup>87</sup> The importance of what is termed ‘demobilisation payments’ (as opposed to reintegration assistance) should not be underestimated. In fact, not only do such payments represent the ‘primary means by which soldiers readjust to civilian life’ but they also serve political purposes ‘notably that of defusing potential unrest among ex-combatants’, therefore encouraging a greater acceptance of demobilisation.<sup>88</sup>

The final yet perhaps one of the most important objectives of the technical assistance provided by the World Bank and its partners regarded the successful social and economic reintegration of demobilised UNITA and FAA. Sensitive to the context in which social and economic reintegration is taking place (i.e. the return of up to four million displaced civilians and the initiation of broader recovery efforts) reintegration assistance should be provided in such a way that is beneficial to the wider community while guaranteeing ex-combatants’ freedom of choice. Consequently, demobilisation and reintegration should be implemented in close coordination with local and provincial administrations to ensure that all activities targeted at ex-combatants remained consistent with overall integration activities at local level, in particular as regards national reconstruction and poverty reduction. To this effect, as can be seen in the box below, the mission recommended the provision of

information and counselling about social and economic conditions in areas of return (a factor that impaired the return in the Province of Uíge, as pointed out above) as well as assisting ex-combatants secure employment and improve the educational level and skills of vulnerable ex-combatants. Reintegration assistance would also be extended to the old case-load, particularly to those evidencing a high degree of vulnerability.

As regards institutional structure and programme implementation, the mission considered that while the overall political responsibility remained with the government, a single civilian agency should coordinate all reinsertion and

**Box 5:****Initial ADRP Reintegration Recommendations**

- Development of socio-economic profiles (complete data collection and analysis);
- Develop information, counselling and referral services (develop the capacity of IRSEM to provide ICR services);
- Offer of financial assistance through a vulnerability support facility (VSF) on a grant basis in the form of sub-projects, particularly targeting vulnerable ex-combatants such as children, women and disabled soldiers including:
  - Vocational training (MAPESS; INEFOP) to be undertaken by existing facilities rather than creating new ones (assess the capacity and quality of non-formal education, vocational training and business development sectors);
  - Business advisory services;
  - Apprenticeship schemes: assist skilled and unskilled ex-combatants to find jobs (identify economic opportunities at Provincial level);
- Target social reintegration assistance: promote reconciliation between ex-combatants and civilians in the communities of settlement;
- IRSEM to be the coordinating agency for the provision of reintegration assistance to ex-combatants.

reintegration activities. As will be discussed below, at the time of this first technical assistance mission, the CNRSPDD had not yet been created so the mission recommended that the Inter-Sectoral Peace Commission be responsible for overall programme oversight and the provision of policy guidance, while IRSEM should operationalise policy instructions and prepare a costed technical proposal. In this sense, while recommending reliance to the extent possible on existing government and civil society structures with a view to building on the experiences of various organisations who have supported previous reintegration efforts in Angola, the mission did not consider the possibility of using the Provincial sub-groups that are working on the resettlement and return of displaced peoples at local level, for the reintegration of ex-combatants. As was previously discussed, these sub-groups developed Provincial emergency plans for resettlement and return (PEPARR) by bringing together NGOs, humanitarian agencies and other institutions side by side with all relevant Provincial government agencies. If one of the main targets of reintegration assistance is the promotion of reconciliation between ex-combatants and civilians in the communities of settlement, it would be logical that such integration be conducted by the same institutional structure at local level. We will return to this issue in the pages to follow.

