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Provisional Reconstructions:
Geo-Histories of Infrastructure and Agrarian Configuration in Malanje, Angola

By
Aaron Laurence deGrassi

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Geography
in the
Graduate Division
of the
University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Michael J. Watts, Chair
Professor Gillian P. Hart
Professor Peter B. Evans

Abstract

Provisional Reconstructions: Geo-Histories of Infrastructure and Agrarian Configuration in Malanje, Angola

by

Aaron Laurence deGrassi

Doctor of Philosophy in Geography

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Michael J. Watts, Chair

Fueled by a massive offshore deep-water oil boom, Angola has since the end of war in 2002 undertaken a huge, complex, and contradictory national reconstruction program whose character and dynamics have yet to be carefully studied and analyzed. What explains the patterns of such projects, who is benefitting from them, and how? The dissertation is grounded in the specific dynamics of cassava production, processing and marketing in two villages in Western Malanje Province in north central Angola. The ways in which Western Malanje's cassava farmers' livelihoods are shaped by transport, marketing, and an overall agrarian configuration illustrate how contemporary reconstruction – in the context of an offshore oil boom – has occurred through the specific conjunctures of multiple geo-historical processes associated with settler colonialism, protracted war, and leveraged liberalization. Such an explanation contrasts with previous more narrow emphases on elite enrichment and domination through control of external trade. Infrastructure projects are occurring as part of an agrarian configuration in which patterns of land, roads, and markets have emerged through recursive relations, and which is characterized by concentration, hierarchy and fragmentation.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 : Introduction: Agrarian Reconstruction in Post-War Oil-Boom Angola	2
Chapter 2 : A Critical Spatial Chronology: Beyond Creole Elite, Neo-Patrimonialism, and Dutch Disease in Angola	53
Chapter 3 : Rethinking the 1961 Baixa de Kassanje Revolt: Towards a Relational Geo-History of Angola.....	145
Chapter 4 : Security and Subversion in the Logistical Reconstructions of Angola’s Transport Infrastructure.....	183
Chapter 5 : Interlude – The Kapanda Agro-Industrial Growth Pole as a Microcosm of National Reconstruction Approaches	227
Chapter 6 : Real Cassava Markets from War Dissolution to the PRESILD Markets.....	243
Chapter 7 : More than Trade and Grabbing: Agrarian Concentration, Fragmentation, and Hierarchy.....	289
Chapter 8 : Conclusion: Beyond Contradictions	357
References.....	362
Appendices.....	402

Detailed Table of Contents

Table of Contents	i
Illustrations.....	vii
Abbreviations	xii
Acknowledgements	xvi
Technical Notes.....	xviii
Chapter 1 : Introduction: Agrarian Reconstruction in Post-War Oil-Boom Angola	2
1.1 Introduction	3
1.1.1 Context	6
1.1.2 Conventional Interpretations	11
1.1.3 War: The \$200 Billion ‘Elephant in the Room’	12
1.1.4 Key Themes in a Critical Relational Geography of Agriculture, Resources and Infrastructure in Africa	19
1.1.5 Summary of Contributions, Sources and Methods.....	23
1.2 Argument and Chapter Structure.....	25
1.2.1 Issues and Sequence	25
1.2.2 Chapter 2: A Critical Spatial Chronology	26
1.2.3 Chapter 3: Rethinking Kassanje	27
1.2.4 Chapter 4: Reconstruction and Use of Roads.....	28
1.2.5 Chapter 5: Interlude – The Kapanda Agro-Industrial Pole.....	30
1.2.6 Chapter 6: Agro-Food Provisioning and Marketing.....	31
1.2.7 Chapter 7: Agrarian Configuration.....	32
1.3 Study Area and Methodology: Inconstant Geographies of Western Malanje.....	33
1.3.1 Kota and Around	39
1.3.2 Amaral	41
1.3.3 Kuzuka.....	47
1.3.4 Mwanya	47
1.3.5 Details on Methodology	48

Chapter 2 : A Critical Spatial Chronology: Beyond ‘Creole Elite,’ Neo-Patrimonialism, and Dutch Disease in Angola	53
2.1 Angola 1500-2014: A Brief Spatial Chronology	53
2.2 The Weight of History and the Neo-Patrimonial Creole Rentier-Gatekeeper State	64
2.2.1 Spatiality in Conventional Models of Angola’s Political Economy.....	68
2.3 Key Limitations of Conventional Models.....	75
2.4 Conjunctures as an Alternative Explanation: Settler Colonialism, Protracted War, and Leveraged Liberalization.....	80
2.3.1 Settler Colonialism	80
2.3.2 Protracted War	81
2.3.3 Leveraged Liberalization.....	83
2.5 The ‘(Mbundu) Creole Elite’ of Angola: Geo-History and Identity	87
2.5.1 Distribution of White and Mestiço Population.....	90
2.5.2 ‘Creole’ vs Multiple Identities.....	96
2.5.3 Ethnographic Cadasters, Colonial Historiographies, and Geographic Erasures	101
2.5.4 ‘Creole Elite’ as Reified by Cold Warriors and Savimbi	121
2.5.5 The Mythical Metonym of ‘The Dozen Great Families’	124
2.6 Neo-Patrimonialism: Extractive Institutions, the Resource Curse, and Spatiality.....	127
2.6.1 Weber and Space I: Industrial vs/and Commercial Capitalism.....	129
2.6.2 Weber and Space II: Industrial Capitalism and Racial Colonialism	131
2.6.3 Weber and Space III: Gender, Arbitrariness and Discretion.....	133
2.7 The So-Called ‘Dutch Disease’: Oil and Neo-Liberal Projects	135
2.7.1 Political Economic Origins of the Dutch Disease Term and Model	137
2.7.2 How has the Dutch Disease Model been Invoked for Angola?.....	141
2.8 Conclusion.....	143
Chapter 3 : Rethinking the 1961 Baixa de Kassanje Revolt: Towards a Relational Geo-History of Angola.....	145
3.1 Kassanje in Debates and Problems in Angola.....	150
3.1.1 Academic and Policy Interpretations of Political Economy in Angola and Africa....	152
3.2 Reconsidering Angola’s Baixa de Kassanje and 1961 Revolt: A Crossroads in Transformation.....	154
3.3 Malanje-Congo Relations.....	155
3.4 Malanje-Luanda Connections	161
3.4.1 Contracted Labor	161

3.4.2 Transport: Road and Rail Construction and Use	163
3.4.3 Rural and Urban Land and the Settler Economy	166
3.4.5 Church Networks	171
3.5 Transformations in Malanje and Kassanje	172
3.6 The Roots of Contemporary Reconstruction in Late-Colonial Regional Development as Counter-Insurgency	175
3.7 Conclusion	181
Chapter 4 : Security and Subversion in the Logistical Reconstructions of Angola’s Transport Infrastructure	183
4.1 Beyond ‘Investing in Investing’: Resources, Infrastructure, and Spatiality	184
4.1.1 The Bridge on the River Lombe: Roadblocks, Logistical Construction and Corruption	187
4.2 Geo-Histories of Colonial Road Construction and Counter-Insurgency	194
4.3.1 Transport in Late-Colonial Counter-Insurgency	197
4.3.2 Late-Colonial Road Construction	198
4.3.3 Late-Colonial Road Construction in Western Malanje	202
4.3.4 Late-Colonial Counter-Insurgency in Western Malanje	204
4.4 Transport, Logistics and War in Independent Angola	206
4.4.1 Institutional Continuity and the National Highway Network	210
4.5 Contemporary Road Reconstruction: The Logistics of Rebuilding the Luanda-Malanje Highway	211
4.5.1 Leaving Luanda: The Chinese, the Roads Institute, and ‘The Bulldozer’	216
4.5.2 Climbing to Ambaca: the Reconstruction Office and Military Logistics	217
4.5.3 Angolan Contractors from Amabaca to Malanje: Brafrikon and Metroeuropa	221
4.5.4 Motorcycle Proliferation	223
4.6 Conclusion	226
Chapter 5 : Interlude – The Kapanda Agro-Industrial Growth Pole as a Microcosm of National Reconstruction Approaches	227
5.1 The Kapanda Agro-Industrial Pole Today	231
5.2 Elaboration of the Kapanda Growth Pole in the Socialist Period	236
5.3 Conclusion	240

Chapter 6 : Real Cassava Markets from War Dissolution to the PRESILD Markets.....	243
6.1 Real Cassava Markets, Regulation and Evasion	246
6.1.1 Colonial Roots of Agro-Industrial Markets and Trade Regulations.....	251
6.2 War and the Defeat of Socialist Restructuring of Colonial Agro-Industry	256
Period 1 - 1974-7: Independence Turmoil, Assessment, and Initial Plans.....	260
Period 2 - 1977-80: Reported Coup and the Turn to Active State Efforts	260
Period 3 - 1980-1983: Reform and Progress amidst Deteriorating Conditions.....	264
Period 4 - 1983-86: Disruption by War	267
Period 5 - After 1986: Plans Abandoned, and a Shift to Survival.....	272
6.3 War, Leveraged Liberalization, and the Privatization of Food Marketing	273
6.4 Post-War Nationalist PRESILD Supermarkets Revive Logistics but Backfire	278
6.4.1 PRESILD in Malanje.....	280
6.4.2 PRESILD as a Response to Effects of 1990s Conflict and Liberalization.....	282
6.5 Conclusion.....	287
 Chapter 7 : More than Trade and Land Grabbing: Agrarian Concentration, Fragmentation, and Hierarchy.....	 289
7.1 Agrarian Configuration and Cassava Production, Processing and Marketing.....	290
7.2 Land Inequality in Post-Independence Angola: Conventional Perspectives and an Alternative.....	294
7.2.1 Land, Law and Power 1992-2004.....	297
7.2.2 Post-2004 Land Law Ambiguity as Instrument of Power?	304
7.2.3 Land, Traditional Authorities, and Patronage Networks.....	305
7.2.4 Conceptualizing Agrarian Configurations: Concentration, Hierarchy and Fragmentation.....	308
7.3 Land in Colonial Angola and the Agrarian Configuration of Western Malanje.....	310
7.3.1 Colonial Plantations in Malanje and Angola.....	311
7.3.2 Increased Commercial Settler Land Claims for Mechanized Cultivation of Cotton and Other Crops.....	317
7.3.3 Cotton beyond Trade and Enclaves: Agro-Industrialization in Malanje.....	319
7.3.4 Notable Examples of Agrarian and Inter-sectoral Investment in Malanje	321
7.3.5 Paternal Colonial Protection against Land Exploitation.....	326
7.3.6 Colonial Settlement Schemes	328
7.3.7 From Rivers to Roads: The Concentration and Relocation of Villages in Rural Reordering	330
7.3.8 Colonial Processes and Agrarian Configuration	341

7.4 From Land Grabbing to Agrarian Configuration	343
7.4.1 Ambiguity: Procreaser	347
7.4.2 Inter-sectoral I: Cahombo/Agritrade/Terras de Kolo	348
7.4.3 Inter-sectoral II: The (Auto) Union Plantation	352
7.4.4 Imperfect continuity in global context: The Luiz / Fonseca claim	354
7.4 Conclusion	356
Chapter 8 : Conclusion: Beyond Contradictions	357
8.1 Questions for Further Research	359
8.2 Angola Beyond Contradictions	360
References	362
Appendices	402

Illustrations

Figures

Figure 1.1: Basic Analytic Framework & Chapters.....	4
Figure 1.2: Timeline.....	4
Figure 1.3: ‘The Ruse of Brutality,’ Kota.....	8
Figure 1.4: Road through Kota	39
Figure 1.5: Schematic of Changes in Road and Train Links around Study Area, 1904-2013.....	42
Figure 1.6: Amaral, 2012.....	46
Figure 2.1: Some Origins of Nationalist Organizations and Movements, 1948-1965.....	60
Figure 2.2: The Neopatrimonial-Rentier-Gatekeeper State	70
Figure 2.3: Colonial Geo-Historiography and a Critical Genealogy of the Notion ‘Creole Elite’	120
Figure 2.4: Cartoon from Conservatives’ Open Letter, 1984.....	122
Figure 2.5: Weber’s Continuum of Personal Discretion in Patrimonial Rule	134
Figure 3.1: Transnational news in Kimbundu in <i>La Nation Angolaise</i>	157
Figure 4.1: Market Share of Global Construction Industry	186
Figure 4.2: Lombe Road and Rail Bridges and Infrastructure, 1907, 2008, and 2013	188
Figure 4.3: Models of Development Poles and Logistics Networks in Angola and Region	189
Figure 4.4: Malanje Military Artillery for Kassanje, 1911; de Matos’ 1912 Car Trip to Malanje	195
Figure 4.5: Bulldozers Used to Build Military Road in Eastern Angola.....	200
Figure 4.6: Colonial Manual Labor Road Gravel Pit at Kota.....	203
Figure 4.7: Lombe-Kalandula Road c. 1970.....	204
Figure 4.8: Army Food Warehouse and Mobile Trucks, mid-1980s.....	207
Figure 4.9: Management of Road Reconstruction Segments.....	215
Figure 4.10: Impounded Motorcycles at Malanje Police Lot.....	226
Figure 5.1: Hydroelectric Dam, Government Billboard, Central Garden Square, Malanje.....	230
Figure 5.2: Presidential Plaque Commemorating First Harvest at Pungo Andongo, May 2007	234
Figure 5.3: MPLA Images, Videos and Text Emphasizing ‘Sure Route’ (<i>O Caminho Seguro</i>)	242
Figure 6.1: Luanda-Malanje Railroad Comic.....	247
Figure 6.2: PAPAGRO Headline: ‘Thousands of Stores in the Rural World’	256
Figure 6.3: Abstract Models and Historical Sequences of Oil, War, and Food Imports	259
Figure 6.4: June 1977: ETP Volvo Trucks Unloading in Malanje 200 Tons of Food from Luanda; Malanje Sobas Meeting in Luanda	262
Figure 6.5: President dos Santos Inaugurates Commerce Program & Tours Farms, Malanje, 1982	266
Figure 6.6: The Nosso Super Market in Malanje.....	279
Figure 6.7: The Old Municipal Market in Malanje, and the Cleared Lot.....	281
Figure 6.8: Relocated Xawande Market and Trader Arriving via the Dirt/Mud Entrance Road	281
Figure 6.9: Inflation and Dollarization	283
Figure 7.1: Dry Menya Creek and Dry Pools, July 2013.....	292
Figure 7.2: Cotonang’s Tractor Park, c. 1962.....	318
Figure 7.3: Katepa Agro-Industry, Malanje City.....	320

Figure 7.4: East of Malanje City, Kissol Sugar Alcohol Distillery Works, c. 1905.....	323
Figure 7.5: Sketch of Fazenda Inveja ('Jealousy Plantation'), c. 1888	324
Figure 7.6: Area of Former Inveja Plantation: Casa Gaiato Orphanage, Church and Farm, c. 2014	324
Figure 7.7: Rhizomatic Senu (<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>) on the Roadside near Kota.....	326
Figure 7.8: JPP Facilities being inaugurated near Kota, mid 1960s.....	328
Figure 7.9: The São João Village Plan at Cole Settlement Scheme, Malanje	329
Figure 7.10: Pine Kiln / Fornos do Pinhal	338
Figure 7.11: Dormant Korean-Built Chicken Project near Kota	339
Figure 7.12: Village-level Fragmentation: Aerial Photograph of Mechanized Plantation, c. 1960	342
Figure 7.13 Sisal Harvest and Drying at Cahombo Plantation, late 1950s.....	349
Figure 7.14: General Gato signs Document of Cuban Troop Withdrawal Jan 10, 1989	354

Maps

Map 1.1: Provinces of Angola	15
Map 1.2: The 2012 Parliamentary/Presidential Elections (Percent of Vote to MPLA).....	17
Map 1.3: Municipalities in Malanje Province.....	35
Map 1.4: Study Area Roads and Administrative Divisions (Municipal and Comuna)	38
Study Area Below: Map 1.5 & Map 1.6 (IGCA).....	42
Map 2.1: Some Major Pre-Colonial Political Entities and Trade Routes	55
Map 2.2: Main Sources and Destinations of the Atlantic Slave Trade.....	56
Map 2.3: The Slaving Frontier: Approximate Dates and Locations”	57
Map 2.4: ‘Locations of Principal Military Actions, 1888-1926’	58
Map 2.5: Select Reported Deadly Conflict Events, 1961-2002.....	63
Map 2.6: ‘The Geography of Useful Africa’	72
Map 2.7: Rail vs Road Networks in Africa.....	78
Map 2.8: Reification of Ten “Tribes” of Angola.....	88
Map 2.9: Alternate Colonial Representation of Ethnic Groups.....	90
Map 2.10: Distribution of White Population in Angola, 1950	92
Map 2.11: Relative Distribution of White Population in Angola, 1970	93
Map 2.12: Relative Distribution of Mestiço Population in Angola, 1970	94
Map 2.13: Population Distribution, 1950	95
Map 2.14: ‘Ethnographic Map of Angola,’ 1916, by the Secretary of Indigenes Affairs	104
Map 2.15: ‘Distribution of Spoken Languages,’ 1916	105
Map 2.16: Colonial Ministry’s 1946 ‘Ethnographic Sketch of Angola: Linguistic Differentiation’	108
Map 2.17: ‘Sketch of Ethno-Linguistic Distribution,’	109
Map 2.18: Initial IICA Map of Approximate Ethnic Groups without Boundaries.....	113
Map 2.19: Conventional Map of Ethnic Boundaries on Empty Space.....	117
Map 3.1: The Baixa de Kassanje in North-Central Angola	146
Map 3.2: Main Towns and Roads of the Baixa de Kassanje	148
Map 3.3: Distribution of Registered Trading Stores in Malanje in 1958	170
Map 3.4: Colonial Regional and Development Pole Plans in Angola	176

Map 3.5: Detailed Regional Infrastructure Planning for Malanje	176
Map 3.6 Investment Zones in the Private Investment Law	180
Map 4.1: Road Construction <1961-1973	201
Map 4.2: Segments of the Luanda-Malanje Highway Reconstructed	213
Map 5.1: Kapanda Agro-Industrial Pole.....	230
Map 7.1: Colonial Plantations (yellow) east of the Amaral Indigenous Reserves (Green), c. early 1970s.....	316
Map 7.2: Key 19 th Century Regional Trade Routes.....	322
Map 7.3: Colonial Plantation Land Titles (numbered), Indigenous Reserves (green), and Removed Villages (black/faded blue squares).....	335
Map 7.4: Kota Area, Comparison of Village Structures c.1959 and c.late 1970s Map.....	336
Map 7.5: Colonial Village Erasures, Figueira Plantation, c.1970	340
Map 7.6: Zonal and Sub-Zonal Classification of Baixa de Kassanje for Agricultural Census ..	342
Map 7.7: Simplified Schematic of the Luiz/Fonseca Concessions.....	355

Tables

Table 1.1: Selected Key Development Indicators.....	14
Table 1.2: Population (1,000s) and Density by Province, 1960, 1970, and 2014 (urban/rural) ...	14
Table 1.3: Varying Population Estimates of Kalandula Municipality & Kota Comuna, 1940-2014	36
Table 1.4: Selected Projects in Kota Comuna, 2003-2014	40
Table 2.1: Luanda City Population Estimates.....	86
Table 2.2: Relative Population of Whites and Mestiços in Luanda and Angola, 1845-1970.....	91
Table 3.1: Contract Laborers in Malanje and Angola, 1948-59	162
Table 3.2: Malanje Rail Passengers in 1960.....	165
Table 3.3: Angola and Luanda and Malanje Cities' Population by Colonial Racial Classification, 1930-70	167
Table 3.4: Area and Value of Building Construction in Malanje City and Urban Areas, 1946-60	169
Table 3.5: Expenditures on Public Investment Projects, 2004-2013	179
Table 3.6: Years of Exemption from Different Taxes by Zone	180
Table 4.1: Segments of the Luanda-Malanje Highway Reconstructed.....	213
Table 5.1: KAIP Plantations' Details	235
Table 6.1: Licensed Traders and Rural Markets in Malanje and Angola, 1959-73.....	252
Table 6.2: Periods of the Rise and Fall of Socialist Agro-Industrial Revival and Restructuring	257
Table 6.3: Main State Agro-Food Marketing Organizations	264
Table 7.1: 1992 Land Law Concession Size Limits	299
Table 7.2: Cumulative/Total Reported Land Concessions in Malanje Municipalities, 1971, 2003, 2004 and 2011	303
Table 7.3: Plantation Land Concessions in Malanje, by Municipality, c.1971	314
Table 7.4: Plantation Concessions Allocated Annually in Malanje, 2008-11	344
Table 7.5: Summary of Post-Independence Plantation Examples.....	346

Graphs

Graph 1.1: Angola’s ‘Proven Oil Reserves,’ 1980-2014	18
Graph 2.1: Slave Trade from ‘West Central Africa,’ 1590-1865	57
Graph 2.2: ‘Estimated Diamond Sales, 1992-2000 (US\$ million)’	61
Graph 2.3: ‘Frequency of Massacre Events, 1960-2002’	62
Graph 2.4: Government Annual Military Budget, Total External Debt, and Annual Revenue (\$ million, current)	85
Graph 3.1: Baixa de Kassanje Cotton Production	149
Graph 3.2: Evolution of Luanda’s Urban Construction and of Coffee Exports, 1948-66	168
Graph 3.3: Angola Cotton Purchase Prices, 1939-60	174
Graph 3.4: Increasing Administrative Divisions and Posts, 1948-73	178
Graph 4.1: Percent of Angolan Territory under ‘Subversion’	200
Graph 4.2: Angolan Military Expenditure, Personnel and Arms Imports, 1979-2009	209
Graph 4.3: Est. Value of Motorcycle Imports in Africa 2008-2012 (\$1,000)	225
Graph 6.1: Official National Cassava Production (tns) (blue, left axis) and Area (ha) (orange, right axis)	247
Graph 6.2: Kota Area Truck Trips over 24 Hours	250
Graph 6.3: Tons of Products Sold at State Rural Markets in Malanje, 1968-73	253
Graph 6.4: Value of Products Sold at State Rural Markets in Malanje, 1968-73 (1,000 esc.) ...	253
Graph 6.5: Economic Crises and Food, Agricultural, and Cereals Imports (FAOSTAT)	263
Graph 6.6: Consumer Price Index in Luanda, January 1991 to April 1993	275
Graph 6.7: State Media Stories Mentioning PRESILD, Nosso Super and/or Poupa Lá	286
Graph 7.1: Cumulative Businesses Formally Registered as “Plantations”	300
Graph 7.2: Nominal and Real Salaries of Traditional Authority, 2004-2010	308
Graph 7.3: Officially Registered Rural Land Concessions in Angola, by Province 1951-1973	312
Graph 7.4: Number of Land Claim Processes (Urban and Rural) Begun in Malanje (est.)	314
Graph 7.5: Number of Rural and Urban Concession Request and Grants in Malanje and Angola	315
Graph 7.6: Transition to Mechanized Plantation Cotton Malanje’s Baixa de Kassanje, 1948-73	318

Appendices

Appendix A: Oil Production in Angola	403
Appendix B: Exchange Rate and CPI, 1990s to c.2010	404
Appendix C: Colonial Exchange Rates.....	406
Appendix D: Malanje Population by Racial Category and Concelho/Circunscrição, 1972	407
Appendix E: Indigenous Taxation Numbers, Amounts, and Relative Size, 1900-1960.....	409
Appendix F: Kapanda, Oil and Brazil.....	411
Appendix G : Map Legend for Colonial Growth Poles	413
Appendix H: Debates on the New Village (‘Aldeia Nova’) Project at Waku Kongo/Cela.....	414
Appendix I: Omboio Lyrics	416
Appendix J: Colonial Army Units in Malanje, 1960-75.....	417
Appendix K: Road Construction before the 1962 Autonomous Roads Board of Angola	418
Appendix L: 1992 Official Map of the Fundamental National Highway Network.....	420
Appendix M: Distribution of Seeds to Angolan Farmers 1960-73 (kgs).....	421
Appendix N: Late-Colonial Road Construction and Usage Statistics	422
Appendix O: Summary of 24-Hour Traffic Count	424
Appendix P: Cassava Purchase Price by Size.....	425
Appendix Q: Events and Media Related to Land, 2001-2009	426
Appendix R: Selected Rural Land-related Studies of Angola	428
Appendix S: Colonial Hamlets/resettlements in Eastern Zone.....	434
Appendix T: Farmer Associations in Malanje, c. 1985	435
Appendix U: Map of Settlement Schemes.....	436
Appendix V: Map of Tractor Parks	437
Appendix W: Land Concessions in Malanje by Municipality, 1994-2003.....	438
Appendix X: Partial Inventory of Legislation Related to Rural Land in Angola, 1676-2014....	439

