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Angola's Policia Nacional (national police) together with Forças Armadas Angolana (FAA) (Angolan armed forces) kill several demonstrators, and wound up to 21 more, during a demonstration in the diamond-mining town of Cafunfo (Lunda Norte). The killings have sparked international demands for a full inquiry into the events and apparent police impunity in relation to the use of violence and suppression of rights to demonstrate. The trial wraps up of former member of parliament Manuel Rabelais on charges of embezzlement, improper receipt of benefits and money laundering, as director of the former Gabinete de Revitalização e Execução da Comunicação Institucional e Marketing da Administração (GRECIMA) (office of revitalisation of institutional communication and marketing of the administration) between the years 2012 and 2017. The original charges related to the transfer of more than 19 billion kwanzas (\$56.7m). Germany-based NGO Transparency International (TI) upgrades Angola's ranking by one point to 27 in its 2020 Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), from 26 in the 2019 CPI, placing the country at 142 out of 180 countries measured. TI describes Angola as a "significant improver", having improved 8 points since 2014.

Police and army kill at least 10 demonstrators in Lunda Norte

Angola's Policia Nacional (national police) together with Forças Armada Angolana (FAA) (Angolan armed forces) killed between 4 and 27 demonstrators, and wounded up to 21 more, during a demonstration in the diamond-mining town of Cafunfo (Lunda Norte) on 30 January. The killings have sparked international demands for a full inquiry into the events and apparent police impunity in relation to the use of violence and suppression of rights to demonstrate.¹ There are conflicting accounts of the events.

National police general commander Paulo de Almeida says that at least 300 individuals from the Movimento do Protetorado Português Lunda Tchokwe (MPPLT) (Lunda Tchokwe Portuguese protectorate movement) invaded the police station of Cafunfo, municipality of Cuango, at dawn on 30 January, carrying firearms, blunt objects and throwing objects.² De Almeida claims the police forces acted in self-defence:

"During the attack, four invaders died. Another two died at the hospital. Among the injured people are included one member of the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) and another of the National Police who are in critical condition and four people linked to the invaders."³

MPPLT leaders, opposition political parties and local civil society contradict the police version, claiming that it was an attempted demonstration, previously reported to the authorities, and that the demonstrators were unarmed. Deputies from opposition party União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) and other Angolan opposition parties announced that the Cafunfo incidents had resulted in 23 dead, 21 injured and 10 people missing, claiming that police forces "fired indiscriminately at citizens".⁴

¹ Lusa, 11 Feb 2021

² Angop, 2 Feb 2021

³ Angop, 2 Feb 2021

⁴ Lusa, 11 Feb 2021

United States (US)-based non-governmental organisation (NGO) **Human Rights Watch** said witnesses told them that Angolan security forces indiscriminately fired at protesters who had peacefully gathered to demand better public services, including water and electricity supply, in the diamond-rich town of Cafunfu. The Angolan police reported that six people were killed, more than 20 were injured, and 16 were detained after officers foiled what they called an armed rebellion organised by the MPPLT. Human Rights Watch noted that the police provided no basis for this assessment or details of the circumstances that led officers to fire live rounds,⁵ and said:

“Angolan authorities should immediately ensure a prompt, independent, and thorough investigation into the killing by security forces of at least 10 unarmed protesters on January 30, 2021 during a protest organized by the Lunda Tchokwe Portuguese Protectorate Movement in Lunda Norte province.”⁶

The MPPLT is a political group established in 2007. It seeks administrative and financial autonomy for the former Tchokwe Kingdom, which comprises the diamond-rich provinces of Lunda Norte, **Lunda Sul**, **Moxico** and **Kuando Kubango**. MPPLT leader **José Mateus Zecamutchima** denied that it was an armed rebellion, saying the group held a peaceful and orderly demonstration aimed at urging the government to meet them to discuss the region's autonomy.⁷

The **European Union (EU)** delegation in Angola wrote to Angola's minister of justice and human rights to deplore the incidents in Cafunfu:

“The European Union delegation in Luanda, on behalf of the EU and the Heads of Mission, addressed a letter to the Angolan Minister of Justice and Human Rights to deplore the events, recalling the importance of international human rights standards, and to request a meeting to address the issue directly with the minister.”⁸

Security forces have sealed off the area and prevented UNITA deputies from entering Cafunfu.⁹ Local police forces inexplicably told members of **Roman Catholic Church** human rights group **Mosaiko**, who arrived to investigate the shootings, to quarantine.¹⁰

The government will have to explain what happened at Cafunfu and how much longer it will allow an under-trained and trigger-happy police force to fire on political demonstrators. Policing of unarmed demonstrations in October and November last year led to at least one death and several injuries (see *ARC Briefing Angola November 2020*) and force appears to be the first resort of the national police.