As regards demobilization, the FAA and UNITA would continue to be responsible for the implementation of disarmament and demobilization, while IRSEM should be responsible for key demobilisation activities (see box 4 above). To this end, IRSEM should contract an independent Financial Management and Procurement Unit (FMPU) to administer all procurement and to effect reinsertion payments through an integrated management information system (MIS). Collaboration between the FAA and IRSEM was considered in urgent need of being strengthened particularly regarding registration, identification, and pre-discharge orientation:

... given the complexity surrounding implementation of the MOU and the underlying Lusaka Protocol, there remains uncertainty as to the exact timing of the closure of the quartering areas and the transportation of ex-UNITA soldiers to their community of settlement. To ensure that the registration and identification of ex-combatants to be demobilised is credible and transparent, that pre- and post-discharge counselling is appropriate, that transportation logistics are adequately prepared, and that reinsertion assistance is available according to a confirmed schedule following demobilisation, the mission strongly recommends that the FAA and IRSEM strengthen their collaboration on these key matters.<sup>89</sup>

When the technical mission left Angola, it recommended that the government should prepare a draft demobilisation and reintegration programme along the lines of the ADRP; recruit key personnel to strengthen IRSEM's capacity, particularly in the areas of counselling, management information systems and provincial office administration; contract reputable international consultants to constitute the FMPU and contract consultants to undertake other critical start-up activities. And in fact, on July 2002, the government formally requested an IDA Project Preparation Facility (PPF) advance to support, *inter alia*, the recruitment of a Financial Management and Procurement Unit (FMPU) and an Management Information System specialist, thereby fulfilling the second and third conditions of appraisal.

### **Institutional conflation of displacement, demobilisation and reintegration: the CNRSPDD**

... It is widely understood that a demobilization and reintegration program cannot in and of itself stabilize the country, and that reconstruction efforts on a large scale are also needed to consolidate the peace.<sup>90</sup>

The practical recognition that the problems of resettlement, return and reintegration of internally displaced civilians were in many aspects similar to those faced by ex-combatants finally led to the creation of a single coordinating agency at central level, the CNRSPDD (National Commission for the Social and Productive Reintegration of the Demobilised and Displaced). This was to a large degree a result of suggestions by international humanitarian agencies as well as by the donor community led by the World Bank, as was discussed above. The creation of a single government agency to manage both civilian and ex-combatant reintegration stems, *inter alia*, from the need to guarantee that reconciliation at the local community level is not jeopardised by linking ex-combatants to broader community-based economic recovery and rehabilitation. In this sense, while ex-combatants are considered a special group with specific needs, they also share many of the problems that affect displaced communities in Angola. The difficulty here seems to be, as Kingma points out, that 'the support to these people has thus to strike a balance between dealing with their specific needs and, on the other hand, not creating discontent among their communities'. Consequently, 'support for reintegration should be aimed as much as possible at the entire community and be part of general post-war rehabilitation efforts'.<sup>91</sup>

At least in theory, the CNRSPDD seems to address this problem. On 4 June 2002 the Presidency created the CNRSPDD to replace the *old* Inter-Sectoral

Commission for the Peace Process and National Reconciliation.<sup>92</sup> As justification, the Presidential decree that created it highlights the need to 'organise and adequately follow the social and productive reintegration of the demobilised that resulted from the various peace accords signed by the Government of Angola as well as the displaced'.<sup>93</sup> As a close reading of this piece of legislation makes clear, the preoccupation in creating a new institution was essentially related to the need for adequate management of demobilisation and reintegration as related to the circumstances prevailing after the signature of the 'Memorandum of Understanding', in particular the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of the 'new caseload'. This new agency is given the following structure: a National Commission; an Executive Committee; a Technical Group and finally Provincial Commissions.

The management of the social reintegration of the demobilised is therefore assigned to the National Commission, under article 4. The National Commission is presided by the Minister of the Interior, deputised by the Territorial Administration Minister and integrates the following entities: Minister of Assistance and Social Reinsertion (MINARS); Minister of Planning (MINPLAN); Minister of Finance (MINFIN); Minister of Health (MINSa); Minister of Public Administration, Employment and Social Security (MAPESS); Minister of Education and Culture; Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development; Secretary of the Council of Ministers; Chief of the Military Office of the President; Chief of Staff of the FAA and finally, the Director General of the COSSE.<sup>94</sup>

**Box 6:****CNRSPDD's National Commission attributes**

- Coordinate the special social reintegration programme and the general reintegration programme of the demobilised;
- Coordinate the social and productive reintegration programme of war displaced peoples with the necessary articulation with all other programmes and sub-programmes;
- Assure the adequate articulation between Government and their institutions, in particular those that have a direct relation with the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol within the framework of the implementation of the special reintegration programme, and that of the General Reintegration of Demobilised Programme;

- Approve the necessary articulation of the various demobilisation programmes and sub-programmes with all other similar programmes;
- Supervise humanitarian assistance provision to war displaced peoples.