Abbreviations

	English	Portuguese or other
ACORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes	-
ACR	Africa Contemporary Review	-
ADRA	Action for Rural Development and the Environment	Acção para o Desenvolvimento Rural e Ambiente
AE	Economic Update	Actualidade Económica
AFP	Press Agency of France	Agence France Presse
AHA	Angola Historical Archives	Arquivos Históricos de Angola
AHD	Diplomacy History Archives	Arquivos Históricos Diplomáticos
AHM	Military History Archives	Arquivos Históricos e Militares
AHU	Overseas History Archives	Arquivos Históricos Ultramarinos
AMM	Malanje Municipal Archives	Arquivos Municipais de Malanje
Akz	Angolan Kwanzas (currency)	-
AN	Northern Angola	Angola Norte
ANGOP	Angola Press Agency	Agência de Notícias de Angola
ASA	African Studies Association	-
ATM	Technical Material Provision	Abastecimento Técnico Material
AUP	Agrarian Production Unit	
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation	-
BCOM	Military Projects Construction Brigade	Brigada de Construção de Obras Militares
BdA	Bank of Angola	Banco de Angola
BGC	Bulletin of the General Agency of the Colonies	Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias
BGU	General Overseas Bulletin	Boletim Geral do Ultramar
BIOCOM	Bioenergy Company of Angola	Companhia de Bioenergia de Angola
BNU	National Overseas Bank	Banco Nacional Ultramarino
BO	Official Bulletin	Boletim Oficial
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa	-
CDR	Danish Council on Refugees	Conselho de Dinamarca de Refúgios
CEIC	Center for Studies and Scientific Investigation	Centro de Estudos e Investigação Científica
CENCO	Purchasing Center	Central de Compras
CFL	Luanda-Malanje Railroad	Caminhos de Ferro de Luanda
CITIC	China International Trust and Investment Corporation	-
CLOD	Logistics and Distribution Center	Centro de Logística de Distribuição

COTOANG	General Cotton Company of Angola	Companhia Geral dos Algodões de Angola
CRBC	China Road and Bridge Corporation	-
DfID	Department of International Development (UK)	-
DINAMA	National Distributor of Material Provisions	Distribuidora Nacional de Abastecimentos Material
DINAPROPE	National Distributor of Livestock Products	Distribuidora Nacional de Produtos Pecuários
DISA	Department of Angolan Information and Security	Direção de Informação e de Segurança de Angola
DNACA	National Department for Cooperatives	Direção Nacional de Cooperativização Agrícola e Apoio
DrR	Diary of the Republic	Diário da República
EDA	Agrarian Development Station	Estação de Desenvolvimento Agrário
EGROMISTA	Enterprise for Mixed Wholesale	Empresas Grossista Mista
EIA	Energy Information Administration	-
EIU	Economist Intelligence Unit	-
EMATEC	Technical Material Provisioning Enterprise	Empresa de Abastecimento Técnico Material
EME	Army High Office	Estado-Maior do Exército
ENAMA	National Enterprise for Agricultural Mechanization	Empresa Nacional de Mecanização Agrícola
ENCODIPA	National Enterprise for Agricultural Products Purchasing and Distribution	Empresa Nacional de Compra e Distribuição de Produtos Agrícolas
ENSUMIL	Enterprise for Military Retailing	Empresa de Supermercados Militares de Luanda
EREMIL	Luanda Enterprise for Mixed Retail	Empresa Retalhista Mista de Luanda
EREMISTA	Enterprise for Mixed Retail	Empresa Retalhista Mista
FALA	Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola	Forças Armadas de Libertação de Angola
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization	-
FAPLA	Popular Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola	Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola
FBIS	Foreign Broadcast Information Service	-
fn	Footnote	-
FNLA	National Front for the Liberation of Angola	Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola
FILDA	Luanda International Fair	Feira Internacional de Luanda
FPA	Pungo Andongo Plantation	Fazenda Pungo Andongo
FPN	Black Rocks Plantation	Fazenda Pedras Negras
GCT	Total Trade Management	Gestão de Comércio Total
GESTERRA	Arable Land Management	Gestão de Terras Aráveis

GOE	Special Projects Office	Gabinete de Obras Especiais
GRN	National Reconstruction Office	Gabinete de Reconstrução Nacional
ha	Hectares	-
HRW	Human Rights Watch	-
IAA	Angola Cotton Institute	Instituto de Algodão de Angola
IBEP	Population Well-Being Survey	Inquerito de Bem-Estar da População
IDA	Agrarian Development Institute	Instituto de Desenvolvimento Agrário
IGCA	Geographic and Cadastral Institute of Angola	Instituto Geográfico e Cadastral de Angola
IIAA	Agrarian Research Institute of Angola	Instituto de Investigação Agrária de Angola
IIS	Institute of International Studies	-
ILO	International Labor Organization	-
IMF	International Monetary Fund	-
INEA	National Roads Institute of Angola	Instituto Nacional de Estradas de Angola
IPAD	Portuguese Institute for Development Assistance	Instituto Português de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento
JAE	Autonomous Road Board	Junta Autónoma de Estradas
JAEA	Autonomous Road Board of Angola	Junta Autónoma de Estradas de Angola
JEA	Cotton Export Board	Junta de Exportação de Algodão
JPP	Provincial Settlement Board	Junta Provincial de Povoamento
KAIP	Kapanda Agro-Industrial Pole	-
kg	Kilogram(s)	-
km	Kilometer(s)	-
KW	Kilowatts	-
LMH	Luanda-Malanje Highway	-
MIAA	Angola Agrarian Research Mission	Missão de Investigação Agrária de Angola
MINADER	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development	Ministério de Agricultura e Desenvolvimento Rural
MOSAP	Market Oriented Smallholder Agriculture Project	-
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola
MW	Megawatts	-
NRSA	New Network of Supermarkets of Angola	Nova Rede de Supermercados de Angola
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries	-
PAC	Kapanda Agro-Industrial Pole	Polo Agroindustrial de Capanda

PAPAGRO	Agricultural and Livestock Products Acquisition Program	Programa de Aquisição de Produtos Agropecuários
PAPDAR	Support Project to the Agricultural and Rural Development Program	Projecto de Apoio ao Programa de Desenvolvimento Agrícola e Rural
PIDE	International and State Defense Police	Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado
PRESILD	Restructuring Program of the Logistics and Distribution System	Programa de Reestruturação do Sistema de Logística e Distribuição
PSA	African Solidarity Party	Parti Solidaire Africain
SIMPORTEX	Corporation for Trade of Equipment and Material Means, Imports and Exports	Comercialização de Equipamentos e Meios Materiais, Import e Export
SODEPAC	Development Corporation of the Kapanda Agro-Industrial Growing Pole	Sociedade de Desenvolvimento Agro-industrial de Capanda
SONANGOL	National Oil Corporation of Angola	Sociedade Nacional de Combustíveis de Angola
SONEFE	National Corporation for Studies and Financing of Overseas Projects	Sociedade Nacional de Estudos e Financiamento de Empreendimentos Ultramarinos
SWB	Summary of World Broadcasts	-
UN	United Nations	-
UNACA	Confederation of Peasants Associations and Agro-Livestock Cooperatives of Angola	Confederação das Associações de Camponeses e Cooperativas Agropecuárias de Angola
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund	-
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola
UPA	Union of Angolan Peoples	União dos Povos de Angola
USAID	United States Agency for International Development	-
WDI	World Development Indicators	-
WDR	World Development Report	-
WFP	World Food Program	-
WMEAT	World Military Expenditure and Arms Transfers	-

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The usual disclaimers apply regarding my responsibility for any errors in the text and interpretation – feedback, corrections, and discussion are all welcome.

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Technical Notes

Regarding spelling, the written text tries to use the post-independence and Bantu spelling of proper names and locations, the most frequent being use of a hard K instead of a hard C, as in Kalandula and Kota instead of Calandula and Cota. While a major exercise in re-naming was conducted shortly after independence, that effort slowed and some names even reverted to their colonial name and/or spelling, given the greater prominence of written colonial texts with such spelling (a glaring example was the Chinese rail construction company putting large letters on the Malanje rail station spelling out Malange, which was subsequently corrected). Other most prominent examples are Malanje instead of Malange, Kissol instead of Quissol, Kela instead of Quela. However, in some instances the “C” spellings have become commonly accepted, as in Cangandala and Caculama. Where contemporary connections are important to understand, in some tables for example, I have replaced the colonial names with post-independence ones. Location names in quotes and citations have been retained however, and so a list of colonial Portuguese names and their Angolan equivalents is given below.

Direct quotes are in “double parentheses,” while questioned terms and paraphrases are in ‘single ones.’ Pseudonyms have been used for people not in public news.

The administrative units and names used in Angola have changed over time during the colonial period and since independence in 1975. Some of the re-named municipalities are listed in the table below. During colonial rule, Angola was classified as a Province, in turn made up of several districts, themselves divided into a mix of *concelhos* (‘councils’) for urban areas (on precisely which basis these were so classified as urban is not clear), and *circunscrições* (‘circumscriptions’) for more rural areas.¹ These were then divided into administrative posts, with apparently some areas also having a prior third unit of *freguesias* (‘parishes’).

The post-independence administrative hierarchy is one of 18 provinces, each divided into roughly 5-15 municipalities, with each municipality in turn made up of several ‘*comunas*’ (communes is the closest literal translation, but without the significance the term carries in the West). *Comunas* are the lowest level of exclusively state administrative apparatus (buildings, employees, etc), but they are also sometimes divided into several sectors. Traditional authorities also serve in various capacities and levels as administrative figures, with legally designated roles and salaries for head chiefs (also called *regedores*), chiefs (*sobas*), and sub-chiefs. Because the English words for *concelhos*, *circunscrições*, and *comunas* have somewhat different connotations, I use the Portuguese terms in the text.

In terms of citations and references, so as to not clutter the text, I have put most citations of historical or factual references in footnotes, reserving in-text citations for where I am directly engaging with the author’s argument. I have also put entire references in footnotes for most non-academic work, such as newspapers, bulletins or magazines, as well as occasionally some obscure reports or conference proceedings. All websites were accessed as of April 2015 unless otherwise noted.

¹ See Milheiros (1972); Broadhead and Martin (1992: 75).

On exchange rates, see the Appendix. Prior to 1914, the *real* was used in Angola. Angola then used the Angolan *escudo* from 1914-1928, and the Portuguese *escudo* 1958-1977. From 1928-1958, it used the *angolar*.

Colonial	Independence
Caombo	Kahombo
Ambaca	Lukala
Xa Muteba	Xa Muteba
Forte Republica	Massango
Luquembo	Luquembo
Cangandala	Cangandala
Nova Gaia	Cambundi
Cacuso	Cacuso
Quela	Quela
Marimba	Marimba
Montalegre	Kunda dia Base
Brito Godins	Kiwaba Nzoji
Duque de Bragança	Kalandula
Malange	Malanje
Quirima	Quirima / Kirima

PART I

Chapter 1 : Introduction: Agrarian Reconstruction in Post-War Oil-Boom Angola

“This? This is nothing,” a man named João explained to me one January day as we stood in the only small store open in Amaral, a derelict tiny rural town in north central Angola. By 2012, Amaral, which consists of a dozen mostly decrepit old colonial buildings, had been marked by decades of war and neglect. But, said João, he had schooled there and Amaral had once produced educated people – five of them had even gone to Cuba in 1985. The shop owner looked both a little annoyed and embarrassed at João’s dismissive ramble and comment about the shop’s meagre array of crackers, tins of fish, whiskey, wine and soda. Part of the work of this dissertation is to explore the complex transformations in this region, and, in particular, the processes that keep small in-between places such as Amaral destitute even as Angola has experienced a decade-long boom in off-shore oil revenues and post-war national reconstruction.

Quickly redeeming himself, João added jokingly that Antonio, the shop owner, was basically the “king of the area!” Antonio was even older than the *soba* (chief) of Mwanya, the small tidy village some dozen kilometers from Amaral that I had been visiting for months. In contrast to Amaral, which had been established in the 1940s as a set of stores for the area’s Portuguese plantation owners, Mwanya was off a ways on varied land reserved in the 1950s for Angolans increasingly displaced by the plantations. That morning, as I walked in Mwanya with several people whom I had accompanied to visit fields and dry fermented cassava in the sun, two men from another small village neighboring Mwanya sped by a small motorcycle. They were soon followed by more people walking and shouting angrily about a wayward goat that had gotten into the cramped bit of land around Mwanya with soils good enough for crops, and which had subsequently been bludgeoned to death by the planter of the crops. This was one of various instances in which problems due to the land structure from the colonial era were continuing 50 years later. Many of the former colonial plantations are now idle, having been privatized to individual absentee Angolan owners after a brief period of state and cooperative farms in the 1980s. Marginal villages like Mwanya and others sandwiched between these large tracts of unused good land are left with little income, and consequently few reasons for people to bother re-investing in the old trading stores of small towns like Amaral.

Through an analysis of relationships between these two places, and several others near and far, this dissertation aims to prompt critical questions not only about Angola’s current process of reconstruction, but also about prevalent interpretations of Angolan geography and history, and more broadly about the political-economic relations of valuable mineral resources, infrastructure, and agrarian change in contemporary African development.

In this dissertation, I argue that the ways in which Western Malanje’s cassava farmers’ livelihoods are shaped by transport logistics, marketing reforms, and agrarian configurations illustrate how contemporary reconstruction – in the context of an offshore oil boom – has occurred through the specific conjunctures of multiple geo-historical processes associated with a settler colonialism, protracted war, and leveraged liberalization. This argument contrasts to prevalent explanations that downplay or ignore these geo-historical processes and conjunctures, and instead more narrowly root Angola’s reconstruction in relatively inertial institutions, namely domination of external trade by a purported ‘creole elite.’

This introduction has three sections. In the first, I provide an overview of the dissertation by briefly stating the main research questions and my overall argument, and introduce some key aspects of the general context, concerns, literature, and contributions. In the second section, I briefly overview the structure of each of the chapters and how they relate to the main research questions and overall argument. The third and final section introduces and summarizes my methodology and research sites.

The dissertation title emphasizes multiple reconstructions. By highlighting the importance of the provisioning of agricultural goods, basic commodities and food in shaping how infrastructure has been conceptualized, constructed, used and experienced, I point to the deeply spatial aspects of Angolan history and political economy. Simultaneously, I emphasize how such spatial dynamics of infrastructure have been the subject of a long history of projects, and that such efforts – though often portrayed as solid fixes – have been rough, temporary, impermanent, supplanted, and, in short, provisional. Another implicit gesture in the title is about attempting to reconstruct academic and popular understandings of Angolan history and geography, and, in so doing, also contribute to reconstructing broader ideas about, and practices of engaging with, the political economy of development in Africa.

1.1 Introduction

Fueled by a massive offshore deep-water oil boom, Angola has undertaken – since the end of four decades of intermittent conflict in 2002 – an enormous, complex, and contradictory project of national reconstruction whose character and dynamics have yet to be carefully studied and analyzed. What explains the patterns of such projects, who is benefitting (or suffering) from them, and how? At root, this dissertation is concerned with marshalling critical understandings of spatiality in responding to such questions. Based on several years of ethnographic fieldwork, hundreds of interviews, and extensive archival research, my analysis is oriented around the specific dynamics of cassava production and marketing in two villages in Malanje Province in north central Angola, particularly in relation to the reconstruction of marketing, a regional development pole, and roads. The ways in which Western Malanje’s cassava farmers’ livelihoods are shaped by these projects of transport logistics, regional development poles, and marketing, illustrate how contemporary reconstruction – in the context of an offshore oil boom – has occurred through the specific conjunctures of multiple geo-historical processes associated with settler colonialism, protracted war, and leveraged liberalization. Such an explanation contrasts with previous more narrow emphases on elite enrichment and domination through control of external trade. In particular, infrastructure projects are occurring as part of an agrarian configuration in which patterns of land, roads, and markets have emerged through recursive relations, and which is characterized by concentration, hierarchy and fragmentation. The diagram in Figure 1.1 can help illustrate some of the basic analytic framework of the argument running through the dissertation and connecting the chapters. The actual ‘causal mechanisms’ vary across the more than dozen relationships indicated in the above diagram, and the point here for my dissertation is less to analyze in great and clear detail each of these mechanisms (though that is needed, and worthy of other research projects). Instead I focus on the overall framework in order to provide a broad alternate argument about reconstruction.

Figure 1.1: Basic Analytic Framework & Chapters

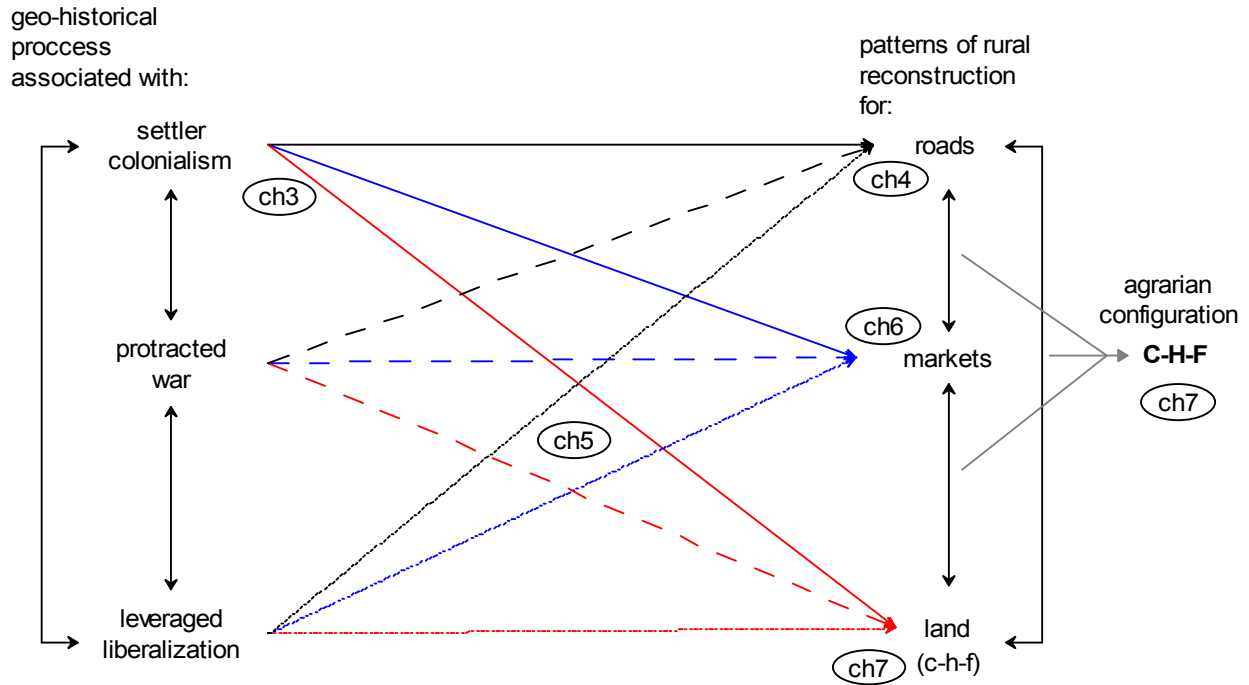
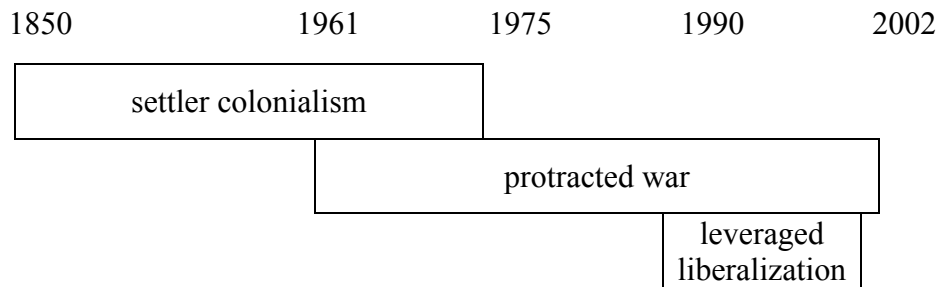


Figure 1.2: Timeline



In Part I of the dissertation, I first introduce the dissertation argument, structure, methodology and sites, and then provide some basic information in the beginning of Chapter 2 with a very brief and schematic overview of Angolan history since the Sixteenth Century. The next section of Chapter 2 describes the conventional perspective that explains contemporary reconstruction in Angola in terms of how it is controlled by and enriches a powerful neo-patrimonial creole elite buoyed by oil revenue and generally neglecting agriculture – a perspective that is rooted in particular understandings of the geography and history of Angolan political economy. The bulk

of Chapter 2 then emphasizes spatiality in critically scrutinizing the three imperfectly interlocking concepts that underlie this conventional perspective, namely creole elite, neo-patrimonialism, and Dutch Disease. After critically examining this conventional perspective, I close Part I of the dissertation by laying out in Chapter 3 my own different reading of the early geographical and historical context of Malanje, and I do so by reinterpreting the 1961 revolt by cotton farmers as resulting from regional economic, political, and social connections rather than only from purely local discontent with cotton growing conditions. This re-interpretation of Malanje's geo-history is key to understanding the post-1961 late-colonial regional development efforts that are in turn essential to comprehending the subsequent periods of socialist, war, and oil-fueled reconstruction.

In Part II, the next four chapters each focus on one of a set of related issues – road reconstruction and use, the Kapanda regional development pole, agro-food marketing, and land – in order to illustrate the overall argument that state efforts at improving transport, regional development, and marketing logistics have not resolved, and even sometimes exacerbated, constraints facing farmers in a concentrated, fragmented, and hierarchical agrarian configuration.

Chapter 4 looks at the colonial construction and post-colonial reconstruction of roads from Luanda to Malanje to illustrate the importance, character, and effects of military and construction logistics with regard to the experiences of cassava marketing by farmers in Western Malanje. Chapter 5 examines the contemporary high-profile Kapanda Agro-Industrial Growth Pole project in Malanje in order to illustrate many of the spatial and 'logistical' tendencies and associated problems prevalent in Angola's efforts at post-war reconstruction. These tendencies and problems – which are also explored in Chapters 4 and 6 – are relevant to understanding the conditions of the region's smallholder farmers, *despite* the lack of the Kapanda project's promised direct economic linkages with such farmers. Chapter 6 examines the emphasis on formal logistics and unrealistic regulations in agro-food marketing projects, and argues that these arise out military- and neoliberal-era contracting to resurrect socialist period goals of reviving and restructuring late-colonial integrated, nationally extensive agro-industrial markets that had been deliberately destroyed during the wars and then devastatingly abandoned during liberalization.

Chapter 7 brings together the preceding chapters by arguing that the patterns and limitations of the transport and market promotion reconstruction programs and projects can be understood in terms of how they have emerged recursively in relation land to form a broader agrarian configuration characterized by concentration, hierarchy and fragmentation. To illustrate the importance of the agrarian configuration for cassava farmers, I begin with a brief description of my main study villages. I then outline and scrutinize conventional interpretations of 'land grabbing' in Angola, and the Chapter alternatively presents extended original analysis of the colonial roots of the agrarian configuration characterized by concentration, hierarchy and fragmentation. I conclude Chapter 7 by examining four plantations in order to illustrate different ways in which the current agrarian configuration shaped by settler colonialism has also emerged recursively in relation to roads and markets, themselves in turn also shaped by war and liberalization.

Some basic definitions need to be stated upfront. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *configuration* as the "Arrangement of parts or elements in a particular form or figure; the form, shape, figure, resulting from such arrangement." I am using agrarian configuration in a two

senses, of socio-spatial relations between different sorts of land (in which I include also water and forestry), and relations between land, markets and roads. With regard to both senses of agrarian configuration, and taking some inspiration from Lefebvre's later work on the state, capitalism, and space, I focus the three aspects of concentration, hierarchy, and fragmentation. *Logistics* refers, for Cowen (2014: 1,4), minimally, to "the seemingly banal and technocratic management of the movement of stuff through space," but also implies "the entire network of infrastructures, technologies, spaces, workers, and violence that makes the circulation of stuff possible." Also, throughout the dissertation I use the more general terms smallholders and farmers, at the risk of appearing technocratic, because the term peasant/peasantry – which is actually more commonly used in Angola in the Portuguese word 'camponês' – carries with it a great deal of specificity refined from complex debates, for which there still remains greatly inadequate data in Angola to even start to adequately address, particularly given the size and rapidity of turbulent socio-economic change in the countryside over the past few decades of war and reconstruction.²

1.1.1 Context

Part of the reason that I wanted to do research in Angola was that news stories indicated the country was transforming rapidly in some ways after the end of war, and yet there was very little in-depth information about what was happening in the countryside. At the same time, it was easy to get overwhelmed with information about Angola, a country that was at the heart of global Cold War battles in southern Africa, and which has centuries of written history by colonialists, explorers, and Angolans. Various commentators seemed also to have strong views on Angola, yet with frustratingly few details to back them up. All this made research in Angola exciting, but also daunting, and uncertain. A part of my dissertation is therefore about the politics of knowledge about Angola. This is not just about textual interpretation, but about practical and political matters of who has had which sorts of access over the years to which information, and for which purposes. The production of knowledge about Angola is inseparable from the history of decades of devastating international war and centuries of contested and brutal colonial rule.