Manuel Rabelais trial wraps up ...

The **Tribunal Supremo** (supreme court) trial of **Manuel Rabelais**, previously a sitting member of parliament (MP) for the ruling **Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA)**, wrapped up on 9 February. Rabelais is the first MP to have lost his immunity to prosecution, in October 2020, arising from charges made against him in September 2019 (see *ARC Briefing Angola November 2020*).¹¹

Rabelais' trial began in December 2020,¹² on charges of embezzlement, improper receipt of benefits and money laundering, as director of the former **Gabinete de Revitalização e Execução da Comunicação Institucional e Marketing da Administração (GRECIMA)** (office of revitalisation of institutional communication and marketing administration) between 2012 and 2017.¹³ The original

⁵ Human Rights Watch, 4 Feb 2021

⁶ Human Rights Watch, 4 Feb 2021

⁷ East African, 1 Feb 2021

⁸ Lusa, 11 Feb 2021

⁹ Lusa, 11 Feb 2021

¹⁰ Mosaiko press release

¹¹ Angop, 27 Oct 2020

¹² Novo Jornal, 17 Dec 2020

¹³ Angop, 27 Oct 2020

charges related to the transfer of more than 19 billion kwanzas (\$56.7m),¹⁴ and in December the prosecution alleged that Rabelais had transferred a further €252,8000 (\$30,700) after the end of his period in office, leaving GRECIMA's accounts effectively empty, and had altered or removed the paper trail, "*all done so as not to leave a trace.*"¹⁵

GRECIMA was effectively a public relations and propaganda office for former president **José Eduardo dos Santos** (1979-2017), paying journalists and publishers for favourable articles in the international press to improve Angola's poor reputation during the latter years of dos Santos' rule. This required access to foreign exchange (see *ARC Briefing Angola November 2020*). The prosecution alleged that Rabelais, assisted by his deputy at GRECIMA, **Hilário Santos**,

*"... transformed GRECIMA into a foreign exchange house, attracting companies and individuals to deposit kwanzas in exchange for foreign currency, selling foreign exchange at a higher exchange rate than was practised by the **Banco Nacional de Angola [BNA]**[central bank]."*¹⁶

During the period GRECIMA was operational, Rabelais obtained \$98m from the BNA, allegedly to pay for media operations. GRECIMA had accounts domiciled at **Banco de Comércio Indústria (BCI)**, to which a large part of the currencies acquired at BNA were channeled, and at other commercial banks, namely **Banco Angolano de Investimentos (BAI)**, **Banco Internacional de Crédito (BIC)**, **SOL** and **Banco Poupança Credito**.¹⁷

Rabelais claimed that GRECIMA operated "*with the knowledge of the former Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos*".¹⁸ The prosecutor noted that:

*"Contrary to defendant Manuel Rabelais, the former Angolan President, in a letter addressed to the Court, said that he had nothing to clarify because the management of the body was not overseen by him, but by the then head of the **Casa Militar** [military office of the President] **Manuel Hélder Vieira Dias Júnior 'Kopelipa'**."*¹⁹

The prosecution stated that the defendants transferred a total of more than €16m (\$19.4m) to 11 companies, via the BCI, with Manuel Rabelais partner and beneficial owner "*in some of these companies*". Rabelais also transferred €2.8m (\$3.4m) to two of his children.²⁰

On the last day of his hearing, the judge questioned Rabelais on whether he took money from the state for his personal benefit, since he had returned to the **Serviço Nacional de Recuperação de Activos (SNRA)** (national asset recovery service of the attorney general's office), at least 30 properties, \$2m and three vehicles, all acquired before becoming director of GRECIMA in 2012. Rabelais was formerly minister of social communication (media) and director of **Radio Nacional de Angola**.²¹

The Rabelais trial has shown so far that the ex-minister used his appointments as a source of plunder using state monies for millions of dollars of personal benefits during his career, and, in his role as head of a PR agency to improve the international image of José Eduardo dos Santos' regime, used the budget for making money through illegal foreign exchange transactions, as well as diverting part of it for his own use. There was clearly a complete lack of oversight and accountability. It raises the question of how many other ministers use their offices for self-enrichment, and how many more millions, if not billions, of these looted funds can be recovered.