An Executive Committee is assigned the tasks of supervision and control of both reintegration of the demobilised as well as of the displaced, including supervision of IRSEM's activity. The Executive Committee which meets every two weeks is coordinated by the minister for Assistance and Social Reinsertion and will integrate the following entities: Minister of Public Administration, Employment and Social Security; Minister of Planning; Minister of Finance; Minister of Health; Minister of Education and Culture; Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development; Vice-Minister of Territorial Administration; Vice Minister of the Interior; Secretary of the Council of Ministers; Chief of the Military Office of the President and finally, the Chief of Staff of the FAA. The Technical Group is assigned the task of administrative support for the whole process. Finally, article 13 defines the duties of the Provincial Commission. Accordingly, it is the 'local management structure of the National Commission' and is to be presided by the Provincial Governor.

By the time a second World Bank led mission returned to Angola from 5 to 16 August, it had become clear that donor involvement under a possible ADRP would only relate to re-integration support, since the government had effectively managed the quartering, demilitarisation and demobilisation single handedly. The demobilisation process was said to have been completed, the Joint Military Commission had announced that all FMU had been absorbed into the FAA and the UNITA as an armed movement ceased to exist.<sup>95</sup> The government made public its intention to close all quartering areas as rapidly as possible, charging Provincial governments with the responsibility of organising transportation out of the quartering areas and the FAA with the responsibility to provide the transport. Furthermore, on 26 August and in the presence of United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan, the Government and UNITA signed a Memorandum of Commitment, agreeing that all remaining provisions of the Lusaka Protocol would be implemented by October 15, 2002.

On the ground, the FAA effectively continued to manage logistics in all 35 quartering areas. As to demobilisation procedures, the FAA had in fact initiated registration; the taking of photographs for ID cards; the collection of socio-

economic data in 24 of 35 quartering areas (with the remaining 11 to report by August 31). Information on demobilisation was being entered into a pre-existing database (dating from post-Lusaka) and that the data was being shared with IRSEM for analysis and reintegration planning. At this time, the government estimated that following completion of military discharge by FAA, up to 45 days were required to complete pre-discharge orientation and national ID card distribution. IRSEM was also preparing a civic education programme. As regards disarmament of the FMU, the mission concurred with 'international observers from the Troika [who] indicated relative satisfaction with disarmament of FMU'.<sup>96</sup> In terms of reinsertion assistance, the government indicated that it planned to provide ex-combatants with a severance payment in the form of a three month salary payment in addition to one cash payment of USD100 equivalent, which was termed contingency subsidy. This assistance would be complemented by an in-kind kit including clothes, domestic utensils, agricultural tools and basic foodstuffs. The government also pledged to finance this reinsertion component itself without external assistance. Consequently, the ADRP would now be expected to support a range of social and economic reintegration activities targeted at ex-combatants and their communities. In fact, after having consulted numerous agencies engaged in reconstruction and reconciliation, the mission highlighted that because reintegration activities would be provided in the context of resettlement and return, as well as reintegration of other war-affected peoples, attention should be centred on the PEPARRs.

As regards progress towards satisfying conditions of ADRP appraisal, although the mission was given a third draft of a unified demobilisation and reintegration programme on 27 July<sup>97</sup>, a number of outstanding issues needed further negotiation: government's financing; ADRP targeted group; type of transitional assistance and finally, institutional arrangements. Finally, the mission noted that overall central coordination of the integrated programme, both at technical level (IRSEM) and at the level of the CNRSPDD remained weak. It had become clear that IRSEM did not have the capacity to implement projects on its own and therefore it was expected to serve as the coordinating agency with the responsibility of defining sub-projects to be implemented by line ministries.