Propelled by oil, Angola is now the third largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa, after being a key Cold War battleground, a settler colony of forced labor, and the main source of the slave trade for centuries. After more than 400 years of violence, domination, cruel racism and inequality, things have been improving, slowly, too slowly, but improving nonetheless. While many people fled rural areas for the cities during the war, there are still roughly 10 million people experiencing this new era of reconstruction in the rural areas of Angola. My research is the first lengthy academic study that combines careful grounded research in the field, academic literature, and archives to tell this story as it is playing out in the interior and in the countryside.

The devastation of war and colonialism has long been at least superficially recognized by concerned visitors to Angola. However, pity is not the same thing as an informed empathetic understanding. Contemporary critics point to emerging schisms between impoverished youth who want a share of the pie, and a narrow elite of extremely wealthy and powerful people. According to a national living standards survey conducted in 2008-9, average income in rural

² Cf. Bernstein (2010: 3-4); Watts (2009); Edelman (2013).

areas is almost half that of urban areas (about \$60 per month, versus \$110), with the overall poverty rate of 58% more three times that of urban areas (19%). Only a quarter of rural people have access to health clinics within two kilometers (in contrast to almost two thirds of urban residents), and maternal health care is roughly half that in urban areas. Due to the lack or distance of health posts, nearly half the rural population that was sick (within 30 days prior to the survey) didn't receive any care.³ Compared to the 'throbbing' city of Luanda with its six million people, and its unmistakable wealth and re-development, the countryside could at first arrival feel battered, ghostly and staid.

Because part of my research looks at people's day-to-day lives, their surroundings, and their petty and quotidian uses (and gripes) with basic infrastructure, my research found that because people in rural areas have experienced such difficult conditions for so long, they are simultaneously aware and appreciative of the multitude of slow improvements being made, and dissatisfied with the pace. Although it was not my intention to study the course of war, it was literally staring me in the face every day. On a street that I lived, the secondary school walls were pock-marked with bullet holes. More disconcertingly, the trashy pock-marked shell of a building across from where I stayed in the small rural town of Kota had faintly but clearly scrawled in English on its side the phrase 'The Ruse of Brutality,' which eerily appeared only when the wall residue darkened with the moisture of the early morning *cacimbo* fog of the high plains. There was a landscape of destruction, but it was one that pointed unclearly to other sorts of ruin. Bombed-out cars and shot-up buildings are easy enough for journalists to use as representations of war, but, and maybe this is cliché, the disrupted patterns of life seemed to me less visible and yet more pervasive and sometimes meaningful. Experience upon experience – people's longer personal trajectories – are what fleeting commentators often miss. One cannot photograph the elaborate and conflicted memories that people recollect about how things were before the war, and during the war, in comparison to the present. So, it is not simply the current inequalities that shape people's assessments of the current regime; rather it is a deeper and often terrifying history that continues to be very present and understood popularly throughout Angola (*including* the post-war younger generation), but, remarkably, has still not yet been anywhere near comprehensively told for many places and people. And hence hasn't yet been sufficiently appreciated analytically or politically either by many commentators, both Angolan and foreign. I hope that my study of the countryside here can contribute.

³ INE (2011a p.133). For Malanje Province, the reasons cited for non-consultation during sickness were cost (21%), inexistence (17%), and distance (12%).

Figure 1.3: 'The Ruse of Brutality,' Kota



Source: Author

The conventional broad-strokes historical narrative about Angolan history and agrarian change goes something like the following. Contemporary armed conflict began in 1961 against Portuguese settler colonialism, and continued by three armed liberation movements backed by different world powers. After one of these movements, the socialist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) Independence largely defeated the others and declared independence, war in Angola then became a global Cold War and apartheid proxy conflict from 1975 to 1990, with the Soviet Union and Cuba supporting the MPLA, and the United States and South Africa supporting the rebels, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). From 1991 to 2002, UNITA used diamond revenues to continue fighting until signing a cease-fire following their leader's death by government troops. In total, somewhere over a million people died due to conflict, and war displaced several million of Angola's 16-20 million people during those years. War caused massive economic disruption, but roughly one third of the population still lives in rural areas and relies on agriculture as a key source of livelihood. Just prior to independence in 1975, Angola was the world's fourth largest producer of coffee and sisal. In 1975, there was a mass exodus of 300,000 Portuguese, and the state nationalized nearly all the settler property and infrastructure. Ever since, the MPLA has been in power, and from 1979, led by President José Eduardo dos Santos. Portuguese colonial rule utilized traditional authorities and the Catholic Church as indirect agents of the state governance and control. Such religious and traditional authorities were restricted by the socialist post-independence government, but traditional

authorities retain formal legal roles and state salaries. After the end of the Cold War and the impending demise of South African apartheid, the Constitution was amended, and elections occurred in 1992, but were soon followed by a return to war until 2002. Legislative elections were held in 2008, a new Constitution approved, and joint legislative-presidential elections held in 2012, with both elections handily won by the MPLA. War and international financial pressure prompted reforms to socialist measures from the late 1980s, with partial structural adjustment and some privatization. The 2008-9 and 2014-15 oil market gluts tempered post-war reconstruction, but has been compensated by high production, recovering prices, and reserves and loans.

A variety of processes from the 1950s to the 2000s has resulted in a unique situation of rural de-capitalization, weakening then strengthening of chiefly power and rural elites, wide re-peasantization (a vast return to the countryside of Angolans displaced by colonialism and war), accompanied over the past two decades by sizeable land concessions (often characterized as powerful small group of urban creole absentee elites). This situation reportedly developed out of a process of significant rural differentiation from the Eighteenth through the early Twentieth Century between a small set of elite intermediaries and impoverished masses occasioned by the former's dominance of slave and commercial trade (Miller 1988; Bender 1978; Dias 1985; Freudenthal 1989; Clarence-Smith 1979; Heywood 2000). This elite also gained wealth and influence until the 1920s as administrative functionaries of the colonial state. But, from the start of Twentieth Century, the elite was increasingly displaced due to rising forced labor of Angolans and state subsidies for increasingly widespread Portuguese farmers and settlers. Consequently, the mass Portuguese exodus at independence in 1975 enabled or prompted Angolan socialist state to 'fill the void' of rural capital by attempting to monopolize marketing, take over former private plantations, and further control traditional authorities. However, armed conflict, leveraged liberalization, and state mismanagement from the late 1970s to the 2002 weakened the state and resulted in rural de-capitalization and rural-urban migration. This was somewhat reversed through re-peasantization after the end of conflict in 2002 when roughly 2 million people gradually resettled in rural areas (out of an estimated rural population then of about 7 million), facilitated by the state, domestic and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the United Nations (UN). Though Angola's agriculture budget is large in absolute terms, it is actually relatively small when considered as a percentage of Angola's total budget (see Table 1.1).⁴ A disproportionate amount of agriculture-related spending appears to be going to a few dozen well-publicized, large-scale projects involving relatively few farmers (though it is not entirely clear whether these projects' funds are actually included in state budget figures for agricultural spending or elsewhere). The result of this process was relatively widespread popular rural access to land but with relatively few other assets in the countryside, amidst proliferating titles to large land concessions.⁵

⁴ Because Angola's overall budget is relatively large compared with other African countries, total absolute expenditure on Angola is large compared with other countries. However, as a percentage of the total budget, spending on agriculture is small relative to other African countries. Of course, there are important complementarities with spending in other areas, such as transport, health and education, some of which may be more pertinent in Angola given the country's size and history.

⁵ The Ministry of Agriculture stated that there are some 2 million agricultural 'family units.' Cf. Verdery (2003), Pitcher and Askew (2006), CEIC (various).

That said, from some very basic glances at rough recent statistics on land and agriculture in Angola, two significant points stand out that help put such processes in some perspective. First, *relatively* very little of Angola's land is actually being used for agriculture. Second, although most people (almost two thirds of the population) are classified as living in urban areas, most of the people classified as 'economically active' actually engage in agriculture. According to statistics from the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) – which deserve skepticism, like the government figures on which they are often based – roughly 59 million hectares out of Angola's total 125 million hectares are classified as suitable for agriculture (equivalent to 47% of the total area). For 2011, the area reported as actually being used for agriculture of any sort only amounts to about 4.7 million hectares, which is 8% of the total agricultural land (and 3.8% of the total land).⁶ The new 2014 census puts Angola's population at 24.3 million, with 38% (9.2 million) people classified as rural. According to low pre-census FAO figures (which put the total population at 22.1 million instead of 24.3 million), there were in 2014 some 6.8 million people economically active in agriculture, amounting to 69% of the total 9.9 million economically active people in the country, and amounting to 31% of total population (as estimated by FAO).⁷ In sum, agriculture remains important for many people, and although much land has been granted as concessions since the effective shift towards liberalization starting in the early 1990s (by some estimates, more than 4.5 million hectares, equivalent to about 8% of land classified as agricultural), whether and how these concessions are actually valid, enforced, used, and/or displacing people is broadly unclear and often disputed, despite some striking examples..⁸

As I started researching Angola, from the little detailed information that I'd been able to gather about what was actually happening in the countryside, several pressing questions kept coming to mind. There were numerous news articles about different ambitious government reconstruction plans and projects, and I wondered, why was the state that was criticized as run by a greedy and brutal elite now even bothering to appear to purport to do all these projects in the countryside?⁹ The projects did not all seem to exactly match the prototypical pet projects in this or that politician's home district, or just wasteful 'white elephant' projects like a castle in the bush, a huge unprofitable manufacturing plant, or bridge to nowhere.¹⁰ Rather, these projects were of such number, size, extent, and, perhaps most importantly, explicit emphasis on logistical linkages that they seemed different. But were these projects even happening? What did people make of them? Were rural people who had been recently resettled in their villages appeased by

⁶ FAOSTAT, Angola, <http://faostat3.fao.org/browse/area/7/E>.

⁷ See the critical discussion on agricultural statistics in CEIC's annual economic reports. See initial figures from the 2014 census. With regard to the 2008/9 living standards survey (INE 2011a), cynics have a circular logic that prevents them from even considering the survey statistics. For them, the state is limited and corrupt, so any survey will be both partial (since the state's presence in the country is limited and no census was done) and biased (since frontline staff can't be trusted and the elites will either not release the data or skew it to their favor). And yet in actuality, there is and has been close state presence and monitoring in many places for a very long time, even in difficult circumstances. And the state did in fact make almost all the raw data publically available. And it appears to have been conducted reasonably well, in collaboration with mainstream development institutions.

⁸ Soares de Oliveira (2015: 123) cites JMJ Angola (2011) as stating that concessions granted to date are larger than at the end of the colonial period, which Pacheco (2002: 4) puts at 4.5 million hectares, presumably drawing on MIAA (1973).

⁹ The aspects of these projects interpreted in biopolitical and governmental terms are interesting issues for future research (cf. Li 2007; Tsing 2005; Scott 1998; Schneider 2007).

¹⁰ Cf. Yates (1996), Watts (1987), Burgis (2015), Yocum, T. (2014) 'Inside Gbadolite, President Mobutu's personal city in the jungle,' *The Guardian*, Oct 15.

such large projects, did they recognize the massive inequality in the country, were they upset by it, and to what effect? What was the relationship of these large projects to reports of an elite land grab?¹¹ How big and pervasive was that land grab, and what was being done or could be done about it, if anything, by any villagers in such an unequal, difficult and turbulent context? Why or why not? And if so, how, and with what effects? These were some of the questions motivating my initial inquiry into agrarian change in the hinterlands of post-war, oil-boom Angola, though during the course of research itself the main questions and argument came took slightly different focuses. The way that I went about my research in response to such early questions is described in the last section of this introduction where I lay out the study site, methodology and rationales. The research process was iterative, partly by design, partly by necessity, and the dissertation has consequently come to emphasize the inseparability of geography and history, as well as the severely under-appreciated geo-histories of war throughout the country.

1.1.2 Conventional Interpretations

Much of the analysis of Angola's turbulent history has been interpreted through, and taken as examples for, a growing literature on rentier states, resource curses, resource wars, and general fiscal sociology of the state and development.¹² Such interest in the fiscal sociology of the state goes back to the reactions against market-centric approaches, and particularly efforts to 'bring the state back in' (Evans et al. 1985) and after Tilly's (1990) work emphasizing how European state presence had emerged out of the tax-raising necessities of war. Much of the effort has been to show how significant for politics (and hence development outcomes) were the seemingly rather staid issue of revenue, taxation, and financial accounting, and hence come to terms with some of the challenges and limits of 1990s efforts at structural adjustment reforms, debt relief and renewed foreign aid.¹³ The rentier state was sometimes seen as part of a broader 'resource curse,' which also often included 'resource wars.'¹⁴

The precise notion of the rentier state itself became formalized academically with Mahdavy's (1970) chapter, and by the late 1980s, after the oil booms and busts in African countries, was being applied to African countries as well (Yates 1996). These original authors noted overlaps with the long, complex histories of theories about trade and rent.¹⁵ For Africa in particular, including Angola, Cooper's key (2002) text was able to bring together much scholarship on African economic history to propose formalizing the notion of a 'gatekeeper state,' akin to a rentier state (though he does not say so explicitly), but, he argues, specific to Africa's

¹¹ See, e.g., Clover (2005), UN IRIN (2003) 'Angola: Interview with Development Workshop director on land rights,' Nov 27, <http://www.irinnews.org/report/47452/angola-interview-with-development-workshop-director-on-land-rights>; (2008) 'Chiquita negotiates African sources of bananas for Europe,' Associated Press, March 4; (2009) 'Chiquita, partner quit Angola banana investment,' Reuters, Sep 23; (2009); Burgis, Tom (2009) 'Lonrho secures rice land deal in Angola,' Financial Times, Jan 16; Ziegler (2013: 198) was still incorrectly reporting as active the terminated Chiquita banana plantation, the 25,000 hectare Lonrho rice plantation, and the sugar ethanol plantation.

¹² Some of which is connected as well with a (contested) 'renaissance in African economic history.' See Austen and Broadberry (2014); see also Anderson's (2014) review.

¹³ See Levi (1988); Guyer (1992); Moore (1998, 2004); Brautigam et al. (2008).

¹⁴ See the reviews by Le Billon (2005, 2008).

¹⁵ Cf. Bina's (2013) reviews, and Karl (1997).

infrastructure and history of states' reliance on commodity tariffs (rather than only more narrow rents).

In a simple, limited way, of course Angola incontrovertibly fits the minimal definition of a rentier or gatekeeper state. The state has long gotten the vast majority of its revenue from oil exports.¹⁶ However, whereas the gatekeeper/rentier model would predict that the Angolan state would do little in the countryside, in fact it appears to be doing much more. And where the model would explain intervention in terms of elite benefit and regime maintenance, in fact the Angolan state is building off of the spatial legacies of colonialism, war, and liberalization in its reconstruction activities. The gatekeeper/rentier model does not recognize such spatiality, because it focuses on narrow transport networks, which Angola contradicts with its extensive transport network. Yet such an extensive network is often unrecognized in gatekeeper/rentier models, which focus on narrow drainage corridors and assume customs tariffs, thereby ignoring Angola's history of 'tax-in-kind' in the form of labor used to construct and maintain the infrastructure (as well as produce the commodities that were transported and taxed).¹⁷

Chapter 2 provides a more detailed exposition of Angolan history, how it has been invoked for notions of rentier/gatekeeper states, and a critique of these approaches for their lack of thorough, critical and historical attention to spatiality particularly on issues of rural areas, protests, commodities, infrastructure, taxation, and roads.

1.1.3 War: The \$200 Billion 'Elephant in the Room'

War is the bridge is the medium through which the legacies of colonialism have merged with those of oil, socialism, liberalization, and reconstruction. Through careful examination of a range of sources on specific issues, people and places, this dissertation situates reconstruction with regard to Angolans' perspectives on the quite large scale of war-related destruction, and the correspondingly massive future plans, based on enormous oil revenue, for essentially overcoming such destruction and restoring the country to its popularly presumed rightful glory. This contrasts with much more common narrow perspectives that situate reconstruction almost exclusively in relation to relatively smaller scale current illicit acts of elite accumulation. War and corruption are tricky and prickly issues, and so perspective is needed.

¹⁶ For Mahdavy (1970: 428) "Rentier States are defined here as those countries that receive on a regular basis substantial amounts of external rent. External rents are in turn defined as rentals paid by foreign individuals, concerns or governments to individuals, concerns or governments of a given country." For Beblawi (1987: 51-2), rentier states are defined by four characteristics: rents predominate, the rents are external, the rents derive from the work of a small minority, and the rents are controlled by the state. Various other authors make a series of binary distinctions: production vs allocation states, esoteric vs exoteric states, production vs circulation economies, production vs distribution states, etc.

¹⁷ Part what's going in the distinction between a common sense notion of Angola as a rentier/gatekeeper ('of course it's a petro state!') and the critiques I've just made is that notions of rentier and gatekeeping are slippery because they are vague spatial metaphors. What precisely is the gate in Angola – the headquarters of the state oil company, the ministry of finance, the Presidency, the oil platforms themselves, the escrow account in London, the Luanda downtown, the coastal border, the maritime exclusive economic zone, or something else?

Seeking an explanation of contemporary development problems in Angola does not excuse current corruption, abuse, neglect and inequality – quite the contrary, it is necessary to effectively address these. The challenge is to de-naturalize such problems, to profoundly understand what are the conditions that make them possible.¹⁸ Some rough figures help put the challenges and plans for reconstruction and development in perspective (discussed further below):

- \$200 billion in war costs, 1975-2002 (constant 2013 \$)
- \$10-15 billion lost to corruption 1991-2014
- \$274 billion post-war revenue, 2003-2014 (constant 2013 \$)
- \$60 billion current annual budget
- \$500 billion possible government revenues 2015-2040

We should not let our entirely justified outrage at continued suffering and inequality in Angola – and particularly rural Angola – blind us to ways these problems also have deep, complex geo-historical roots. Take a recent *Bloomberg* article in on the paradox of Angola having such oil wealth and yet the highest rate of child mortality in the world – exemplified in that article by a maternal feeding center and Porsche and Armani shops both existing in Luanda. The article, however, focuses on Luanda despite the fact that problem of child mortality is overwhelmingly in the interior, and it mentions only in passing “a 27-year civil war” with no further elaboration.¹⁹ It does not seriously address the significantly declining rate of child mortality since the end of the war, nor the patterns and causes of such mortality. To understand, moreover, precisely how the rate of under-nourishment has roughly halved since the end of the war, but remains disconcertingly stuck at somewhere around the range of 4 million people or a sixth of the population, we have to actually bother to understand the diversity of the country and – as the main argument of this dissertation contends – the ways that oil-fueled reconstruction is being problematically shaped by specific conjunctures of processes associated with colonialism, war, and liberalization.

¹⁸ Cf. Broch-Due and Schroeder (2000), Hart (2006).

¹⁹ McClelland, Colin, and Manuel Soque (2015) ‘Hunger causes world’s worst child death in oil-rich Angola,’ *Bloomberg*, May 5.

Table 1.1: Selected Key Development Indicators

	Revenues (\$ bn, current)	Ext. debt (\$ bn, current)	% of Budget to Defense & Security (est)	% of Budget to Agric.	Agric. Budget (\$ mn, current)	# Under- nour. (mn)	% Under- nour.	Under 5 mort.
2001	4.0	8.8	7.5			7.0	48.8	201
2002	4.1	9.1	14					200
2003	5.5	9.1	17.5					198
2004	6.6	9.8	22.5					196
2005	9.0	12.2	18		91			194
2006	24.1	9.9	12.5		1,629	5.3	31.2	191
2007	29.4	11.9	12.5		261			187
2008	37.8	15.5	15	4.5	363			183
2009	15.6	17.0	14	4.1	686			178
2010	29.3	16.9	20	2.0	240	4.1	20.9	173
2011	49.8	19.3	15	1.4	514			169
2012	46.4-52.9	20.1	15	1.2	414			164
2013	47.0	24.0	17.5	1.1	553	3.9	18.0	
2014			16	0.6				

Sources: CEIC, WDI, FAO, UNICEF, Marcelino and Morgado (2015: 14)

Table 1.2: Population (1,000s) and Density by Province, 1960, 1970, and 2014 (urban/rural)

Province	1960		1970		2014				
	Pop	Pop/ km ²	Pop	Pop/ km ²	Total	Urb.	Rural	Rural Pop/km ²	Total Pop/km ²
Benguela	488	13	475	15	2,037	1,279	758	24	64
Bie	453	6	650	10	1,339	588	751	11	19
Cabinda	59	8	81	11	688	547	141	19	95
Huambo	597	20	837	26	1,896	885	1,011	29	55
Huila	594	4	644	4	2,354	781	1,573	21	31
Kunene					965	763	202	9	11
K' do Kubango	113	1	112	1	510	288	222	1	3
Kwanza Norte	263	10	298	12	427	282	145	6	18
Kwanza Sul	405	7	459	8	1,794	685	1,109	20	32
Luanda	347	10	561	17	6,543	6,377	166	9	348
Bengo					352	150	202	6	11
Lunda	247	2	303	2	516 (S)	400	516	1	7
Lunda					800 (N)	506	294	1	8
Malanje	452	5	559	6	968	532	436	4	10
Moxico	266	1	213	1	728	398	330	1	3
Namibe	43	1	53	1	471	309	162	3	8
Uige	399	7	386	6	1,426	552	874	15	24
Zaire	104	3	42	1	567	419	148	4	14
Total	4,380	4	5,673	5	24,383	15,183	9,200	7	20

Source: Rocha et al. (1979: 34); INE (2014); Note: After independence, Bengo was split from Luanda, and Lunda was split in to North and South, Kunene was split from Huila

Map 1.1: Provinces of Angola



Source: http://www.nationsonline.org/maps/angola_map.jpg

Nonetheless, much attention has instead focused on corruption scandals that are disconcerting in their absolute size and also relative to the developmental needs in Angola, but also pale in comparison to both past war costs and future expected revenue. The most significant criticisms about missing funds came in 2004 on revelations in an unpublished but leaked 2002 IMF report of \$4.2 billion unaccounted for from 1997 to 2001. Another scandal, the massively publicized ‘Angolagate,’ involves an alleged appropriation of \$0.8 billion in debt renegotiation and arms trading deals. These sums are relatively large in relation to the developmental needs in the country and the budget at the time (in some years, the discrepancy was around a fifth of GDP). That said, there is still no way around the fact that these figures are still *relatively* very minor – say about 5% – *in comparison* with what can be estimated as roughly \$200 billion in costs of war.²⁰

War does not excuse corruption, in fact the two can be symbiotic, and even the Angolan government and elite of repeatedly recognized that to some degree corruption is holding back reconstruction after the war. But while commentators and critics have focused most attention on such corruption, the actual nature and effects of the war – the proverbial ‘elephant in the room’ – have gone largely unstudied. For example, although Hodges’ (2001, 2004) influential texts mention various estimates of corruption, do not mention any of the estimates of the cost of the war. More recently, and again based on an IMF report, some \$32 billion was said by journalists to have gone missing from 2007-10, but some of the more lax news articles mistakenly conflated the IMF’s lack of paperwork from Angola with what the articles incorrectly portrayed as an actual confirmed absence of funds from bank accounts. The government attributed the discrepancy to confusion in account reporting (in off-book expenditures by Angola’s state oil company, Sonangol), with the IMF and Human Rights Watch apparently convinced, though some \$4.2 billion was apparently still unaccounted for.²¹ Nonetheless, this misleading impression of a confirmed missing \$32 billion has since circulated prominently. Burgis (2015), for example, says the IMF found “\$32 billion had gone missing,” and makes no mention of Angola’s subsequent accounting.²² Our understanding of – and actions to redress – the deep and complex

²⁰ I explain how I arrive at this figure in sub-section 2.3.2.

²¹ Human Rights Watch (2001) ‘Angola: Explain Missing Government Funds,’ Dec 20, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/12/20/angola-explain-missing-government-funds>, Faul, Michelle (2011) ‘Human Rights Watch: Angola government must account for \$32 billion missing from state coffers,’ Associated Press, Dec 21; Boe, Sebastian (2011) ‘IMF Says USD32 Bil. Missing from Angola’s State Coiffers,’ IHS Global Insight, Dec 23. It may also be worth asking why HRW has made more effort to lobby South Africa and the US over war reparations.