¹⁴ Africa 21 Digital, 2 Sep 2019

¹⁵ Lusa, 17 Dec 2020

¹⁶ Lusa, 9 Dec 2020

¹⁷ Lusa, 9 Dec 2020

¹⁸ Lusa, 9 Dec 2020

¹⁹ Lusa, 9 Dec 2020

²⁰ Novo Jornal, 9 Feb 2021

²¹ Novo Jornal, 9 Feb 2021

Angola improves in TI 2020 corruption ranking

Germany-based NGO **Transparency International** upgraded Angola's ranking by one point in its **2020 Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI)** to 27, from 26 in the 2019 CPI, putting the country at 142 out of 180 countries measured.²² The index scores 180 countries and territories by their "perceived levels of public sector corruption", with zero being "highly corrupt" and 100 being "very clean". TI describes Angola as a 'significant improver' having improved by eight points since 2014, when TI made its scores comparable over time.²³

Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index Rankings for Angola					
	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Ranking	164/176	167/180	165/180	46/180	142/80
Score	18	19	19	26	27

The changes in Angola's score since 2017, when President **Joao Lourenço** (2017-present) took office, suggest a time lapse before changes in corruption perception are reflected in TI's scores. This may be why Angola's score seems not to reflect the strides Angola has made in dismantling kleptocracy in the last year, which include not only corruption trials, but considerable asset recovery and changes to laws and institutions.

The very high profile cases against Isabel dos Santos and her brother, **Jose Filomeno "Zenu" dos Santos**, have been widely reported, but other high profile anti-corruption cases started in Angola last year include:

- Charges of embezzlement, money laundering and fraud against former prime minister **Manuel Vicente**, former head of the Casa Militar General Manuel Hélder Vieira Dias Júnior 'Kopelipa', and former head of the president's communications service, General **Leopoldino Fragoso do Nascimento**, and the return of state-owned assets from their business empires (see *ARC Briefing Angola October 2020*);
- Charges of embezzlement relating to \$900m held in **Switzerland** by the head of **AAA Seguros** insurance firm **Carlos Manuel de São Vicente** (see *ARC Briefing Angola October 2020*);
- Charges against former interior minister **Higino Carneiro** for crimes of embezzlement, nepotism, influence peddling, criminal association and money laundering and a court request to remove his parliamentary immunities;²⁴
- Charges against Manuel Rabelais, ex head of **GRECIMA**, of embezzlement, improper receipt of benefits and money laundering (see above).

While the scope of Angola's moves against corruption and removal of immunities cannot be doubted, the development of democratic institutions remains considerably more parlous and this has been negatively affected by the **Covid-19** crisis, which goes some way towards explaining TI's rating this year.

Use of extreme force by the Policia Nacional in Cafunfo (Lunda Norte) last month led to at least 10 deaths and many injuries (see above). The police used live bullets, teargas, and dogs to disperse a peaceful anti-government protest, killing one protester in **Luanda** in November, amid allegations that the government was using Covid-19 restrictions on freedom of movement to crack down on anti-poverty demonstrations. (See *ARC Briefing Angola November 2020*). TI noted:

²² TI Corruption Perceptions Index 2020

²³ Transparency International 2020 CPI Report

²⁴ Angop, 17 Jan 2021

“The COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated already staggering levels of economic inequality in many countries around the world. Now there is a real risk that trillions of dollars meant to support those hardest hit by the crisis may be captured by the wealthy, increasing inequality as countries are saddled with public debt for money lost to corruption.”²⁵

TI is looking at corruption relating to misuse of Covid-19 financial assistance and debt relief from the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** this year, and whether states have any anti-corruption measures in place. They have yet to issue a report on Angola but the results should begin to demonstrate whether, and how far, anti-corruption measures have penetrated into institutions.²⁶