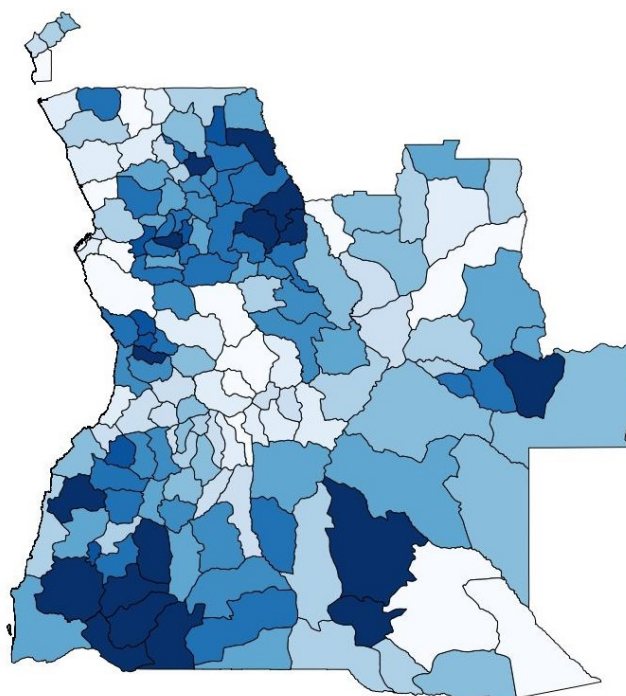
²² This contention is then quoted in French’s review (2015: 151). Kristof (2015) likewise states only that the IMF “initially found \$32 billion missing.” And Moss et al (2015: 92) also mention only the lack of documentation for funds, but not the subsequent clarification. More carefully, Soares de Oliveira (2015: 178) notes the IMF’s view that the funds “could not be accounted for,” but he then burries in a footnote Angola’s accounting for most of the discrepancy (fn 42, p.251), and it is ignored in a later news review (Stoddard ; and see Harper) Corkin (2013: 43) likewise only mentions the subsequent accounting in a footnote. Various other analyses mention the discrepancy, subsequent explanation, and the need for further clarification. While Marques (2013: 8) emphasizes the legality of the off-books operation, the actual spatial, financial and managerial aspects of Sonangol’s involvement in reconstruction is under study elsewhere.

All this also contrasts greatly in terms of conflict and sheer scale with Nigeria, where, Watts (2012b: 449) notes, an estimated \$300 billion of \$600 billion total oil revenues were said to have disappeared over the past several decades, according to Paul Wolfowitz’s remarks as former president of the World Bank. See Adeniyi, Segun (2006) ‘Country has lost \$300 billion to corruption – Wolfowitz,’ This Day, Oct 17.

relations of corruption, resources and conflict really have to also consider the tussle of knowledge and the proliferation of selective, misleading, and exaggerated narratives.

The overall drive for contemporary plans has to be understood less in terms petty squabbling over opportunities for enrichment by a (often already very rich) elite – though of course this does occur – and more in terms of visions of Angola’s long overdue comeback on to the world stage based on massive oil revenues. This sense of world historic mission arises out of familiarity with Angola’s central role in the slave trade, in the struggle against apartheid, and in the global Cold War that thwarted revolutionary post-independence plans. Contemporary plans emerge in the nexus of such experiences, materialities, and understandings of the past and expectation of prospective government revenue from oil roughly in the ballpark of \$500 billion over the next few decades, and possibly substantially more (even double, if hopes come true for new pre-salt oil reserves that are said to be geologically similar to Brazil where massive reserves were found).²³

Map 1.2: The 2012 Parliamentary/Presidential Elections (Percent of Vote to MPLA)

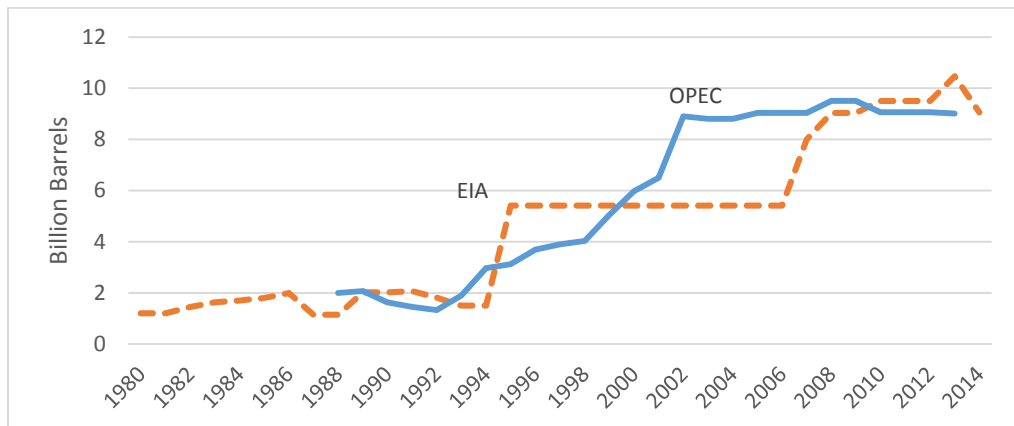


Source: Author, Electoral Commission Results²⁴
(from lighter to darker, intervals of 50-60, 60-70, 70-80, 80-90, 90-100)

²³ World Bank (2006: 34) noted that the 2004 estimate for Angola was 8.8 billion barrels of proved reserves. However, a decade later, and some 6.3 billion barrels extracted, Angola’s proved reserves have *increased* slightly to 9 billion (while the Minister of Petroleum estimated in October 2013 that they were 12.7 billion). The results of the pre-salt exploration are still arriving as wells are drilled (ENI, Total, and BP have yet to report), with one commercial find, one non-commercial find, and two dry wells (Repsol and Cobalt found pre-salt oil, Repsol’s was apparently not commercial, while ConocoPhillips and Statoil did not). Using its lower figures from 2004, the World Bank estimated a total windfall of government revenue through 2030 of roughly \$270 billion (~\$35-50/barrel), with a low estimate of \$236 billion (~\$35-40/barrel) and a high estimate at \$477 billion (~\$53-70/barrel).

²⁴ Comissão Nacional Eleitoral, Angola, September 3, 2012, archived at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20120903232012/http://www.eleicoes2012.cne.ao/paginas/paginas/dat99/DLG999999.htm>, accessed April 2015.

Graph 1.1: Angola's 'Proven Oil Reserves,' 1980-2014



Petro-wealth gives rise to fantasies, but these fantasies come from somewhere, they also have material roots.²⁵ This dissertation traces some of the processes that have shaped the particularly spatial petro-fantasy plans for reconstruction in Angola – both what Angolans have sought to ‘reconstruct,’ and what the international construction industry has had to offer to such ‘demand’ for reconstruction (boiler plate condos and logistics platforms) and well as how it so offers such projects (via contracts and public-private partnerships).²⁶

In contrast to the conventional accounts laid out more fully in the next chapter, I tell a different story about colonialism, and about war, and hence emphasize how liberalization and then post-war reconstruction emerge cumulatively. By reading the spatial history of colonialism differently, I also read differently the spatial history of war, liberalization and reconstruction.

A deliberate part of Western pressure on the government and backing for UNITA’s war was the standard Washington consensus, neoliberal project, but backed by decades of violent force that was terrifying, destructive and intensive. The state was to be cut back, and markets given free reign. Consequently, state marketing enterprises were eliminated, and the privatization of nationalized old settler farms was set in motion by the late 1980s and early 1990s. If there was an elite land grab, that was precisely the point of the neoliberal project – the markets would allocate resources to be utilized by those with the knowledge and capital to access and use them. The state should focus on regulation, and not bother with trying to support or subsidize small farmers. In this way, elites capturing land and old plantations were arguably doing their new neoliberal duty by substituting for the state in at least providing some presence in the rural areas. However, rather than situating some land privatization in relation to an overall package of liberalization reforms leveraged on to Angola in a time of crisis caused by years of international intervention, instead land grabs have often been portrayed largely as the depredations of a corrupt elite that had grown wealthy and powerful on the basis of oil and war. The state projects in areas now

²⁵ Apter (2005), Watts (1992), Coronil (1997).

²⁶ Cf. Poulson (2011).

being privatized were rendered unproductive by being destroyed in as part of the global Cold War waged in the name of free markets and democracy.

The conjunctures of these processes of colonialism, war and liberalization are key to understanding contemporary reconstruction in Angola. I examine them through research focused on a specific set of places and their relations. In making this argument, I am extending and building on a range of approaches from diverse strands of thinking in geography, which I now discuss specifically.

1.1.4 Key Themes in a Critical Relational Geography of Agriculture, Resources and Infrastructure in Africa

This sub-section broadly lays out some of the main literature on which I am building in making my argument in the dissertation. This sub-section contrasts to much of the next chapter, which engages more in contextualizing and deconstructive ‘ground-clearing’ of much of the problematic predominant approaches to understanding Angola. The following paragraphs argue for using a relational geographical approach to join understandings of nationalisms as well as both anthropological and political economic approaches of infrastructure. In so doing, I try to also address both the economic and military aspects of infrastructure, and the socio-spatial processes of geography, production, consumption and exchange that constitute urban-rural relations and agrarian-industrial-mineral ones as well. All a complex task, but a necessary one for moving beyond the all too common tendency to instead invoke space more in metaphorical terms in the study of states in Africa.

There are multiple approaches under the heading of ‘relational geographies,’ which involve an increasing range of sub-fields, influences, and political and intellectual positions (from Marxist dialectics, feminist theory, post-structuralism, economic geography, actor network theory, and Deleuzian assemblages, to name but a few). I draw inspiration from the anti-reductionist feminist and Marxist approaches of Massey and Lefebvre, and a range of subsequent prescient elaborations such as Goswami (2004), Hart (2002, 2013) and Stanek (2011). Amongst the burgeoning literatures on relational geography, I join the adjective ‘critical’ to identify with those strands that explicitly focus on social and environmental justice and equality, and retain a reflexive commitment to emancipatory action and engaged scholarship against and beyond various articulations of militarism, heteronormativity, racism, imperialism, patriarchy, capitalism, and other forms of institutionalized exploitation and oppression.

Rather than understand development and the ‘resource curse’ in terms of discrete nation-states then, the multiple specific supra-local relations of oil and empire are key. Attending to situated knowledges also allows us to productively parse some of the other work on Africa’s international relations upon which rest prevalent metaphors of African states as neo-patrimonial rentier gatekeepers, discussed in Chapter 2. Indeed, much scholarship asserting that African sovereignty was constituted through international relations emerges from a situated network of key early US Weberian scholars of Africa that often downplayed Western interventions in lieu of emphasizing Soviet and ethnic dimensions of conflict, even as they were part of the very Cold War American foreign policy establishment whose military interventions heightened the new nations’ lamented ‘lack of territorial control’ (Butler 2008; Parmar 2012; Jackson 1993; Reno 1998; Wright 1997).

Jackson and Rosberg (1982), for example, marshalled their Weberian argument that socialist Angola lacked “the empirical foundation of statehood” (73) in their counsel to Reagan’s defense officials, who would, after Congressional authorization three years later, resume sending millions of dollars of weapons to devastatingly buttress UNITA’s expansion and battles with the government’s new mechanized Soviet equipment.

In contrast, emerging revisionist histories of nationalism in Africa use a very different notion of relationality, in which, like Goswami (2004) drawing on Lefebvre (1991), they illustrate the complex geographical production of nationalisms (for Guinea, Tanzania, DR Congo, and Cameroon, see Schmidt 2009; Terretta 2013; Geiger 1997; Weiss 1967). These works, in using detailed archives and oral history, illuminate the variety of specific conditions, practices and processes through which a range of nationalisms was produced. They thereby help situate the early quick Weberian surveys of African nationalisms that pictured nationalist mobilization and identity as driven by a limited sets of charismatic Western-educated urban men (and hence the corresponding importance of *external* international law and support in constituting African countries’ sovereignty).

A critical geographical interrogation of infrastructure is also pertinent amidst Africa’s booming mineral exploitation and infrastructure projects, as well as a phalanx of dozens of international development initiatives to overcome ‘bad’ African geography through expanded infrastructure (Foster et al. 2010). Just some of the recent infrastructure initiatives include the ongoing discussions of a BRICS infrastructure bank, reportedly with potential access to \$4.5 trillion. Following on from the World Bank’s World Development Report (WDR) on infrastructure in 1994 were the Infrastructure Consortium for Africa established at the 2005 G8 summit, the EU-Africa Infrastructure Trust Fund, the Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility, the 2007 ABCDE on Rethinking Infrastructure, the 2008 WDR on Agriculture, the 2009 World Bank Report Africa’s Infrastructure, the WDR on Geography, special issues of the Journal of African Economies, the 2010 US-Africa Infrastructure Conference, the 2011 World Bank African Infrastructure Inventory, and the 2011 SADC infrastructure meeting as well as half a dozen others in Angola specifically. Correspondingly, there has been a great deal of writing about how resource-rich countries have invested, are currently investing, and/or should find better ways in the future to invest their windfall revenues in infrastructure.²⁷

And yet, on the one hand, the implementation and implications of infrastructure are usually taken for granted in many neo-classical, Marxist and agrarian studies alike (Wanmali and Islam 1997; Berry 1993; Bernstein 2010). On the other hand, neo-patrimonial and more critical anthropological and science and technology studies analyses of infrastructure often do not integrate a conceptualization of the broader political economic dynamics of infrastructure (Booth 2012; Harvey 2012; Freed 2010; Masquelier 2002; Gewald et al. 2009; Tsing 2009). Meanwhile, critical geographical studies of infrastructure largely ignore rural Africa (Cowen 2014; Harvey 2012; Easterling 2014; Harvey 2014; Graham and Marvin 2002).

²⁷ Alves (2013), Konijn (2014), Corkin (2013), Halland et al. (2014), Richmond et al. (2013), IMF (2012), Brautigam and Gallagher (2014), Barma (2012), Lundgren (2013), Collier (2010), Collier and Venables (2011). Cf. Foch (2009). See also the references on oil barter and counter-trade in fn 440. With regard to these questions, Benitez and Estache’s (2010) general analysis tries to go beyond just corruption to look at some of the actual politics also involved, such as populism, nepotism/patronage, corporatism.

In contrast, I draw upon a distinction between perspectives based (implicitly or explicitly) on notions of space in terms of an enclave/interstice binary (Soares de Oliveira 2007; Ferguson 2006; Sidaway 2007; Power 2012), versus a relational or progressive notion of space and place à la Massey (1994) and Lefebvre's (1991) point that "Social spaces interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another. They are not things, which have mutually limiting boundaries and which collide because of their contours" (86-7).

However, the specific trajectories of infrastructure in Africa have rarely been adequately theorized. I look at the particular example of reconstructing the Malanje-Luanda highway, and its subsequent use for agricultural trade, to work towards a relational understanding of infrastructure. The political economy of infrastructure has remained relatively under-conceptualized, perhaps because of a focus on production and exchange. Marx can be read (particularly in the Grundrisse however) as concerned with relations also between distribution and consumption. In this sense, the transport industry can be conceptualized as 'producing' a change of location (de la Haye 1979). The actual construction of infrastructure has also been somewhat elaborated conceptually and historically (Ball 1988; Linder 1994; Sebestyen 1998), and has close connection with developments in the oil industry and urbanization. These concerns with the broad political economy of infrastructure, construction, urbanization, and oil, which are now also receiving more attention in geography (Cowen 2014), can be integrated with other more anthropological and historical studies of the actual practices and perceptions of infrastructure (e.g. Appel 2012b), in a perhaps more Lefebvrian approach to understanding infrastructure.

By integrating space as ontology, method, and object of analysis of African political economy, I am able to move beyond both prevalent rentier studies that treat the countryside merely as passive dispersed backdrop for patronage (Soares de Oliveira 2007; Hodges 2001; Vidal 2002), and agrarian studies that either underappreciate issues of minerals, infrastructure and the state or uncritically invoke general fatalist conceptions of neo-patrimonial rentier states (Peters 2004; Hall 2011). Instead, I elucidate the multiply scaled determinations (historic, social, political and economic) of state-coordinated infrastructure interventions, struggles over their representation and interpretation, and the diverse and contingent actual uses of infrastructure in practice.

The analysis in Chapter 3 illustrates that colonial state occupation was as much about the movement of people (and commodities), and how such movement was managed, facilitated, and regulated, as it was about controlling space or territory (via surveying, categorizing, demarcating, etc). These are inseparable. This point moves us away from some of the binary notions mentioned in Chapter 2 that portray mobile 'traditional Africans' as more concerned with social relationships than control over territory, with territoriality being introduced and only partly successfully imposed by 'modern Europeans' with their Cartesian territorial outlook. Instead of this binary, what we see instead is a concern in both pre-colonial and colonial times with *the relationships between people and territory*, and certain changes in these relationships before and during colonialism. The colonial state in Angola intervened intensively in the spatial control of rural labor – and it is precisely these extensive struggles around labor that are ignored by Herbst (2000) and others who posit the limited state presence.²⁸

²⁸ As Berry (1993) has argued, though not with regard to these debates about space and territory. In the next chapter I will address Cooper's work on labor in French and West Africa. The law creating a cotton district in Malanje in 1930, for example, explicitly cited the declining numbers of tax-paying people in Bondo e Bangalas (from 11,400 to

The particular quality of transport as having both economic and military uses, amongst others, allows some insight. It is this multi-functionality of infrastructure that provides one key in the relationship of military and administrative occupation, extraction, trade, and production. Likewise, labor plays a key role not simply in producing commodities, but establishing the preconditions for such production – that is, in the prior establishment of occupation, including via transport and trade that enabled occupation, as well as the construction of infrastructure for such transport and trade. In Chapter 3 I examine how rural-urban relations were part of the dynamic just described that facilitated connections between Malanje, the Congo, and Luanda, through a range of other sites. These rural-urban relations were not simply ones of extraction or control by urban elite over a passive countryside or enclave. Rather, there were recursive relations between diverse rural and urban places. The profits from coffee and cotton production were invested in the growing segregated cities of Malanje, Uíge, Luanda, as well as Lisbon and Porto. These profits – agrarian surplus – were also invested in agrarian productive infrastructure, and circulated through secondary services and commerce. Such changes in turn generated further economic and social changes that reverberated throughout the countryside. Commerce of petty goods expanded, as did the movement of free and contracted labor for urban construction, administration and services. The colonial government promoted some minor but significant social policy measures, particularly education and housing, and also on wages and working conditions. Churches also played important roles in social services, with key implications for the rise of elite and nationalist politics (Péclard 2005). Past connections are important to understand because they shape current ones.

Studying ‘geographies of production’ as a way to understand recursive urban-rural relations contradicts notions of separate centers, enclaves, and un-useful areas, and is a more robust approach than simply asserting rural-urban ‘straddling.’ There is a need to re-emphasize relationships between production and exchange since over-emphases on extractive trade and enclaves are present in both contemporary diagnoses of gatekeeper states, and the dependency literature to which gatekeeper studies responded.²⁹ Some of these points are elaborated in a review of William Cronon’s (1991) *Nature’s Metropolis*, his opus on natural resources and Western American capitalism. In their critical review, Page and Walker (1994: 156) emphasize the need to take seriously resource processing industries, situating landscapes in relation to “the industrial revolution on both sides of the Atlantic” (155). Citing Harvey (1982), they emphasize how it was not simply the city/metropolises of Chicago as vortex or gateway, but *also* a source of dynamism and “spilling mighty rivers of investment.” Likewise, even though American agrarian capitalism varied dramatically of course, and contrasted with Angola, the dynamism of the cotton economy had broad global connections, including with Angola.

In sum, attending to the above spatial considerations about infrastructure helps move analysis beyond the tendency to invoke space only as a metaphor for African states, which are often variously said to be bifurcated, path-dependent, soft, weak, extroverted, or suspended in the air, or they are lame Leviathans, rentiers, failures, absolutists, corporatists, night watchmen, or compradors. African states are also said to have infrastructures of power, topographies, or urban biases, or they keep gates, broadcast power, seek room for maneuver, or open or close political space. They involve men that are big, and peasants who exit, or they travel along different roads

5,660 from 1927-9), and the need to “create economic conditions that affix the populations” (Diploma Legislativo 242).

²⁹ See Bayart (1989).

to capitalism. Taken together, this is a rather disorienting jumble. The point is not to *completely* discard such metaphors, but rather to recognize them as potent and necessarily partial models and thereby understand them as also part of broader social processes of constituting spatial imaginaries about the state.³⁰ Such spatial imaginaries are in turn always also part of spatial practices and processes, and it is the ways that these relate to one another that is indispensable to understanding the manifold state-mediated resource-for-infrastructure deals, for which Angola remains a key referent.

1.1.5 Summary of Contributions, Sources and Methods

I return at the end of this chapter to give more details on my research methods, but first here I summarize some of the main contributions and the sources and methods I've used. My original research proposal set out to understand why the state was carrying out rural reconstruction projects in the way that it was, who was benefitting, and why. These are important questions because of the extent of rural poverty in Angola, the state's current rhetorical emphasis on economic diversification, the central importance of the country for the entire region, and because of the centrality in academic and policy analyses of Angola as an example of the 'resource curse' purportedly so extreme that clarifies much wider tendencies thought to underlie political economy throughout Africa. This dissertation is really the first academic in-depth study to tell the story of the political economy of rural reconstruction outside of Luanda in an ethnographic, geographical and historical way.

Through scenes such as what I described in the opening stories above, the range of interviews, personal observations, literature and archives that I collected first actually prompted me to go back and re-examine history to re-interpret the extent and dynamics of colonialism in the rural areas, and to recognize how some actual political roots of nationalist struggle consequently emerged in the countryside in relation to these colonial dynamics. As a result, I re-interpret post-independence rural reconstruction as motivated by deeper elite and popular agrarian experiences and meanings than what is conveyed by some simple notion of a timeless coastal elite interest in profiting from, imposing upon, and controlling the interior by brokering oil for infrastructure projects with China and Brazil.

My insights and contributions arise out of working iteratively between sources, methods, data, and questions. For example, because I wanted to understand how reconstruction was occurring in areas in areas away from the main roads, I chose villages that appeared somewhat more distant (describe in more detail in this chapter's final section), but I soon realized that these currently more remote areas had themselves once been more central, and the historic reasons for such centrality and then marginalization in turn became questions for further research. Based on many other unexpected practices and processes that I was able to discuss and observe during fieldwork, I followed up later by closely investigating and documenting certain state logics and histories that appear obvious and are taken for granted by many Angolans, but which are occluded in the simplistic racialized images of corrupt, tribal Africans that prevail so often in Western media and

³⁰ Cf. Ferguson and Gupta (2002).

academia. I was then able to research these again in the field through ethnographic research and interviews.

With regard to the colonial era, I draw on the land archives from Malanje that survived the war (perhaps related to the fact that the government retained control of the city, and so it never experienced the destructive urban fighting associated with changing control). I also draw on the colonial bulletin, provincial archives, municipal archives, provincial newspapers, magazines, military archives, legislation, interviews, personal observation of landscapes, and oral histories, as well as, of course, various grey and academic literature produced in and outside of Angola. With regard to war, I also draw on some of the sources from the late colonial era, as well as others for the period of post-independence war. These latter include provincial archives, the state newspaper, legislation, international news articles and summaries of state media, interviews, personal observation of landscapes,

Spanning all periods, I have also tried to carefully use state documents in the form of legislation and news articles as archives. I have been able to make fairly thorough use of 40 years' worth of post-independence legislation (including not only laws, but decrees, regulations, dispatches, etc), as well as the commercial registry, drawing on the state legal gazette. I also examined some of the 70 years' worth of colonial legislation, though some important early decades and some types of records are not accessible from the United States. In addition, I made fairly thorough use of the state news agency service, ANGOP. ANGOP often is mentioned as part of criticism of the one-sided or biased pro-regime reporting by the state news bureaucracy, but it nonetheless does also have some real underutilized value as a very accessible detailed archive of tens of thousands of reports on events, initiatives, people, and statements from about 2000 to the present, particularly in comparison with some of the more superficial and sensational coverage by many private newspapers elsewhere in the world.

Along the way of making my overall argument, I make a number of other smaller empirical and analytic contributions to other specific issues, fields of study, and discussions, but which are not fully developed in the dissertation. These include deconstruction and contextualization of key concepts in the study of the resource curse and rentier state in Africa, namely Dutch Disease, neo-patrimonialism, and creole elites (Chapter 2), and an understanding of the historical production of knowledge about Angola through ethnogenesis, ethnographic research, and mapping (the analysis is generally cognizant of, if not explicitly nor primarily engaging with, the extensive literature on mapping, and, within that literature, particularly critical studies that look at Africa and Angola).³¹

In addition, I provide a reinterpretation of the start of armed nationalist struggle in Angola (Chapter 3), a contextual analysis of some of the most influential government figures (Chapters 3-6), a first assessment of the costs and coordination of road reconstruction projects and their use (Chapter 5), and a first in-depth situated study of the spread of war through the countryside in Angola (Chapter 6). In the course of making these contributions – and as one of the first in-depth regional agrarian studies of Angola – I build on a great number of smaller new points and contributions on minor issues too numerous to list here, but which are elaborated in the outlines of the chapters in the next section.

³¹ See the helpful reviews in Prior (2013), Braun (2014), Watts (1993), Basset (1994, 1998), Moore (2005), and Neumann (2001).

In sum, by providing grounded, historical, critical research on contemporary conditions under which the vast majority of Angolans live during this period of reconstruction, the dissertation provides unique insight into the present, past and future of the country, and hence African and global development more broadly.

1.2 Argument and Chapter Structure

1.2.1 Issues and Sequence

After the stage setting in Part I, the Chapters Part II focuses on roads, markets, and then land because roads are foundational in Angola's actual experience of reconstruction, in prevalent technocratic notions of rural development, and in prevalent academic interpretations of the spatiality of African political economy.³² Roads have been singularly foregrounded by the government, development experts, and academics. After 2002, the government began reconstruction largely through the construction of roads, justifying these roads as necessary to both stimulating agricultural regrowth (in accordance with mainstream technocratic emphases on Africa's need for infrastructure), as well as allowing the government to carry out further development projects. The so-called 'Angola model' of resource-for-infrastructure deals is at the center of debates about the future of African development amidst rising mineral demand in a multi-polar world, and in Angola roads are at the heart of such deals. In addition, some common and influential but problematic approaches to spatiality of African political economy emphasize the historic importance of African elites' mediation of trade and movement, rather than production and territory. In short, roads have come to be amongst the most emphasized historically, discursively, and analytically in Angola's reconstruction. I am then able to show that the construction and use of roads are inseparable from markets and land because all of these three issues have been produced by specific conjunctures of the same shared geo-historical processes of settler colonialism, protracted war, and leveraged liberalization (all in the context of growing off-shore oil production).

Following the same logic, the next chapter examines markets in order to examine the ways in which both government programs and development experts have presumed that improved transport would translate neatly into fostering agricultural markets that would in turn stimulate investment in agricultural production, with rural poverty dropping commensurately (though not necessarily for the 'poorest of the poor'). As the government emphasized roads, and made the equation that roads facilitate markets that in turn facilitate agricultural production, the government adopted colonial, developmental, and neo-liberal views that rely on the technocratic equation of roads unproblematically fostering markets. Indeed, as critical as some analysts emphasizing neo-patrimonialism have been of the government's approaches to reconstruction, such analysts' critiques themselves still often share the same assumption that roads facilitate markets, and just differ in urging that road construction and use should be done in a transparent,

³² While the issues of roads, markets, and land are very important to my concerns about the course of reconstruction and the experiences of cassava farmers in Malanje, there are other issues that are also important and could also be illuminating to investigate (such as health, housing, credit, or labor, for example). Taking seriously my central argument that reconstruction is produced through multiple processes also means that the analysis' sequence could productively begin with any one of a range of issues.

rational, non-corrupt market-friendly way. What both the government and technocratic development approaches fail to appreciate – and why this chapter comes after roads and before land – are the complex ways markets operate in relation to the spatiality of roads and agrarian structures. I emphasize how markets have emerged recursively in relation to the broader agrarian configuration, and hence continue to bear the influence of – and reinforce – colonial spatial hierarchies and regulations, militarized control arising from the key role of roads and transport in the war, and unequal access to productive agrarian resources.

The last substantive chapter examines land, and begins by showing how a carefully understanding of the history of land structures with regard to markets in turn leads us back to the recursive relationships between roads and land. Appreciating fact that unequal land structures and roads networks have emerged historically in dialectical relationship to one another helps to call into question prescriptions and assumptions that agricultural development can be fostered simply by improving roads for agricultural markets.

1.2.2 Chapter 2: A Critical Spatial Chronology

The Chapter begins by presenting a very brief and schematic overview of Angolan history from roughly 1500 to the present, followed by a brief overview of the main interpretations of such history, their elements, problems and alternatives. Then later sections scrutinizes the crystallization of prevalent problematic interpretations of Angola's political economy as one of a neo-patrimonial creole elite divided from and dominating a countryside plagued by Dutch Disease. There are three key concepts that together uneasily make up this formulation: creole elite, neo-patrimonialism, and Dutch Disease. The prevailing conventional perspective based on these three concepts was partly inspired by the return to war in the 1990s, and was able to draw on a range of both lusophone and Weberian American scholarship on Africa that had emerged during the independence transitions, as well as technocratic scholarship on Dutch Disease arising out of the geopolitics of oil amidst the rise of 1980s neoliberalism.

In contrast, my overall dissertation argument emphasizes conjunctures of geo-historical processes in explaining the most important features of contemporary reconstruction for cassava farmers in Western Malanje. My argument differs from the conventional explanations rooted in this triad of concepts because these three concepts rest upon problematic approaches to geography and history. Part of the reason these three concepts are so problematic with regard to geography and history is because the concepts themselves arose as parts of the broader processes of settler colonialism, war, and liberalization that have shaped reconstruction in Angola.

The point of the chapter here is partly to do some 'ground-clearing' necessary to situate and make analytic room for my alternative explanations in the subsequent chapters. I show the prominence of such approaches in analyses of Angola, the analytic problems in these conventional approaches, the origins of such problems, and how such approaches have nonetheless become prevalent.

The notion of a coastal creole elite – sometimes paired as a creole/Mbundu alliance (e.g. Vidal 2002) – unhelpfully collapses a large and important range of situated identities whose actual nuanced histories and geographies are essential to recognize in order to be able to understand contemporary reconstruction efforts. Key are the ways that ethnic identities were constructed as

part of colonial taxation, forced labor, and spatial administrative knowledge, then further reified in colonial historiography, and then subsequently invoked as part of the Cold War proxy battles and post-1992 diamond-fueled insurgency.

Such a purported creole elite is problematically perceived as part of neopatrimonial extractive institutions. After a couple of decades of discussion, prevalent writings on the “resource curse” and “rentier state” now point to the importance of “conditional” understandings of how resources relate to institutions. However, these studies often resort to uncritical invocations of neopatrimonialism as the key characteristic of African political economic institutions. Yet neopatrimonial explanations have their own analytic problems related to the specific origins in 1960s Weberian scholarship applied to the study of the “new nations” emerging in Africa. First is the importance of connections between industrial forms of capitalism and other forms of capitalisms, rather than analytically distinguishing them, as Weber did, in terms of a series of dichotomies based on the notion of industrial fixed capital. Secondly, and closely related to this first point, is to also connect Western industrial capitalism with racism and colonialism, which were more part of Weber’s lived experiences than his scholarly analysis. Thirdly, and methodologically, Weber uses a problematic gendered metaphor of the household to underpin a voluntarism at the heart of his definition of patrimonialism and its distinction from the constraints of following predictable rule of rational law (essential in his conception of industrial capitalism). In sum, an emphasis on patrimonial acts occludes attention to multiple conjunctures and relations.

What is key about the ways that Dutch Disease has been used to shape interpretations of agricultural development in Angola are the inaccurate assumptions about the spatiality of the economy – namely that markets for all mobile factors exist and function well, that there are clear divisions between tradable and non-tradable goods. The model makes little consideration of the way that agricultural markets are shaped by social dynamics, inequality, and a host of bureaucratic and administrative practices. Most importantly, by emphasizing these assumptions about agricultural markets and the importance of spending and exchange rate effects, analysts lose sight of the importance of war-related destruction of the economy and infrastructure, as well as the importance of the fragmented and hierarchical agrarian structure and the ways militarism has shaped social power and hence the practice and regulation of agricultural marketing. Dutch Disease models, arguably, are indicative of a neo-liberal fantasy world and as a narrative serve to read out the destructive legacies of the immense violence waged to impose such neoliberal visions in Angola.

In sum, in this second chapter I show how each of these three prevalent concepts has specific analytic problems with regard to spatiality that are rooted in the concepts’ own emergence. In each of the subsequent chapters of the dissertation, I briefly note how this uneasy triad of conventional concepts has been used in conventional perspectives to interpret the issue of each chapter (Kassanje, Roads, Kapanda, Markets, and Land).

1.2.3 Chapter 3: Rethinking Kassanje

Chapter 3 analyzes a revolt at the start of 1961 in the Kassanje lowlands of northern and eastern Malanje. I present a geographic and relational reinterpretation of the start of armed nationalist

struggle in Angola, and in so doing I help critique and move beyond common interpretations of Angola (and Africa more generally) as characterized by long-standing socio-spatial divisions between enclaves of coastal creoles and the impoverished hinterlands that they dominate through combinations of force, patronage, and/or neglect.

The main argument in this chapter is that Malanje's role as a transforming crossroads gave rise to the revolt as the beginning of armed nationalist struggle. Three points stand out. Firstly, the revolt was shaped by complex, intensive, long-standing socio-political relations with the Congo (which achieved independence six months prior, in June 1960), but accounts of the Baixa de Kassanje revolt have downplayed these relations, ignored them, or depicted them as simply 'outside agitation'. Secondly, connections between Malanje and Luanda were also key to the revolt, and though sometimes recognized, the extent and nature of these relations have also been unappreciated. Thirdly, and closely related to the prior two points, the revolt was also shaped by profound transformations in Malanje and the Baixa de Kassanje, which have not yet been closely analyzed. The argument therefore contributes to several different discussions – about the origins of nationalist struggle in Angola, about space in African political economy, and about the contributions and character of relational geographies.

This chapter on Kassanje traces out the continuities and junctures in geographical connections that are of relevance for understanding broader trajectories throughout Malanje and Angola. In so doing, the chapter on Kassanje lays the groundwork for much of what comes in Part II of the dissertation. By disabusing the notion of isolated enclaves, and by showing that the commercial agro-industrial economy was relatively extensive and connected, we are able to better understand the continuities and trajectories of the late-colonial period – including the development of roads and markets – rather than seeing the post-1961 period as a short-lived and partial break amongst otherwise centuries of enclaves and trade. Closely related is how Kassanje helps understand the actual measures taken after 1961, in which regional development efforts were elaborated as part of counter-insurgency, but in which settler plantations and mechanization also increased as part of labor displacement and village relocation practices, discussed more in Chapter 7 on land.³³

1.2.4 Chapter 4: Reconstruction and Use of Roads

With regard to Western Malanje cassava farmers' livelihoods, primary highways, transport logistics, and securitized regulation are the most important aspects of the post-war reconstruction and use of transport, and these three aspects were institutionalized through settler colonialism, protracted war, and leveraged liberalization. Contemporary reconstruction and use of roads results from conjunctures of colonial roads feeding settler plantations, colonial highways for regional development and counter-insurgency, the rise of spatial logistics during the Cold War conflicts, and the shift during the liberalization period to coordinating the logistics of road construction and use, as well as contracting out construction.

³³ Whereas the Chapters in Part II all emphasize different conjunctures of colonialism, war, and liberalization, in this chapter's analysis of the earlier historical period of Malanje, I of course do not therefore dwell as much on emphasizing the ways that settler colonialism, protracted war, and liberalization combine, since the latter two phenomena really emerge only after 1961.

The chapter begins with a specific contemporary example of a road block to illustrate how the so-called discretion of petty corruption can be better understood (not ‘excused’) geo-historically, and then expand out to situate that road block in relation to broader patterns of contemporary post-war road reconstruction. The road block was mounted on a highway under the pretext of safety amidst construction to replace a war-damaged bridge that was necessary as part of broader plans to turn that area into a regional logistics hub. I begin a historical explanation of such approaches to infrastructure logistics by describing the road networks that had been established during the early colonial period and expanded and entrenched during the period of late-colonial war and development. The next section of the chapter then examines the state’s military logistics in the post-independence period of Cold War proxy conflict, followed by the turn towards private contracting from the 1990s liberalization onward in order to reconstruct Luanda-Malanje highway. The chapter’s opening story of the road block near the bridge reconstruction project thus serves as an entry way into illustrating how the key aspects of highways, logistics and securitization emerge out of colonialism, war and liberalization. I end the chapter by returning to the road block and discussing one of the most frequent sorts of transport passing through the road block – small motorcycles – as a way of re-emphasizing that although the transport infrastructure emerges out of a conjuncture of broad forces, the ways that it is actually used require a greater specificity of explanation.

This chapter is the first scholarly work (that I am aware of) to carefully analyze the reconstruction and use of transport in post-war Angola by combining multiple methods and contemporary and historical sources, in-depth research, and first-hand field study.³⁴ The resulting argument contrasts with conventional approaches that portray road reconstruction as a project of urban creole elite to mimic colonial plans and use state spending to derive patronage and control of the interior.³⁵

Such perspectives miss the ways the multiple specific geo-historical processes combine to shape the actual construction and use of roads. In other words, an approach emphasizing elite patronage and corruption alone may appear to have some functionalist logic in explaining one anecdotal example or another, but it is neither necessary nor sufficient to explain in-depth examples as well as broader patterns of transport reconstruction and use. This is because such conventional approaches overlook or gloss very important relationships between roads and land, settler colonialism, and war. Fundamentally, because of an emphasis only central control and profit from reconstruction of the primary highway network (which was in fact established some 90 years prior), conventional approaches ignore the long local geo-histories of the recursive ways that unequal land structures and transport networks have emerged in relation to one another. Non-primary road construction and maintenance aimed at connecting municipalities, small towns and villages emerged out of decades of distributed settler and administrative practices; these complimentary distributed non-primary transport networks were key to the extensive colonial agro-industrial economy that was neither entirely driven nor controlled by elites in Luanda. Such networks were also key parts of the actual spatial conduct of wars in the late colonial and post-

³⁴ Other important works of primary research include Lopes (2006, 2008, 2009, 2010) studies of mini-bus taxis and motorcycles in Luanda and Huambo, and Duarte’s (2013) work on study of transport infrastructure in the south, particularly around the Lobito corridor. Various other works briefly discuss contemporary transport infrastructure in more broad terms (e.g. Corkin 2013). And others discuss various historical aspects of transport and infrastructure (Heintze and von Oppen 2008; Ndombasi 1996).

³⁵ See Soares de Oliveira (2013; 2015); Søreide (2011); Marques (2011: 67-8).

colonial periods that have in turn led to the securitization of transport. As a result, conventional perspectives portray the regulation of roads as indicative of abstract wide-spread amorphous phenomena of patronage and corruption rather than rooting it in the historically specific ways that transport regulation has been securitized through war and the geographically specific ways such regulation is deployed in relation to other current processes and explicitly spatial reconstruction projects.

1.2.5 Chapter 5: Interlude – The Kapanda Agro-Industrial Pole

Chapter 5 functions as a short interlude examining one particular high-profile reconstruction project, the regional agro-industrial growth pole based near the Kapanda hydro-electric dam in the south west of Malanje, which is a pilot project for a dozen others. My argument in this chapter is that Kapanda's significance is less in the links with surrounding areas (promised or actual) and more in the ways that it illustrates broader tendencies of logistical reconstruction. With slow, uneven steps towards lofty production targets, the roughly \$1 billion, 400,000 ha project is organized around several public-private plantations established and initially run by various Chinese and Brazilian firms, which produce corn, beans, some soy, and sugar and electricity, all for domestic consumption. Although Kapanda has been in hundreds of international news stories since it was first announced a decade ago, it has not yet received careful analysis.

Kapanda is both an example and a key referent. Kapanda has roots in the colonial period in plans for electricity expansion to meet the demand by growing factories and cities of settlers. It was then attacked by UNITA during war years, and was revived, reworked and expanded via contracting after liberalization and the end of the war, and thereby exemplifies tendencies of reconstruction and their limits as identified in the other chapters. With a stated aim of spurring regional development, the project has been connected by primary highways to municipal capitals, and emphasizes formal marketing channels to state organizations and large-scale private agro-industrial projects. The emphasis on such large projects promoting regional economic development arose in the late colonial period as part of counter-insurgency regional development programs.

Yet these underlying tendencies and histories are ignored when Kapanda is often viewed only as indicative of the wasteful, large-scale modernist reconstruction projects that benefit contractors, public relations, and elite to the detriment of dispossessed peasant victims, and which are said to be enabled by the lax resource-for-infrastructure deals made between African and BRICS countries. Critically examining such a perspective is all the more important given that Angola's Vice President, and in all likelihood next President, has been portrayed as having recently engaged in a conflict of interest with regard to a relatively small economic stake in the sugar plantation, when the much greater significance of his involvement with Kapanda is his the decade of close experience with the project and its spatial dynamics during the war years of the 1980s.

A reading focused only on contemporary corruption, dispossession and mismanagement ignores the ways that the contemporary elite's involvement in Kapanda has long roots stretching to socialist dreams of restructuring colonial plans, and that the land around Kapanda had been

largely depopulated during centuries of slave trade, and then decades of settler colonialism. While the expensive project has nonetheless yielded frustratingly few of its promised results, what is most important to recognize are the important and much more widespread underlying tendencies of reconstruction that gave rise to Kapanda, rather than the spectacular inadequacy of this particular flashy and costly project.

1.2.6 Chapter 6: Agro-Food Provisioning and Marketing

My argument in Chapter 6 on markets is that, for cassava farmers in Western Malanje, contemporary state reconstruction efforts on the issue of agro-food marketing bear a problematic emphasis on formal logistics and unrealistic regulations because such efforts use military- and neoliberal-era contracting to resurrect socialist period goals of reviving and restructuring late-colonial integrated, nationally extensive agro-industrial markets that had been deliberately destroyed during the wars and then devastatingly abandoned during liberalization.

To illustrate some of the problems with the state's logistic and regulatory approaches to markets, I begin the chapter with an anecdote and considerations about cassava marketing based on my experiences around Kuzuka and Mwanya. The formal logistics approach lacks flexibility in hours, layout, prices, locations and so on, while also not addressing the challenges of scale, credit, and predictability that smallholder farmers face in selling their cassava. Existing regulations are overly detailed and reinforce these formal aspects, while at the same time don't address state deficiencies, abuses, and unequal burdens, and even exacerbate inequality by enabling only those with the capital, connections, skills, time, money, or knowledge to get through the bureaucracy. What follows in the next sections of the chapter is to root the state's problematic agro-food marketing approaches in conjunctures of colonialism, war, and liberalization.

After discussing some of the colonial roots of approaches to agro-industrial markets and trade regulations, I lay out a precise chronology focused on Western Malanje of how the post-independence government tried to revive and restructure the agro-industrial marketing system but was thwarted by expanding and intensifying war in the 1980s. The next section broadly charts how, after such devastation of Angola's economy, partial liberalization was leveraged through the use of international credit in a politically tumultuous context. The experiences of these years of liberalization and a return of armed conflict in the 1990s in which starvation was used as a weapon of war, documented in this third section of Chapter 6, are key to understanding the logistical and regulatory post-war reconstruction efforts on agro-food marketing that I briefly mention at the start of the Chapter, and which I discuss more fully in the last section of the Chapter through an analysis of the state project of networked formal food markets, the Restructuring Program of the Logistics and Distribution System (PRESILD).

My argument in this chapter contrasts with conventional views of market reconstruction efforts as simply the most recent manifestation of the ways that creole elites have historically profited and expanded their power through patronage by taxing trade from economic enclaves, appropriating state assets, and using regulations to capture rents, further distorting the already oil-distorted economy. The various people, including elites, that are involved in marketing are not a small minority, and not confined to Luanda or other supposed coastal urban enclaves. A

focus on extraversion and patronage alone cannot explain the course of reforms (specific projects proposed, and how projects play out), nor the huge significance of efforts at national integration.

This chapter on markets builds on the previous chapter on Kapanda in contemporary marketing arrangements also result from conjunctures, as well as building on Chapter 4 on roads by showing how the war-related disruption of socialist plans as well as the security forces' involvement in logistics and reconstruction have shaped marketing. Conversely, I illustrate how experiences with real markets have also shaped the use and construction of infrastructure, namely through the shift to night trade, the squeeze on actual local commercial reinvestment in physical markets, and the subsequent renewal of state efforts to build more physical markets. The current chapter also contributes to the discussion of agrarian structure in Chapter 7 by showing how contemporary marketing has emerged out of experiences with colonial settler-based agricultural marketing, how marketing is still shaped by persistent inequalities in land, how marketing structures were part of a broader administrative spatial hierarchical classification, and how the capture of surplus in contemporary unequal marketing structures also reduces smallholder re-investment in land.

1.2.7 Chapter 7: Agrarian Configuration

The main argument of this last chapter on land is that in Western Malanje cassava farmers' livelihoods are shaped by an agrarian configuration that is characterized by concentration, hierarchy, and fragmentation, and which is a result of conjunctures of multiple geo-historical processes. While foremost among these processes are those associated with settler colonialism, this agrarian configuration has emerged through recursive relations with transport and markets, which, as shown in the previous chapters, themselves result from various conjunctures.

This chapter begins by briefly discussing farmers' livelihoods geared around cassava production and marketing in the two villages where I worked, and then situates such production, marketing and livelihoods with regard to the overall patterns of land concentration, hierarchy, and fragmentation, a triad that I use by drawing from and modifying some of Lefebvre's later work on space, the state, and capitalism. I give some brief examples of the ways that the time, labor, and remuneration of different social groups are affected by access to land, water, transport, and markets that differs between and within village areas. The next section contrasts my configuration approach to conventional perspectives on land in post-independence Angola that primarily emphasize aggregate size and abstract quality in large land grabs by powerful elites.

In order to better understand the character and origins of the agrarian configuration in Western Malanje, the third section of the chapter charts the specific processes during the colonial era by which concentration, hierarchy and fragmentation were established: colonial plantations, mechanization, agro-industry, paternal social protection measures, settlement schemes, and village reordering.³⁶ The final section examines four large plantations with regard to how they

³⁶ The periods of war and liberalization were important, but less so than the way the overall agrarian configuration was established during colonialism. There is also less available information and so more field research is needed on land under war and liberalization.

illustrate the recursive relationships between roads and markets and the agrarian configuration of concentration, hierarchy, and fragmentation.³⁷

My approach contrasts with common views of land in Angola that sincerely but somewhat crudely focus on wealthy and powerful creole elites' capture of land through the state by means of corruption and/or patronage – land often said to be expropriated from weak rural communities. This is a very troubling scenario that incontrovertibly bears some truth, and which has rightly raised concerns about inequality, exploitation, and basic human rights. However, as disconcerting as this simple tragic narrative is, it misses many of the actually most important processes occurring around land in Angola and thereby hinders abilities to both understand and change contemporary inequities.

This conventional perspective is limited by some problematic assumptions, such as an emphasis on the aggregate size of land concessions, rather than types of land, their locations, and their locations in relation to one another. Another common assumption is that power is exercised unproblematically and only in one direction – only elites are able to manipulate the law and state for their own incontrovertible benefit. However, careful on-the-ground scrutiny of many of the most-cited instances of purported venal elite appropriation shows a more complex social negotiation, in which villagers have used a variety of means to contest such appropriation, with not infrequent success.³⁸ A related problematic assumption is that the most important tasks are to use registration to protect community land claims and to extend infrastructure to marginal communities. This, however, risks ignoring how such measures can end up reinforcing the problematic overall agrarian configuration.

In relation to the other chapters, this final substantive chapter on land brings together areas, issues, and time-frames throughout the dissertation.³⁹ I situate my two study villages within the immediate agrarian configuration, and situate that with regard to broad geographical and historical trends for Malanje Province and for the country. This chapter also contributes to the other chapters by laying out in more detail the colonial roots of the contemporary agrarian configuration. The last section of this chapter builds on Chapters 4 and 6 by examining the recursive relationships between roads and markets and land concentration, hierarchy and fragmentation.

1.3 Study Area and Methodology: Inconstant Geographies of Western Malanje

For several analytic and practical reasons, in order to understand how reconstruction was playing out in the countryside I chose to focus the research on cassava-rich high plains of Malanje. The sketchy information that I gathered from news articles in the early 2000s seemed to not quite fit the conventional notion that petro-states generally neglect their countrysides. By 2006, Angola

³⁷ Due to limitations on available information, on my research in these areas, and on the room in this chapter, I am not here able to analyze each case as illustrating *all* the different issues and connections. Rather, I look at each one as an indicative fragment of some key relationships.

³⁸ To say domination is not as absolute and uncontested as portrayed is not however to say that such negotiation provides sufficient protection. Rather, it is to point to specific contexts, and different understandings and explanations of power.

³⁹ Chapter 7 also differs from Chapters 4, 5, 6, which are analyses of issues (roads, growth poles, markets) in which the state has specific reconstruction programs and projects.

had announced plans to spend billions of dollars on highways, railroads and a regional agricultural growth pole. Why was the supposedly aloof urban-biased government spending so much money on such rural and agricultural projects? Were these projects actually being implemented, and with what sorts of relations to the region's smallholder farmers? Was there any significance to such projects of the fact some members of the ruling party were from this region? I also had read that there had been a rural revolt in the region during the colonial era, and I wondered what relation, if any, there was between such tumult and the contemporary situation. I was also curious about the character of post-war agrarian change in Malanje since it was a key hinterland – with some one million people across 100,000 square kilometers – helping to feed the booming coastal petro-city of Luanda. How did this make Malanje's experiences different, or shape its relations with the other areas of the country? Yet there was relatively little information on Malanje in comparison to other areas of the country that had been studied during the late colonial period and in the immediate post-war period.⁴⁰

Located in north-central Angola, the Malanje plateau is one of the country's five major agricultural regions. The plateau has relatively fertile soil, two rainy seasons, and key products of cassava, sweet potato, peanuts and charcoal sold to cities. Malanje has long been an intermediary place connecting coastal Luanda's hinterlands with distant north-east diamond areas, and hence was heavily contested during war. In the more tropical north, fruits, cassava, and potatoes are more common (Cabinda, Uíje, and Zaire). In contrast, in the more densely populated southern highlands of Benguela, Huambo, and Huila, maize and beans prevail, while in the more arid south there are cattle pastures and river valley cultivation (Kunene, Namibe, Kwando Kubango, and Moxico). In the coastal valleys just outside of Luanda coffee, maize and horticulture prevail (Bengo, Kwanza Sul, and Kwanza Norte).