Planner

- 2019-2022 **(Angola) Programa de Privatizações (PROPRIV)** (privatisation programme) to manage government divestment of 195 companies;
- 2020-2025 **(Angola) World Bank** to provide funding to increase economic diversification for a five-year period;
- Jan 2020-Dec 2021 **Rome (Italy) Angola** serves on **World Food Program (WFP)** Executive Committee;
- Q1 2021 **London (United Kingdom)** Hearing of **Melbourne Investments v SODIAM** takes place at **London Court of Arbitration**, despite death of shareholder and manager **Sindika Dokolo**;
- May 2021 **Amsterdam (Netherlands)** Amsterdam **Court of Appeal** is to hear **Angola’s** case to seize **Exem Energy**, allegedly owned by the late husband of **Isabel dos Santos**, and the holder of an indirect \$500m stake in **Portuguese** oil company **Galp Energia**;
- 9 Jun 2021 **(Angola)** Tenders close for oil blocks CON1, CON5 and CON6, of the **Terrestrial Basin of the Lower Congo**, and blocks KON5, KON6, KON8, KON9, KON17 and KON20, of the **Terrestrial Basin of Kwanza**;
- 2021 **Luanda (Angola) Jose Filomeno dos Santos** and other defendants appeal sentences in the ‘case of \$500 million’, to be heard in the **Supreme Court**;
- 2021 **(Angola)** First local and municipal elections are in the planning stages but implementation is delayed by **Covid-19** and an election date will be set, probably for 2022;
- Q1 2021 **(Angola) Cabinda Lifua A** oil platform scheduled for completion to support offshore **Takula-Bloc-0** field Cabinda; Lifua B and C phases will follow;
- 2021 **(Angola)** Six offshore oil blocks and free areas of oil blocks 31 and 32 will be offered for tenders;
- Dec 2021 **Talatona, Luanda (Angola)** \$60m **Huawei Technology Park** to be completed
- Q4 2021 **Luanda (Angola) Angolan Diamond Exchange** to open;
- 2022 **(Angola)** National elections;
- 2022 **(Angola)** Angola to host 10th **African, Caribbean and Pacific Group** summit;
- 2022 **(Angola)** End date for **Banco Poupança e Crédito’s** recovery plan;
- 2022 **Luanda (Angola)** Luanda’s **Novo Aeroporto Internacional de Luanda (NAIL)** (new international airport) expected to open;
- 2025 **(Angola)** Three major refineries at **Lobito** with capacity to refine 200,000 barrels/day, **Soyo** (100,000 barrels/day) and **Cabinda** (60,000 barrels/day), are expected to give Angola crude oil refining capacity of 360,000 barrel per day this year, meeting domestic needs and ending fuel imports;

²⁵ <https://www.transparency.org/en/blog/covid-19-inequality-great-divide>

²⁶ <https://www.transparency.org/en/imf-tracker>

2027 (**Angola**) State-owned oil company **Sonangol's** Strategic Exploration and Production Plan 2020-2027 gives Sonangol 10% of national production by this date, producing 120,000 barrels per day.

Chronology

12 Feb 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Lusa*. South Africa-headquartered **Standard Bank** is said to be interested in acquiring the shares of **Carlos São Vicente** in **Standard Bank Angola**; Vicente's **AAA Ativos** held 49% of the shares in the bank prior to their seizure by the state;

11 Feb 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Jornal Económico*. Angolan state-owned diamond company **Endiama** and **London (UK)**-based investment fund management group **Gemcorp LLC** announce a joint venture for the **Mulepe** diamond project in **Lunda Norte**; Gemcorp is the majority shareholder and operator and will invest \$150m in developing the mine;

9 Feb 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Voice of America*. **Manuel Fernandes** is elected president of the **Convergência Ampla de Salvação de Angola-Electoral Coalition (CASA-CE)**, replacing **André Mendes de Carvalho**;

9 Feb 2021 **Lubango (Angola)** *Voice of America*. Lubango (**Huíla Province**) infrastructure and land management director **Tchitangueleka Huambo** is arrested for embezzlement and other crimes relating to 243 million kwanzas (\$38,000) missing from Lubango's budget;

5 Feb 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop.*, Opposition coalition **Convergência Ampla de Salvação de Angola - Coligação Eleitoral (CASA-CE)** president André Mendes de Carvalho resigns at the request of four of the six parties that make up the coalition;