Malanje has roughly four basic agricultural regions, the mostly flat plains of the West (cassava, corn, peanuts, and sweet potatoes), the more forested and hilly north (cassava, though formerly timber and ranching), the hot eastern lowlands with dark soils (formerly cotton), and the more sandy riverine areas to the south (formerly rice). My field research focused on Western Malanje, and the area of Kota in the southern part of Kalandula Municipality. Nonetheless, as I show in Chapters 4 and 7, the histories of the other parts of the Malanje Province and the region are key to understanding contemporary reconstruction in region and indeed throughout Angola.

⁴⁰ The exceptions were Pacheco's (1991) rare but also somewhat general study, and Santos (2005) work focused on the city of Malanje. Contrast the studies of central highlands in the late colonial period (Heimer 1973b, 1973a) and in the immediate post-war period (see Appendix R).

Table 1.3: Varying Population Estimates of Kalandula Municipality & Kota Comuna, 1940-2014

	Kalandula	Kota	Source
1950	72,864		Census
1960	108,079		Census
1972	91,345	19,935	Ponte et al. (1973)
1975	94,073	20,533	Pacheco (2007) based on 3% growth from Ponte et al. (1973)
1991	114,571		Malanje Provincial Report
1998	162,952		Provincial Profile of Malanje, 2003, in Pacheco (2007)
2002	175,201		Provincial Profile of Malanje, 2003, in Pacheco (2007)
2003	196,000		Provincial Government, in GPM (2005: 8)
2003	125,200		Planning Ministry, in GPM (2005: 8)
2007	71,937	14,879	Municipal Admin, from electoral registry, in Pacheco (2007)
2007	64,860	13,880	Estimate from vaccination campaign, in Pacheco (2007)
2007	36,523		UNICEF estimate, in Pacheco (2007)
2011		16,589	Comuna survey (personal communication, Feb. 2012)
2014	87,017		2014 National Census (INE 2014)

nb: Estimates in 1990s and 2002 appear to be estimates based on extrapolations, whereas post-war figures seem not yet to estimate post-war returnees. There was great flux, so the 2011 and 2014 figures are therefore the best. The reasons for the 1950-60 jump are not clear, though other 1950 vs 1960 census discrepancies have been noted.

Around the Western part of Malanje, although cassava is the base of people's livelihoods, it is part of multiple crops, provisioning activities, and income-earning work. Cassava was grown intercropped with a range of other crops, the most prevalent being beans and peanuts. Tomatoes, onions, okra, potatoes, sweet potatoes, squash, mangoes, peppers, sugar cane, and tobacco were also common. A range of other wild plants could be collected, such as herbs and the wild jingenge fruit, and could be sold. People kept goats, chickens, and sometimes rabbits. Hunting was also a source of food, both petty bird and bush-rat traps, as well as larger hunts using enclosing burns to kettle wild deer, boars, antelope, monkeys, hares, and guinea fowl. Small fish could be found in some of the rivers during particular seasons. In addition to food and income, a wide range of other materials were also produced for various purposes, including grass for roof thatching, beams for ceilings, wood for furniture, firewood, baskets, hoe and ax handles, mortars and pestles etc. People also worked as laborers, bicycle and motorcycle mechanics, cooks, and drivers, but cassava was really what constituted most food, time, income and work.

Some basic trends are illustrated quantitatively in survey data from the area, which has been analyzed by one of Portugal's top agricultural economists, Fernando Baptista (2013), a former Portuguese Minister of Agriculture after the leftist coup d'état there in 1974. A great majority of farmers sell some cassava (86%), and about a third of all cassava produced is sold. Many farmers also grow and sell maize, but in much smaller amounts. Other minor crops are also sold, some in higher portions than cassava of output sold, such as potatoes and groundnuts, as well as fish and game. However, altogether expenditures remain small in relation to the overall amount of agricultural output (Baptista states that only 5% of the value of output is sold).

As I discuss in the following chapters, a significant part of the regional economy in Malanje is related to the city's role as a hub in the transport link between Luanda and diamond areas in the north east Lunda Provinces. It is through Malanje that pass much of the consumer, mining, and industrial products that reach the major diamond complexes of the Eastern region, as well as the Eastern province of Moxico. Almost every day of every week, dozens of fuel tankers, as well as flat-bed trailers carrying backhoes, cement, and construction materials, as well as containers of crackers, soda, salt, and so on rumble dustily through to the city's truck park as the small motorcycle taxis buzz around them. Many of the companies involved are part of diversified holding groups, some of which have substantial plantations outside of Malanje city, as discussed in Chapter 7. This role as a logistics hub and crossroads of sorts – and much more generally than just for the diamond industry – is long-standing in Malanje, and it is the target of active government interventions and broader plans.

As transport has improved through paving highways and the growth in motorcycle, car and van taxis, it has facilitated the bridging of the provincial and municipal cities of Malanje with their rural hinterlands. Young men would often make the trip from the cities to the their family villages to work on their own or others' fields, traders from small towns or villages traffic in imported crackers, sausage, batteries, soda, soap and alcohol, and families visit their relatives bringing gifts in cash and kind.

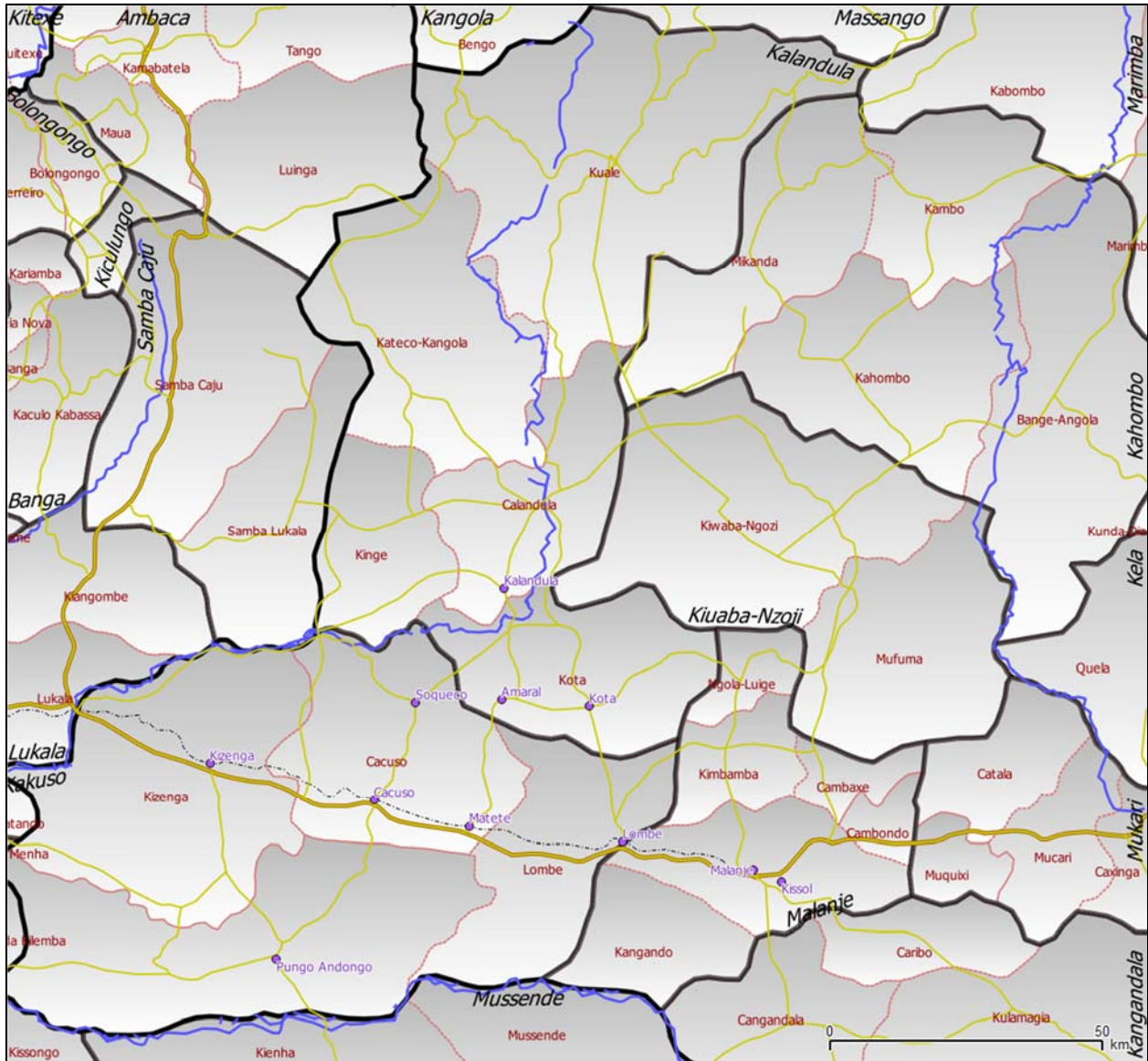
Government spending on salaries for teachers, nurses, police and military, and administrative staff also feed the regional economy as salaries are spent on buying traded agricultural products, consumer items, and construction materials and services. For some in the rural areas, this petty commerce and its related income – one could potentially take in \$40 in a good day on a motorcycle taxi, versus \$3 for agricultural labor – made tractors more affordable, profitable, and relatively attractive (vs expensive wage labor), particularly in light of the heavy labor requirements for opening land that has become overgrown after years of displacement during the war.

As illustrated in Map 1.2 above, most of the municipalities in Malanje voted overwhelmingly for the MPLA in the last elections in 2012. Any explanation of the actual distribution of projects within Malanje therefore has to look at other aspects beyond simple electoral politics. In order to provide some basic familiarity necessary for the overall argument subsequent chapters about what *does* explain the pattern of projects and their relations to smallholder agriculture, the following sections describe each of the four main locations around Kota on which I focused during research and fieldwork, and which figure as key examples throughout the dissertation.

The four sites were all within the comuna of Kota, which is one of five comunas in the Municipality (see Map 1.4 below). In Kota comuna, the four sites include Kota (the administrative capital of the comuna located on the inter-municipal road), Amaral (the old settler plantation town), Kuzuka (a larger village on a main dirt road), and Mwanya (a smaller and more distant village). In the course of the dissertation, I also briefly introduce other places when relevant to the argument (for example Kissol in Chapters 3 and 7, Lombe in Chapter 4, Pungo Andongo in Chapter 5, and Katepa in Chapter 7), but these were not my main sites of field research. The following descriptions try also to show how the significance of each place can really only be understood in relation to the other sites, as well as the broader region – this understanding of the ways in which different areas have been connected, fragmented and ranked hierarchically is key to the argument of the dissertation about how contemporary reconstruction

has emerged with important limits related to how it reinforces what I'm calling a broad agrarian configuration.

Map 1.4: Study Area Roads and Administrative Divisions (Municipal and Comuna)



Nb: municipal borders in bold, comunas are shaded with boundaries and names in red, roads in yellow, key towns in study area in purple, highway in yellow, railroad dashed

1.3.1 Kota and Around

Kota is the name of both a small ‘comuna’ administrative unit and that unit’s ‘capital,’ a ‘small town’ of about 300 buildings.⁴¹ Kota illustrates many of the underlying sorts of spatial ordering patterns formed through combinations of roads, markets and land structures that I emphasize throughout the dissertation. By 2013, the town had a new covered market, an agricultural station with tractors often parked out front, a health clinic, school, intermittent nightly electricity from a generator, a well, nearly complete housing for administrative staff, a police station, a dozen stores selling basic commodities like sugar, cooking oil, batteries, fish, etc, a small gasoline station, a cell phone tower, solar-powered street lights, and a basketball court to boot (though without the baskets).

Figure 1.4: Road through Kota



Source: Author

The town owes its early growth to administrative hierarchy elaborated onward from the first half of the Twentieth Century. As I analyze in Chapters 3 and 4, Kota started to grow during the post-military conquest era of expanding colonial administration when forced labor was used to build roads through the area in order to connect municipal capitals (Malanje and Kalandula). However, Kota itself was only formally administratively established as a part of the colonial response to the revolts of 1961. The colonial administration greatly increased its presence by creating more and smaller administrative divisions and new administrative posts (see Graph 3.4), and Kota was once such unit, established in October 1962.⁴² So although the town Kota could be considered ‘urban’ for a number of reasons, and has received a number of state projects, it is also smaller than many villages and retains a distinctly rural feel in many ways.

⁴¹ My phrasing here is specifically ambiguous. Angola reportedly classifies settlements as urban if they have more than 2,000 people. Depending on how many people one assumes ‘reside’ in each building – say between two and five, that would give between 600 and 1,500 people. Census data for the city or the administrator or government’s information may illuminate things, but may be complicated by people’s mobility and multiple residences.

⁴² Milheiros (1972).

Table 1.4: Selected Projects in Kota Comuna, 2003-2014

Date		Project	Sector	#
2003-12	N	Health post rehabilitated	Health	1
2004-02	S	Grading of Lombe-Kota road	Transport	2
2004-03	N	Seeds (World Vision)	Ag	3
2004-08	N	Seeds (Danish Council on Refugees - CDR)	Ag	4
2004/5	S	Distribution of seeds and equip	Ag	5
2005-01	N	Latrines (CDR)	Sanitation	6
2005-01	N	Build wells (CDR and Oxfam)	Water	7
2005-03	S	Plowing by Mecanagro	Ag	8
2005-11	S	5 tractors	Ag	9
2005-11	S	Ox and plows to farmer association	Ag	10
2006-07	S	Tools and Seeds	Ag	11
2006-07	N	Micro-credit (CDR)	Ag	12
2006-11	S	Additional health post staff	Health	13
2006-11	S	Distribution of seeds and equipment	Ag	14
2007-09	S	Mecanagro plowing	Ag	15
2008-11	S	Schools (Bingue and Matombe)	Education	16
2009-04	S	Police post	Security	17
2009-06	S	Health posts (Kapele, Mandele, Amaral, Mufuma Selela, and Santa Maria)	Health	18
2009-6	P	Car for comuna administration	Admin	19
2009-09	S	Land for disabled	Social	20
2009-10	S	Land grading for paving	Transport	21
?		Cassava mill	Ag	
2010-07	S	Solar panels	Electricity	22
2011-08	S	School	Education	23
2011-08	S	Health post	Health	24
2011-08	S	Solar street lights	Electricity	25
2011-11	S	Health post & worker housing	Health	26
2011-11	S	Covered market	Ag	27
2012-08	S	Ambulance	Housing/Health	28
2012-08	S	Wells (Matombe, Jingambo, Buaza, Bingue, Terra Nova)	Water	29
2013-01	S	Administration residence	Housing/Admin	30
2013	P	Cell phone tower	Comm.	31
2013	S	Gas station	Transport	32
2014-01	S	MOSAP inputs	Ag	33
2014-06	S	Police building	Security	34

Source: ANGOP and personal observation; nb: S = State, N = NGO, P = Private,

Kota is surrounded by farm land, and most of the families who live in Kota appear to earn their livelihoods primarily through cassava farming. The deteriorating old colonial cement road signs at the southern entrance of the town illustrate some of the key dynamics of change of the area. Kota was clearly large enough to warrant its own sign, and the spelling of Kota with a C illustrates the Portuguese influence, rather than the use of a hard Bantu “K,” which came to be utilized after independence, and which I’ve adopted throughout. The town has a distinctly Portuguese feel in the old pink colonial buildings that line the highway. Indeed, the annex behind the restaurant/store in the middle of town where I stayed was used as the old colonial administration staff’s early residence before new special purpose administrative housing was built. The architecture of the other shops along the highway are illustrative of the colonial period, having the then standard area of 800 square meters, and having walled compounds with a trading store in the front and rooms in the rear. Colonial statistics on the population in Kota in 1972 list 22 ‘mestiço’ and about 19,760 ‘indigenous’ Angolans, and 153 whites (many from northern Portugal).⁴³

Following independence and the mass exodus of Portuguese, the agro-industrial infrastructure in the region around Kota was to be revived and reworked as part of plans to turn Malanje into a socialist breadbasket. These efforts however were thwarted by the economic costs and destruction wrought by decades of war. In the post-war oil-boom era, however, the Kota area has slowly seen a number of new or rebuilt infrastructure amenities, likely related to Kota’s role as capital of the administrative comuna, and its location on a two-lane paved road to the tourist attraction of the Kalandula waterfall, which is slated to be part of a regional tourism development pole. A very incomplete list of 34 of projects since 2003 are listed in Table 1.4 above (culled from the state media and from personal observation), which starkly contradicts the notion that the MPLA government has done little in the countryside.

1.3.2 Amaral

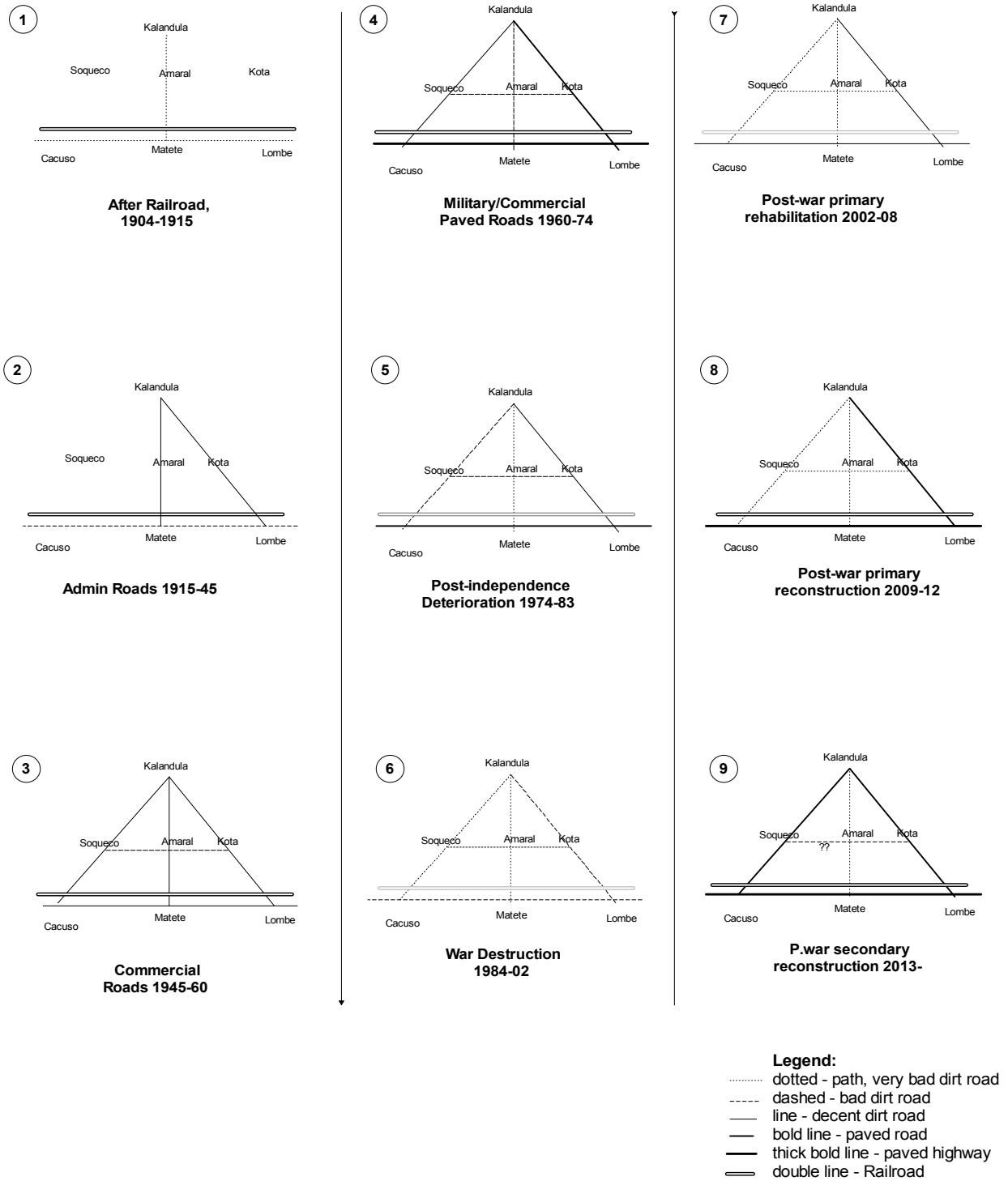
Although Kota appears larger and more flourishing, it is relatively more recent, created nearly 100 years after Amaral, which now appears small, empty, dilapidated, and marginal. The very name of the town, according to a short suggestive reference from 1963, indicates the ambiguity, landscapes, and histories of violent colonization of this place:

The name Amaral is a corruption of amarrar [to fasten, bind]. In distant times the rebellious natives, when captured, were bound to a tree, that in fact still exists in the locale. The natives would pronounce Amarrar instead of amarrar, which gave origin to the town’s name when a trader affixed himself [se fixou] there and asked the name of the region and then corrected it to Amaral.⁴⁴

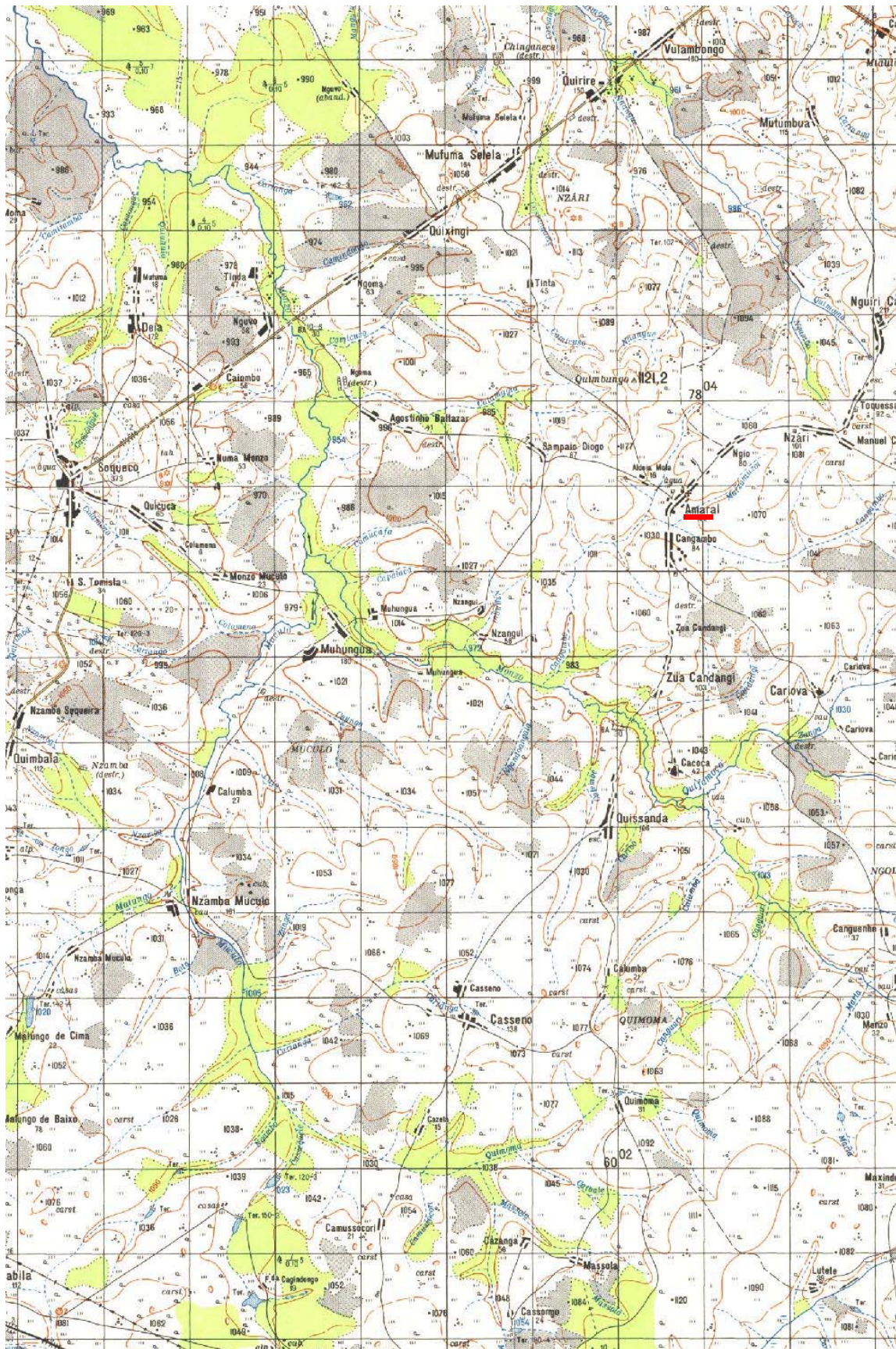
⁴³ Ponte et al. (1973: 39). Note that throughout this dissertation I use the term ‘mestiço’ to broadly denote people who were recognized as having visible bodily characteristics indicating both African and non-African ancestors. I refrain from making further sub-divisions based on ethnicity and culture because of the complexity of properly doing so and the tendency to instead inaccurately speak of African vs European culture as distinct and *relatively* homogenous when compared with their differences with one another.

⁴⁴ (1963) ‘Esboço Vocabulário Toponímico de Angola,’ Boletim do Instituto de Angola, n17, p. 111. This old colonial text draws on differences in pronunciation between a hard one ‘r’ and more guttural double ‘rr’. The few people that I spoke with in and around Amaral were vague about whether this story of the tree was actually the case.

Figure 1.5: Schematic of Changes in Road and Train Links around Study Area, 1904-2013



Study Area Below: Map 1.5 & Map 1.6 (IGCA)





Amaral's trajectory is one of a small early 'traditional' political unit affixed by the late Nineteenth Century to the military fort established at Kalandula in 1838, and, with the completion of the railroad to Malanje in 1907, then a commercial trading hub passing eventually into post-colonial ruins. Amaral thereby illustrates the importance of war, resettlement, and changing transport geography. Indeed, early on when I floated the idea to administrators of basing my ethnographic stay in Amaral – without having yet visited there and felt its haunting sense of colonial racism, violence and decay – the idea was ignored with no explanation and with a polite lack of ridicule. When I had originally looked at a 1980s map, Amaral seemed an interesting rural location because it was not on one of the main roads, but little did I know that it was a once-central place now deadly icy with abandon.

The colonial traders and plantation farmers of cotton, maize, tobacco and livestock that established themselves in Amaral early on in the 1940s and 1950s when it was on the main route up from the rail station at Matete subsequently found themselves being surpassed in the 1960s as transport shifted to road trade, and money, goods and commodities focused on the smoother, straighter roads being built and paved with large tractors to more efficiently connect municipal centers. A 1947 account of the road up from the train station at Matete noted that it used to be a “veritable runway” but now was “a road in name only,” a “true martyrdom, due to the holes and rocks...”⁴⁵ After a new administrator took office, he was able in 1949 to round up labor to improve the road to give it “a sensation of security and comfort.”⁴⁶ The Amaral ‘Indigenous Reserve,’ just to the north and east of the town, was established in 1955 (see Map 7.1). One example of the shifting commercial fortunes of Amaral is a store there that was set up in 1949 by A. Santos Pinto & Irmão, the regional agri-business conglomerate discussed in Chapters 3 and 7. As Amaral was displaced by Kota over the subsequent years, in 1971 Santos Pinto sold the store. Amaral was not a particularly notable place on colonial era writing and records, and I have yet to find hardly anything outside of a few archival references. And yet it clearly had a very obvious white plantation, residential, and trading population. The town map from 1966 shows 15 non-adobe structures houses/stores, together with a water tank, a school, church, and agriculture center, and the old battered children's playground, bread post, and magnolia tree remain as strikingly memorials of settler society. The large building used by the colonial agricultural services for distribution of seeds and equipment to settlers and Angolan farmers was also used briefly during the socialist period. Today, a few stores have opened with some basic items, and the health post occasionally is open with some supplies. But most life and activity occurs in the villages outside the town, which were the residences of people resettled, displaced and squeezed by the settler plantations, and effectively forced to work cheaply for them.

⁴⁵ A.C. (1947) ‘Estrada de Cacuso,’ *Angola Norte*, March 15, p.2.

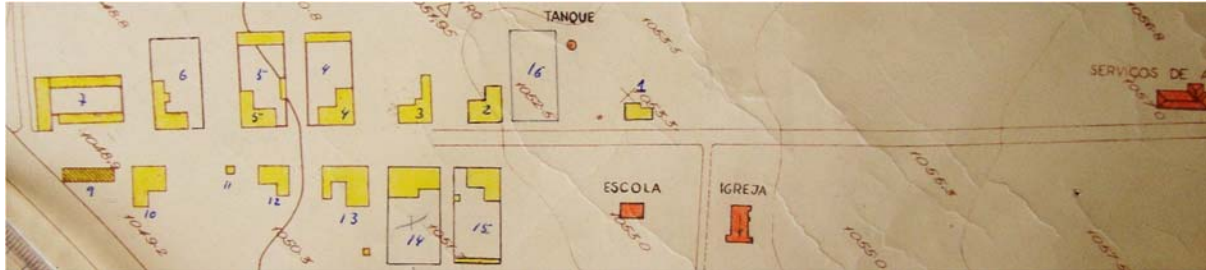
⁴⁶ MJF (1949) ‘Noticias de Cacuso,’ *Angola Norte*, Sep 17.

Figure 1.6: Amaral, 2012

(Sources: IGCA Malanje; R. Cardoso)

From top to bottom:

- Ruins of the colonial bread post
- A 1966 colonial map of buildings
- Contemporary store buildings
- Colonial & socialist Agrarian Development Center



1.3.3 Kuzuka

Kuzuka is located in a flat open area along a dirt road, and is the larger of the two villages that I visited regularly, with roughly 100 adobe houses/structures. It has a working cassava mill operated cooperatively by the village's farmers' association, which was also able to obtain credit to have a distant area plowed by a tractor for the association members to then divide up and plant. Kuzuka also has a store with a generator-powered refrigerator, a functioning well for people to access water, along with a defunct well that is not used, reportedly after bodies were dropped into it.

There is land cultivated both north and south of the road and Kuzuka, but mostly south, some of which bordered by streams and their tributaries. I was told that, at some time in the unspecified past (likely 1970s or early 1980s), there were hundreds of cattle, but they had been raided during the war.

Kuzuka is in an area around Amaral and Kota that was heavy with plantations, and hence although it has access to a not terrible dirt road, the area is also fragmented by the prioritized settler plantations that captured key water sources. This contrasts with the different ways in which Mwanza was fragmented by being cordoned off away from the main roads, markets and villages, and restricted to an unfavorable area of land reserved for indigenous Angolans.

1.3.4 Mwanza

Mwanza is a small village just near the small Menya Creek, with roughly several dozen buildings, of which about roughly two dozen are functional houses. The Menya Creek joins with other tributaries to form the Lucala further away, which flows through town of Lucala (once known as Ambaca), and then meets the Kwanza River. The Menya Creek is an important source of water for the village, as well as key to livelihoods in its use for fermenting cassava that is later sold. Being near the river, Mwanza requires traversing some hills and is away from the large rolling plains where other villages, roads, and main towns are located. The terrain is more rocky, forested, and uneven.

According to early maps produced in the 1950s, Mwanza was around that time part of number of different settlements clustered around the Menya Creek and its small tributaries (some with names and some without), connected by networks of paths and roads. As described in Chapter 7, a number of these settlements were removed in practice and from maps, and new maps produced from aerial photographs taken in 1979 show settlements in more block forms around the main roads.

But Mwanza was in the indigenous reserve east of Amaral, and therefore the reordering in Mwanza did *not* happen directly for the purposes of expropriation of land for settlers – which was prohibited by the reserve – and instead happened for reasons of administrative control. These processes are laid out at the end of the dissertation in Chapter 7. Nevertheless, as that chapter shows, the reserve around Mwanza was not respected and may have even had the perverse effect of facilitating encroachment and appropriation by settlers of the surrounding land.

In some places along the river and in shady forested areas there are still old coffee plants from the colonial era.

The relatively tidy village of few dozen houses has numerous mango trees around the village, remnants of cassava rows cultivated close to the village during times of insecurity, and now new plots that run alongside the road over to a nearby village. The soba is a soft spoken but knowledgeable average-height elderly man who works cultivating his fields, despite occasional pains. He has a modest adobe house, and some plots in a small nearby depression with soils good for maize and peanuts.

In terms of social services, while Mwanya has one small school, it is somewhat far from health clinics. Soqueco is the closest large town, and has a health post and some basic health workers (established in late 2007, after an outbreak of cholera earlier in the year).⁴⁷ Otherwise, there was a reportedly a small one in Amaral, but I never saw much activity there, and so the closest decent clinic seemed to be in Kota to the east, or, even more distant, is to go via Soqueco down to Cacuso. To reach these health clinics, one would need to either wait to catch a ride, or walk for several hours and then catch a ride, paying roughly 500-1000 (\$5 - \$10) each way, in addition to fees for the medicine and time waiting at the clinic, possibly overnight.

1.3.5 Details on Methodology

The following paragraphs discuss some of my research plans and practices in studying the patterns of reconstruction both in the villages and regionally, as well as data that I make use of from surveys and archives. I also address limitations on my research, and some unexpected contributions that I have ended up working on, with regard particularly to war and related and comparative regional ethnographic work.

Dissertation research involved a wide range of sources, locations and methods. I began studying Angola in 2005, and made field visits in the summers of 2008, 2009, and 2013. The main period of fieldwork in Angola ran from December 2010 to October 2012. I conducted several hundred interviews with a wide range of people (mostly outside of Luanda), collected contemporary and archival information, studied and practiced rough Kimbundu, traveled extensively in around Kota, and participated in various day to day social and economic activities, as well as meetings and conferences.

In some ways, this dissertation can only be a very cursory introduction. I do not, for example, have precise data on individual farm field plot sizes and production levels, assets, income or labor use for the two villages that I focus on and that I visited. Given the great lack of research in and information about the region when I started, it seemed more feasible and productive to gather a broad understanding rather than a more narrow focus on precise individual characteristics, which generally seemed to conform to ‘small-scale farmers’ of 1-3 ha total spread amongst 3-5 plots, primarily based around intercropped cassava (with not stellar yields, but reasonable considering intercropping).

⁴⁷ ANGOP (2007) ‘Reinauguradas infra-estruturas sociais na comuna do Soqueco,’ Aug 28; ANGOP (2007) ‘Município de Cacuso estanca epidemia da cólera,’ Feb 9; ANGOP (2009) ‘Posto de saúde de Soqueco carece de técnicos sanitários,’ Feb 19.

That said, some of such information is available in aggregate for nearby villages in Baptista (2013). And I was able through repeated field visits and discussions to get a cursory sense of agrarian structures. I hope to obtain the disaggregated data for Baptista's (2013) study, and to carry out my own survey, as well as combining other sources.

While I had initially planned and hoped to center the research around village-based ethnographic research, I ended up instead staying in Kota.⁴⁸ Initially I was told by a Municipal Administrator that I could not stay in a village that had no police or no "state presence."⁴⁹ I then attempted to bring my case to his superior, the Governor of the Province, and also try the Administrator of a neighboring Municipality, one that was less enmeshed in high-profile agribusiness projects and had longer experience with NGOs, including foreign NGOs, and tourists. At first, I encountered delays at the office of the Governor, and after I persisted we met and I was advised against it.

These delays shaped my research in two key ways. Firstly, I ended up spending a good amount of time going back and forth between Luanda and Malanje, and between different places in Malanje Province, which gave me a good familiarity with structures of, and changes in, regional geography, infrastructure, transport and trade. So, my time in Angola was divided roughly between Luanda (in the nationally and ethnically mixed neighborhood of Martires de Kifandongo, near the airport), the provincial city of Malanje (and the colonial indigenous neighborhood of Maxinde, just south of the cement city), and a rural residence in Kota, about an hour's drive on the paved roads north west of Malanje city.

From Kota, I went regularly by motorcycle a further hour away to Kuzuka and Mwanya. I accompanied farmers to their farms, participated in field clearing, hunting, burning, planting, weeding, harvesting, processing, transport, cooking and eating, as well as informal conversations, meetings, events, travel, and non-farm activities. I was able to get a sense of the extensiveness of social relations throughout the area during my visits. Often some people would be gone, visiting relatives elsewhere, at a funeral or helping with some medical visit, in the city or in Luanda, or working on someone else's farm or activity.

In Kota I stayed in one of several rooms annexed to a combined store, restaurant, and bar, and I lived in rooms annexed to houses of Angolan families in Luanda and Malanje city. In these cities I visited markets, traveled around by motorcycle, informal minibus, foot, and friends' vehicles, interviewed various people (current and former government officials, market sellers, transporters, businesspeople, academics, NGO staff, etc), participated in social activities, and consulted documents in archives, libraries and offices.

Secondly, during the process of trying to secure authorization for a village stay, I was able to spend a good chunk of time in the archives of the land office in Malanje. Perhaps because Malanje was never completely occupied by UNITA forces and did not suffer severe battles, the land office building seems to have survived the war relatively intact. There was both a great deal of contemporary and colonial records, and an intelligent, kind and welcoming Provincial Director.

⁴⁸ I discuss the urban/rural classification of locales elsewhere, including Kota.

⁴⁹ I know of no other academic study drawing on intensive village-based ethnographic research in Angola in the last 50 years or so, aside from a Brazilian colleague who was able to do some Master's degree ethnographic research in Eastern Angola.

Still determined with village stay, I wrote up further explanation, and tried to press my case also with other officials. At last I met with the governor for a second time, and he gave me the ok. There were however by this point other delays on the village end. This was frustrating and disheartening, but in the end prompted me to also work in another village and thereby enabled me to get a comparative understanding of the villages, which has been crucial to the whole argument of the dissertation. I resolved to continue just with regular visits to these two villages by motorcycle from my room in Kota. In retrospect, being forced to shift, span, switch, visit and try to understanding various different places in relation to one another and the broader region, and to get some sense of these relations over time from various archives, has been a really valuable, unanticipated aspect of the research, and one that I hope shows in most of the chapter

However, as mentioned in the beginning of this section, I do think that there are some real limitations from the lack of in-depth residence in a particular village, which I can here only try to recognize, and hopefully I will have the opportunity to conduct such research in the future. For example, I don't have particularly good information on 'intra-household' or conjugal dynamics, and about negotiations over who controls cash income and expenditure and how. The inattention to these issues is also a key omission in Bapitsta (2013), as well as the World Bank's Market-Oriented Smallholder Agriculture Project in Malanje.⁵⁰

In addition, while the dissertation emphasizes a long time period encompassing colonial rule, I did not conduct much research interviewing people about agrarian relations under colonialism and with settlers. I simply did not feel adequately informed about the actual violent racial histories and present priorities, sensitivities, and memories, and I did not want to go in blindly, with people newly back home after decades of war, asking them to return to the minutiae of the painful colonial epoch that they may have wished to just as well forget for the moment. I now feel I have a better understanding of contemporary and colonial politics and social relations, and hope to do more oral history in future field research.

Part of this history also has to do with experiences of war from 1975-2002, which were not the aim of the initial research project, even as they were related to most aspects of life in the countryside. Day after day I observed bullet-pocked buildings and the ruins of army equipment along the roads, as well as the de-mining signs and teams. Without me asking directly, aspects of the war inevitably came up in conversations with people. Different people spoke in different degrees of depth and visible emotion of displacement, of being soldiers or in the military in different areas, of leaving their homes in villages or cities, of killing people with machetes, of not having food, of seeing people crushed by tanks, of being shot or hit by mines while searching fields for food, of hiding while bombs fell, of losing relatives, and so on.

The delays, limited funding, and the spread across Luanda, Malanje and Kota also had the practical implication that in order to get by financially I had to live cheaply and that entailed adopting the strategies of the poorer majority. Amidst the some of the highest costs of living in the world in Luanda, I rented for \$250 per month a small informal room with no running water and only intermittent electricity through an illicit connection, built as a backyard addition in a lower to middle class neighborhood. In Malanje, I did not live in the cement part of town, but

⁵⁰ However there are vague general studies from Angola to go on, as well as detailed studies from elsewhere in Africa, which, although they cannot 'predict' specific dynamics at play in my study area, can suggest possible key issues and questions that may be of relevance. Some information might be gleaned from analyzing the individual responses in the living standards survey and census, but these are largely out of context.

rather in an annex to a family home in the old ‘indigenous’ neighborhood of Maxinde that had been constructed from the 1950s onward. In Kota, I stayed in annex (with rent inflated to \$100 per month) attached to a restaurant/bar, with intermittent electricity at night from the town or private generator, and water fetched from the town well. I shopped for food, meals, clothes and other goods in the local markets hardly ever frequented by white foreigners, where a meal can be had for as little as \$1 for rice, beans and a piece of meat, or \$3 for funje, sauce and a piece of meat. Having lived, walked, eaten, traveled, drank, studied, shat, chatted, prayed, borrowed, become ill, shopped, attended funerals, weddings and birthdays, swum, been robbed, cooked, danced, argued, taught, and worked amidst rich, middle-class, poor, and deeply impoverished people in cities, towns, villages and farms in Angola for several years, I am no stranger to the infuriating and disheartening inequalities, injustices, abuses and exploitation. But I have learned that lazy cynicism does no justice to the complex changes, lives, aspirations, histories, traumas, social institutions, uncertainties, humility, kindness and struggles of so many people.

While some commentators have lamented that Angola has not experienced a process of deliberate public discussion and reconciliation regarding the war,⁵¹ what is glaring and frustrating to me, given the personal stories of war that people volunteered to me, is the lack of careful academic history about the post-independence war. Scholars have made sweeping statements and written numerous books about the elite negotiations, geo-politics and resource financing during the war, but almost all devoid of a ground-level analysis of the actual course of the war, told from the experiences of a set of people and focused on (if not limited to) a particular place.⁵² Many an academic has penned an article on Angola by cobbling together aggregate facts on oil, diamonds and conflict, without spending time writing with and about people who actually directly experienced such conflict.⁵³ Journalists, aid workers, and human rights advocates have written or compiled valuable first-hand accounts of the war throughout Angola, of course, but these consist largely of anecdotes based on short-term visits.⁵⁴ More broad is Weigert’s (2011) history, one of the most detailed, but it is a military history, of battles and strategy. Likewise, there some accounts by Angolans involved in day-to-day fighting, and a growing number of South Africans’ publications. However, careful in-depth social histories and geographies of post-independence war in Angola are yet to be written, as they have in other instances.⁵⁵ Though it was not the primary aim of my research, I hope to have made a small contribution in this regard.

⁵¹ E.g. Redvers (2015) ‘Angola’s fearful culture of silence,’ Mail and Guardian, Feb 6; see statement of ‘1.^a Conferência sobre “o Direito à Verdade e à Memória Colectiva como Direitos Humanos na Construção do Estado Democrático de Direito,” April 16, 2015; Albuquerque (2002).

⁵² See Brinkman (2005; 1999); Henderson (1979); Minter (1994); Kasembe (1995, 1997); Gleijeses (2002, 2013); Schubert (2000); McGrath 1993; Malaquias 2007; Antsee (1996); Crocker (1989); Hare (1998).

⁵³ The emphasis, present in Soares de Oliveira (2015), that ‘Angola starts now’ serves to erase the social history of war, while Angola’s social geography of war will only really be told with further interviews throughout Angola.

⁵⁴ See Pearce (2005), Maier (1996), Brittan (1998), Bridgland (1986), Mendes (2003), Houser (1976), Moorehouse and Cheng (2005), Theroux (2013), Metcalfe (2013), and of course the classic but now also somewhat suspect Kapucinski (1987). NGOs have provided some assessments, but often consisting of anecdotes paired with formal surveys or statistics. Some work has been done based on interviews with refugees, but this is again a different social context – see Brinkman (2005).

⁵⁵ See Lubkemann (2008), Englund (2002), Harrison (2000), and see the exchange between Cahen and Emerson at <https://networks.h-net.org/node/7926/reviews/57489/cahen-stephen-emerson-battle-mozambique-frelimo-renamo-struggle-1977>.

In addition to research in Malanje, I was also able to make very short visits to other cities and provinces, including markets, construction sites, rural areas, and farms (in Bengo, Benguela, Cabinda, Huambo, Kwanza Sul, Kwanza Norte, Lunda Sul, and Moxico Provinces). Another important sources, relatively under explored in research on Angola, were databased and digitized versions of Angola's legal gazette (the *Diário da República*), which publishes laws, regulations, decrees, etc, in its Series I, and registration of companies in its Series III (the Series II on minor administrative orders was discontinued in the 1980s). In addition, I spent a total of several months in Portugal over the years in various archives and libraries, conducted some interviews, and made a short visit to northern Portugal. In the US, I have benefitted greatly from the fortuitously exceptional Angola and Portuguese collections of the University of California and Stanford University, and from inter-library loans and visits to other libraries.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ That early UC material was collected in part through grants by the Ford Foundation of \$58,000 and \$225,000 around 1971 and 1972 to the American political scientists Gerald Bender (UCLA) and the late John Marcum (UCSC), working with the Portuguese agronomist Eduardo Cruz de Carvalho, who in the late colonial period in Angola were able to obtain a great deal of material, some of which is now almost impossible to locate anywhere else, including in Angola. The ecologist Jorge Vieira da Silva and the economist Ismael Gaspar-Martins also collaborated. Part of the UCLA funds also appear to have facilitated Joseph Miller's research in Angola in 1972 (Miller 1974: 552). See UCLA (1972) International and comparative studies at UCLA, p. 22; (1974) 'Letter,' v1, Ford Foundation, pp. 6, 32; (1973) 'Notes and News: Interdisciplinary Research Program on Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau),' *Africa* 43(2): 154. See also Carvalho (1974) and Bender (1974, 1978).

Chapter 2 : A Critical Spatial Chronology: Beyond ‘Creole Elite,’ Neo-Patrimonialism, and Dutch Disease in Angola

Whereas the previous chapter introduced and overviewed the structure of the argument of the dissertation, this second chapter situates my approach in relation to prevalent existing interpretations. The chapter briefly sketches Angolan history, outlines the most common ways that such history has been interpreted, diagnoses some key features of such interpretations, provides a critique of those features, and lastly explains how such features came about.

This chapter briefly overviews Angolan history from the Sixteenth Century to the present, and then presents a critical review of the three main concepts that have been used to interpret contemporary Angolan political economy in a particular sort of geographic and historical perspective. Such scrutiny also has broader implications, as I show in the second section, because Angola is often viewed as an extreme example of more widespread but less clear patterns of political economy throughout numerous other countries in Africa. I briefly overview some conceptual limitations of this approach for Angola, and instead stress an approach recognizing the specificity of conjunctures of settler colonialism, protracted war, and leveraged liberalization.

The bulk of the chapter accounts for the crystallization of prevalent problematic interpretations of Angola’s political economy as one of a neo-patrimonial creole elite divided from and dominating a countryside plagued by Dutch Disease. The three key concepts that together uneasily make up this formulation are creole elite, neo-patrimonialism, and Dutch Disease. Part of this chapter is to do some historically and empirically informed theoretical/conceptual deconstruction or ‘ground-clearing’ that is necessary to situate and make analytic room for my alternative analyses in the subsequent chapters. This, as I show particularly in section 2.5, is necessary due to the relative lack of, and strong colonial bias in, historical research on Angola, especially with regard to areas outside of Luanda.

2.1 Angola 1500-2014: A Brief Spatial Chronology

What follows is a brief, selective and highly schematic summary of Angolan history based largely on conventional sources and perspectives. For the early period of the Sixteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries, this necessarily highlights the agency of Portuguese and traders, a crucial problem of historiography that informs contemporary diagnoses of Angola’s development problems, and a point to which I will return later in section 2.5.3 of this Chapter.⁵⁷

Over several centuries, Portuguese encountered, battled, helped form, and collaborated and traded with various shifting large-scale structured political entities (variously called kingdoms, states, empires, commonwealths, or other terms) in changing configurations and degrees of strength, most notable for this dissertation are Kongo, Matamba, Ndongo, Kassanje, Lunda and

⁵⁷ See Birmingham (1965); Couto (1972); Dias (1976, 1981, 1984, 1985, 1989, 1999, 2000); Ferreira (2012); Heintze (2004, 2010, 2013); Henriques (1997); Messiant (1983); Marcum (1969, 1978); Miller (1976, 1988, 1989); Oliveira (1981); Pélissier (1978, 1986); Vansina (2005); Vellut (1972); Venâncio (1996); Wheeler and Pélissier (1971).

Luba (see Map 2.1). The Portuguese had established several military outposts/forts (called presidios) by the 16th Century along the Kwanza River, and continued to establish several others over the next centuries. West of what is now Malanje, a presidio was established at Ambaca [now Lucala] in 1618, Pungo Andongo in 1671, and ‘Duque de Bragança’ [now Kalandula] in 1838 – all key points of reference that I will return to throughout the dissertation. To both establish white settlement in Angola and get rid of undesirables, Angola was used as a penal colony for ‘degraded’ people – including a wide variety of whites, mestiços, blacks, Jews, women, gypsies, criminals, anarchists, communists, and other politically or socially marginal groups – who were shipped from Portugal and Brazil to Angola until 1936.

Much of the Portuguese administration and the trade by various entities for these first several early was geared around the Atlantic slave trade, in which the area that is now Angola was one of the most significant. From this area were enslaved nearly one half of the roughly 12 million people forcibly brought to the Americas (see Map 2.2). This momentous significance of the slave trade in Angolan history continues to shape arguments about Angola’s contemporary development, as discussed elsewhere in this dissertation.