2 Feb 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop.* President **Joao Lourenço** discusses the outcome of the mini-summit of the **International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR)** regarding the security situation in the **Central African Republic**, with **United Nations (UN)** secretary general **António Guterres** Angola is currently chair of the ICGLR;

27 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop.* Foreign minister **Teté António** asks **India's** ambassador, **Pratibha Parkar**, to make Angola one of the priorities in acquiring vaccines against **Covid-19**;

25 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop.* **Dubai (UAE)**-based **DP World Ltd** chair **Sultan Ahmad Bin Sulayen** announces that DP World Ltd will invest \$190m over the next 20 years in modernising and expanding the **Port of Luanda's** multi-purpose terminal;

25 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop.* Luanda celebrates its 445th anniversary; Founded in 1576 by **Portuguese** explorer **Paulo Dias de Novais**, with 100 settler families and 400 soldiers, it is one of the oldest cities in **sub-Saharan Africa**;

21 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop.* National diamond company **Endiama** buys 8.2% of **Odebrecht Angola** for \$70m (around 45.5 billion Kwanzas), giving it 41% of the shares of **Sociedade Mineira de Catoca (SMC)**. Fellow SMC shareholder **Russia-based Alrosa** also acquires 8.2% and also holds 41% of the shares; The remaining 18% is held by **China SONANGOL International**, represented by **Israeli** diamantaire **Lev Leviev**;

20 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop.* The national assembly holds a debate on the theme of "*combating impunity as a key factor for good governance*," proposed by the **MPLA** Parliamentary Group;

18 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop.* **Banco Nacional de Angola** (central bank) revokes **Banco Kwanza Investimentos S.A. (BKI)**'s banking licence and will request the Attorney General's office to declare BKI bankrupt. Principal shareholders of BKI are **Jean Claude Bastos Morais** and **José Filomena dos Santos**;

17 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop*. **Programa de Privatizações PROPRIV** says the sale of state-owned oil company **Sonangol's** stake in **Hong Kong-based China International Holding (CSIH)** may begin this year; CSIH is owned by **Dayuan International Development Limited (70%)**, with Sonangol holding a 30% minority stake. Sonangol will also begin disinvestment at **China Sonangol International Limited**;

17 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop*. Sonangol is expected to sell 70 assets this year including **São Tomé and Príncipe-based Empresa Nacional de Combustíveis e Óleos S.A (ENCO)**;

17 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Novo Jornal*. The **Supreme Court** requests the National Assembly to waive the immunities of **MPLA** deputies **Higino Carneiro** and **Aldina da Lomba** in the light of criminal proceedings for crimes of embezzlement, nepotism, influence peddling, criminal association and money laundering;

16 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop*. Angola's **TAAG** airlines announces it will begin repatriation flights to **South Africa, Portugal** and **Brazil** on 19 January, to return 8,100 Angolan nationals before the temporary suspension of all flights to the three countries from 24 January;

14 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop*. Air travel to and from **South Africa, Brazil** and **Portugal** will again be suspended as of midnight 24 January to prevent the import of new variants of the **Sars-Cov-2** virus; Passengers will face post-disembarkation tests from 16 January and air, land and sea connections with South Africa, **Nigeria, Australia** and the **United Kingdom** also remain suspended;

14 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop*. Angola announces plans to enter into agreements on **Promotion and Reciprocal Protection of Investments (APPRI)** with **Japan, China** and **Mozambique**;

13 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop*. President **João Lourenço** swears in the Second Commander-General of the **National Police (PN)**, **Domingos Ferreira de Andrade**;

13 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop*. The National Assembly (parliament) holds its first plenary meeting of the year 2021 looking at four legal instruments related to the Justice sector, including the organisation and functioning of the **Tribunal Constitutional Court** and civil and criminal appeals procedures;

13 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop*. State-owned **Angolan Diamonds Company (Endiama)** announces a global loss of production of two million carats of diamonds in 2020, \$400m less than the \$1.4 billion Angola was expected to produce, due to the **Covid-19** pandemic;

11 Jan 2021 **Luanda (Angola)** *Angop*. National Assembly approves three draft laws to improve the business environment in Angola; the Law on the Legal Regime of Securities and Registration of Securities, and amendments to the Commercial Code and to the Companies and Insolvency Recovery Code;

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