The height of the slave trade in Angola ran from the turn of the Eighteenth Century through to the early Nineteenth Century, with a large part of the trade shaped by sales of slaves to Brazil, particularly as part of a gold rush involving some half-million slaves following discovery in 1693 around Minas Gerais.⁵⁸ Miller (1988) – one of the most significant studies for a long time – portrayed the slave trade in Angola in terms of a frontier of extraction of slaves expanding out into the interior from the Luanda and Benguela port cities (see below), but recent scholarship such as Candido (2013) and Ferreira (2012) that has returned to re-examine various archives in Angola and Brazil in different ways has also begun to call into question this perspective (suggesting, for example, overlapping and ricocheting waves of extractions).

Commercial trade had developed as part of the slave trade, with key goods being cloths, alcohol, guns and gun powder. With the end of the Atlantic trade in human beings, export trade from Angola in the mid to late Nineteenth Century shifted to ivory, wax and rubber.⁵⁹ The labor for portage for this trade has been emphasized by historians, but the labor involved in the extraction and processing was also important.⁶⁰ Small, sporadic efforts were made at establishing greater white settlement and administrative control in various areas. Forced, tied and slave labor continued in many places in Angola, not least the emerging coffee plantations in Luanda’s hinterlands.

For some 50 years from the 1870s to the 1920s there were violent conflicts associated with control over trade and territory and military conquest throughout different parts of Angola (see Map 2.4).⁶¹ Although, as discussed below, the Nineteenth Century has been interpreted in terms of continuity of elite intermediaries controlling and profiting from trade, an alternate approach emphasizes shifting constellations of places with overlapping histories. There were various forts and outposts, advances and retreats, dispersals, concentrations, uncertain and ambiguous shifts in overlapping jurisdictions, temporary military encampments, different market places and routes appearing, disappearing, connecting and disconnecting, shifting and changing. Over several

⁵⁸ See Pinto (1979).

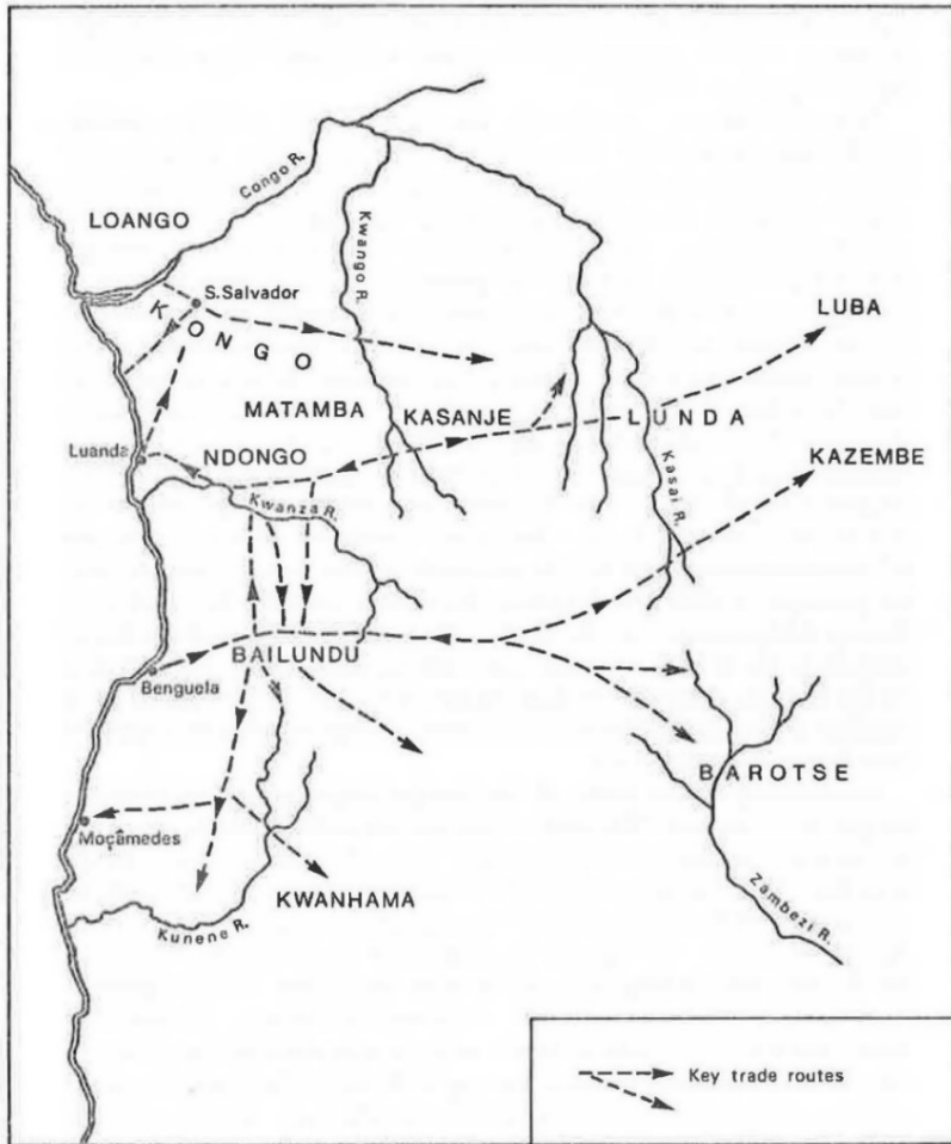
⁵⁹ Curto (2004); von Oppen (1993); Henriques (1997).

⁶⁰ Von Oppen (1993).

⁶¹ Pélissier (1986).

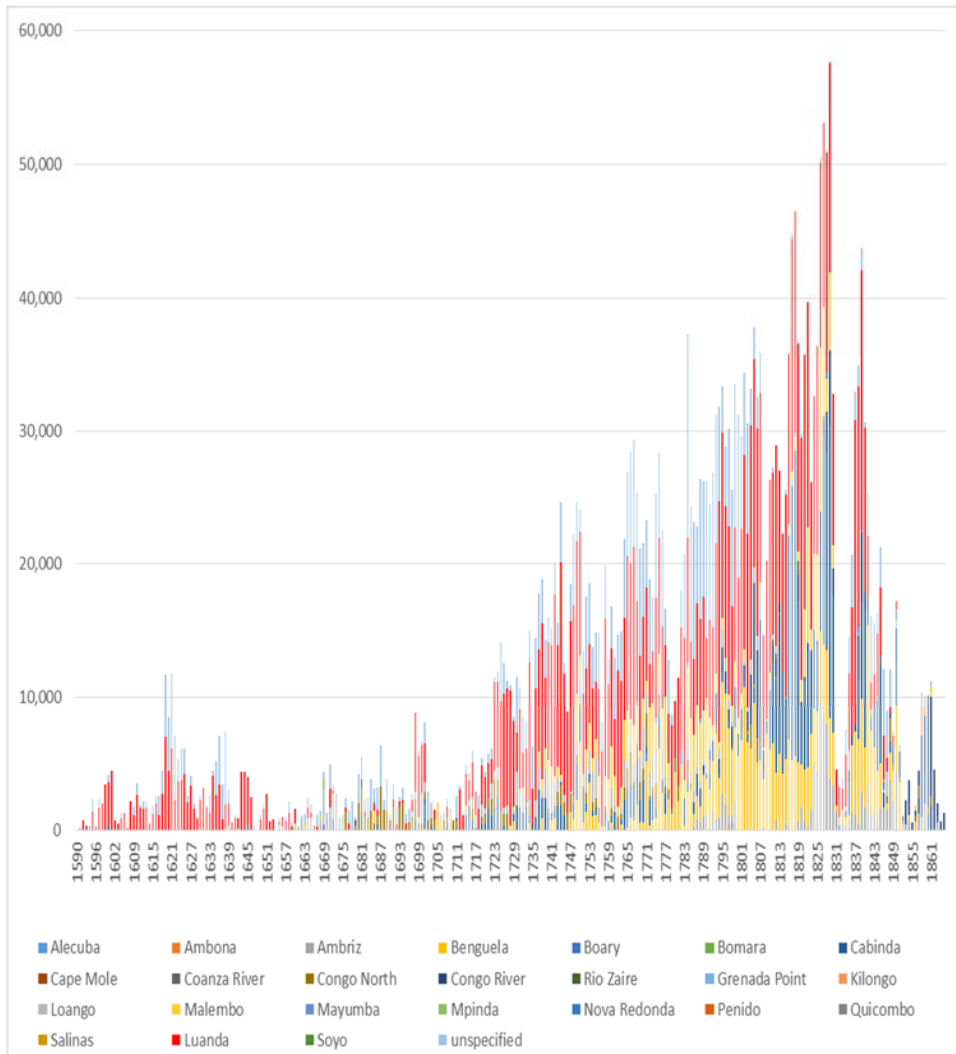
centuries, it all makes for rather vague and confusing history, and hence the simplifying image of a clear set of elite intermediaries initially based around Ambaca has often become attractive in historical narratives.

Map 2.1: Some Major Pre-Colonial Political Entities and Trade Routes



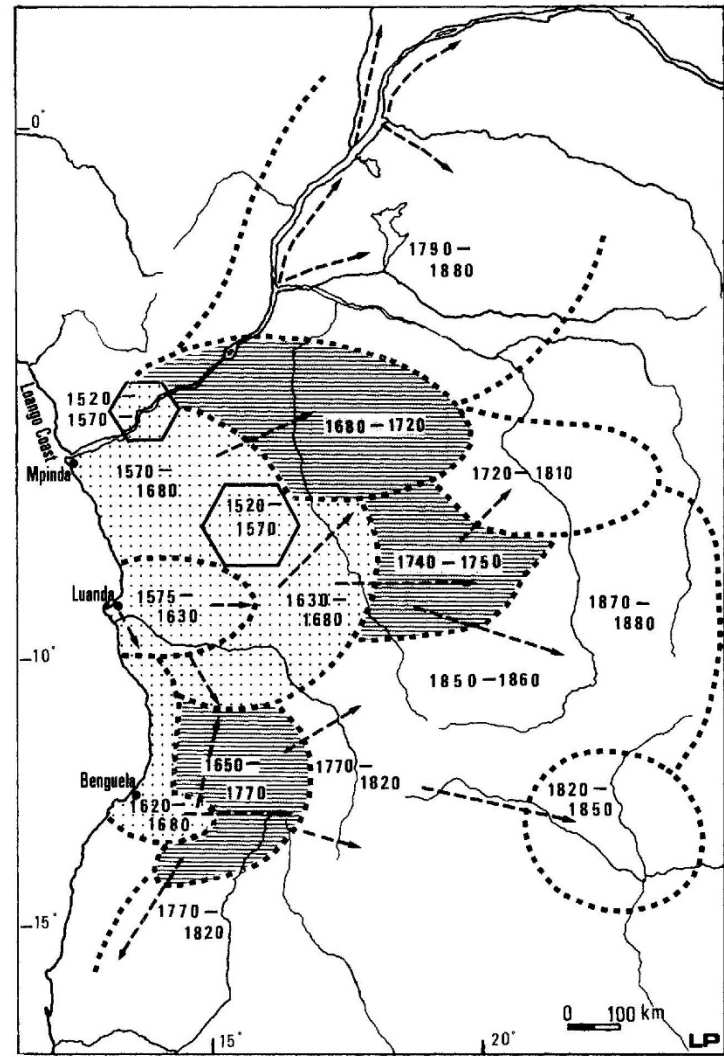
Source: Wheeler and Pélissier (1971: 21)

Graph 2.1: Slave Trade from 'West Central Africa,' 1590-1865



Source: <http://www.slavevoyages.org>

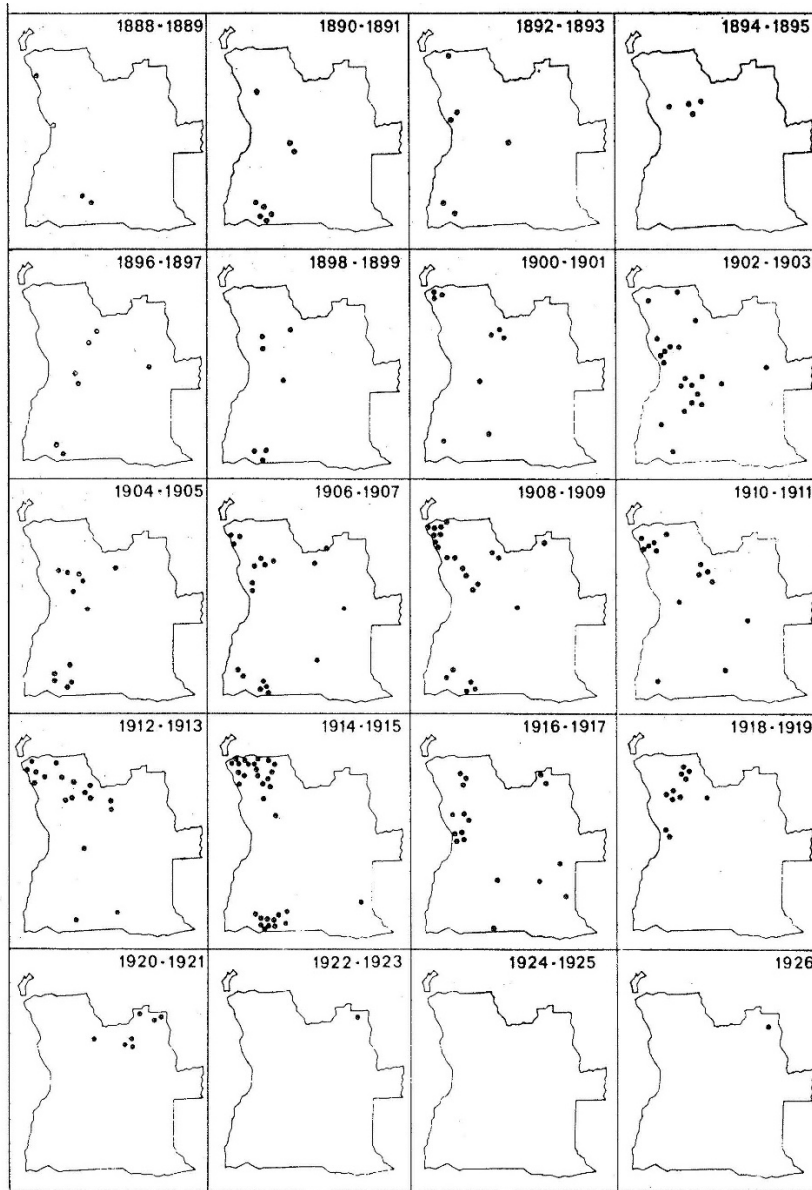
Map 2.3: The Slaving Frontier: Approximate Dates and Locations



Source: Miller (1988: 148)

By the turn of the Twentieth Century, the colonial administration was trying to increase its control and management of resources and populations in Angola through various means including infrastructure works and elaboration of social, economic, and political regulations and structures. In particular, from 1913-15, and 1922-24, the modernizing military governor Norton de Matos established mechanized transport in the form of railroads and a road network in combination with attempts to extend territorial control, institute a census and taxation, and shift labor from portorage to agricultural and mineral export production.

Map 2.4: 'Locations of Principal Military Actions, 1888-1926'



Source: Pélissier (1986: v2, 291)

The period from the late 1920s to World War II was one in which a new fascist regime under Antonio Salazar was established in Portugal, and Angola was now relying (with administrative control established and labor supplies malleable) on forced labor to support exports, revenues and further administration. During this period the foundations were laid for future significant expansion of both plantation and smallholder sugar, cotton, coffee, and corn, as well as diamonds, which all would involve a great increase in the number of white settlers in the countryside and cities. Angola became the world's fourth largest coffee exporter, and oil production began in the late 1950s, with major offshore oil production increasing in Cabinda in the 1960s (prior to this, oil seeps just outside of Luanda had been known for centuries, and American exploration efforts had occurred in the 1920s).

The increased colonial violence, control and inequity from the late Nineteenth Century had also spurred incipient nationalist discourse, which met repression under Norton de Matos' clamp down, but continued in various subtle ways until emerging in more organized form amidst the international changes and colonial and settler intensification of the 1950s economic boom. One aspect of such colonial inequality spurring nationalist mobilization that has been emphasized on conventional accounts is the increasing presence, really beginning under de Matos, of white settlers who displaced *assimilados* in the state bureaucracy, thereby generating resentment.⁶² A formal legal distinction between civilized and uncivilized had been instituted in 1917 on the basis of being able to read and write Portuguese, having means of subsistence, and having distinctly Portuguese comportment, habits and customs. In 1926 this distinction was re-framed as between uncivilized and assimilated, and in 1931 more stringent requirements were introduced, including monogamy, licit means of subsistence, a profession compatible with European civilization, and entire abandonment of "the habits and customs of the black race." Colonial and missionary education, training and economic opportunities were through scant throughout the country, but did slowly enable some Angolans over the subsequent decades to claim *assimilado* status, and some scholars have termed these people the 'new *assimilados*' in contrast to older pre-restriction informally assimilated people based largely in Luanda.

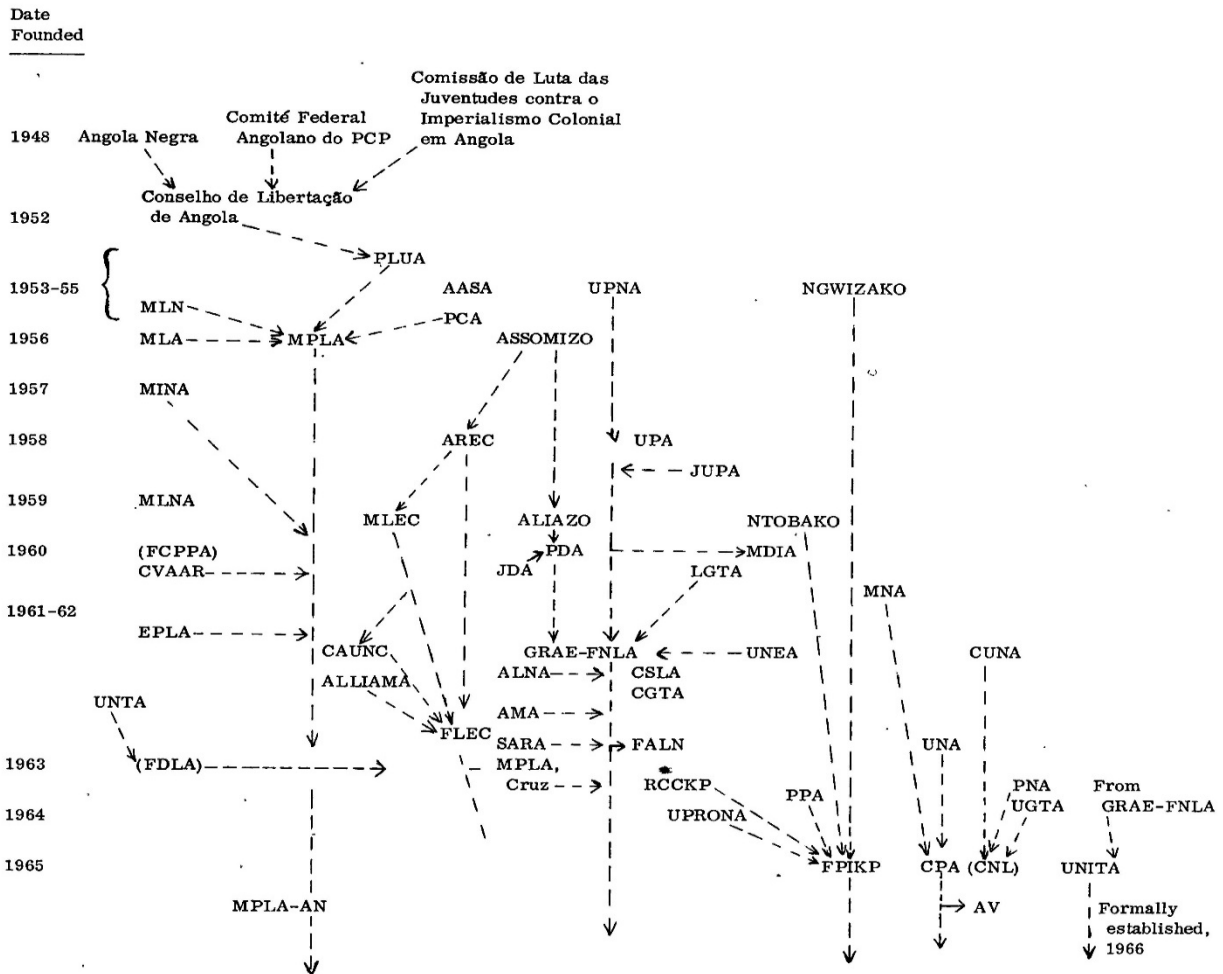
These are some of the social dynamics in which the precise origins of the liberation movements are still debated and contested. The armed national liberation struggle began in early 1961, with the revolt in Malanje, a prison attack in Luanda, and a longer uprising throughout much of the hilly coffee areas in the north west. The MPLA appears to have emerged from various groups in the mid-1950s, and the National Liberation Front of Angola (or FNLA, Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola) eventually from other groups that had formed around that time but with stronger links to the north and Kinshasa. Disagreements within the FNLA in turn lead Jonas Savimbi in 1965 to split off and form UNITA (see Figure 2.1). With support from China, and some cooperation with South Africa and the colonial Portuguese, UNITA organized an initial base of some support in the East and then around the central highlands and southern Angola.

Much of the liberation struggle fighting through the 1960s and early 1970s was concentrated around the north and the east of the country. As the liberation war and Portuguese counter-insurgency battles dragged on, the Portuguese were able to gradually recapture and secure much

⁶² On this point see especially Wheeler (1969; 1972), Wheeler and Pélissier (1971), Bittencourt (1999, 2000), and the different, somewhat more critical view in Corrado (2008).

of the contested Eastern areas, but only with great finance expense and loss of domestic and troop morale.

Figure 2.1: Some Origins of Nationalist Organizations and Movements, 1948-1965



Source: Chilcote (1972: xxxiv)

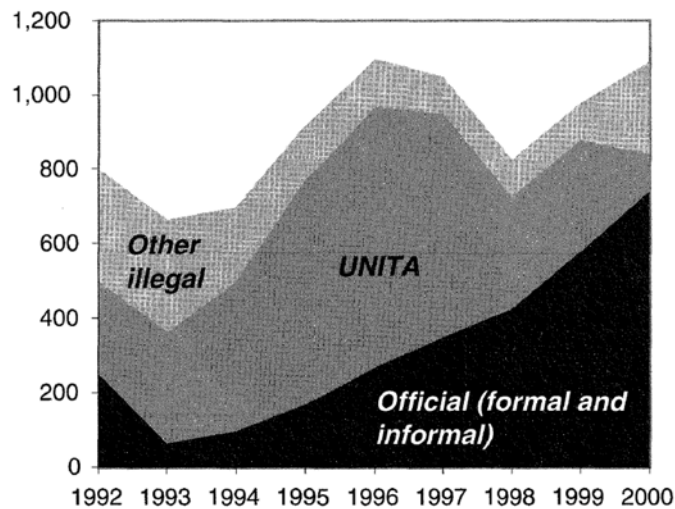
The transition to independence came after a coup d'état in April 1974 in Portugal by the left-leaning military figures tired of the repression and costs associated with counter-insurgency colonial war and fascism. There were then roughly two main eras of war, one of Cold War proxy battles from 1975-1989, and another from diamond-fueled insurgency from 1992 to 2002 (see Graph 2.3). Within these two main eras there were specific periods of fighting, which I mention below.

After the 1974 coup in Portugal, talks were held to bring together the three liberation movements in Angola into an uneasy unity government that was in turn supposed to hold elections. However, fighting ensued, and some 300,000 Portuguese rapidly fled the country in a massive

airlift, taking with them possessions, goods, and wealth, and sometimes sabotaging what was left behind.⁶³ US support to the FNLA via the US ally President Mobutu in neighboring Zaire triggered an externally supplied arms race and Cold War proxy conflict between the three groups, with UNITA coordinating with South Africa's invasion from the south, and the MPLA receiving support from Cuba and the Soviet Union. With the support of the latter two, the MPLA held Luanda, declared independence in November 1975, and fought back the FNLA and UNITA. The US Congress prevented further armed intervention in Angola (causing FNLA to dwindle, amidst its own internal problems), and South Africa retreated, but also regrouped over the next few years and, amidst broader struggles against Apartheid across southern Africa, returned in 1979 with a vengeance to bolster UNITA and continue the war until 1991. The period 1979-1983 saw an increase in fighting in southern Angola, while 1983-1985 saw UNITA expanding, and major battles occurred until negotiations by 1990.

After independence, the MPLA government established itself as the single party, sought to restructure the economy along socialist lines and to 'fill the void' by the fleeing Portuguese by nationalizing businesses and property. Politics became more restricted after a reported attempted coup in 1977 and the intensification and spread of war by the early 1980s. In response, and in response also to falling oil prices, the government began reforms in the mid-1980s and moves by the late 1980s to liberalize and privatize the economy. Political parties were also legalized, and elections scheduled for late 1992.

Graph 2.2: 'Estimated Diamond Sales, 1992-2000 (US\$ million)'



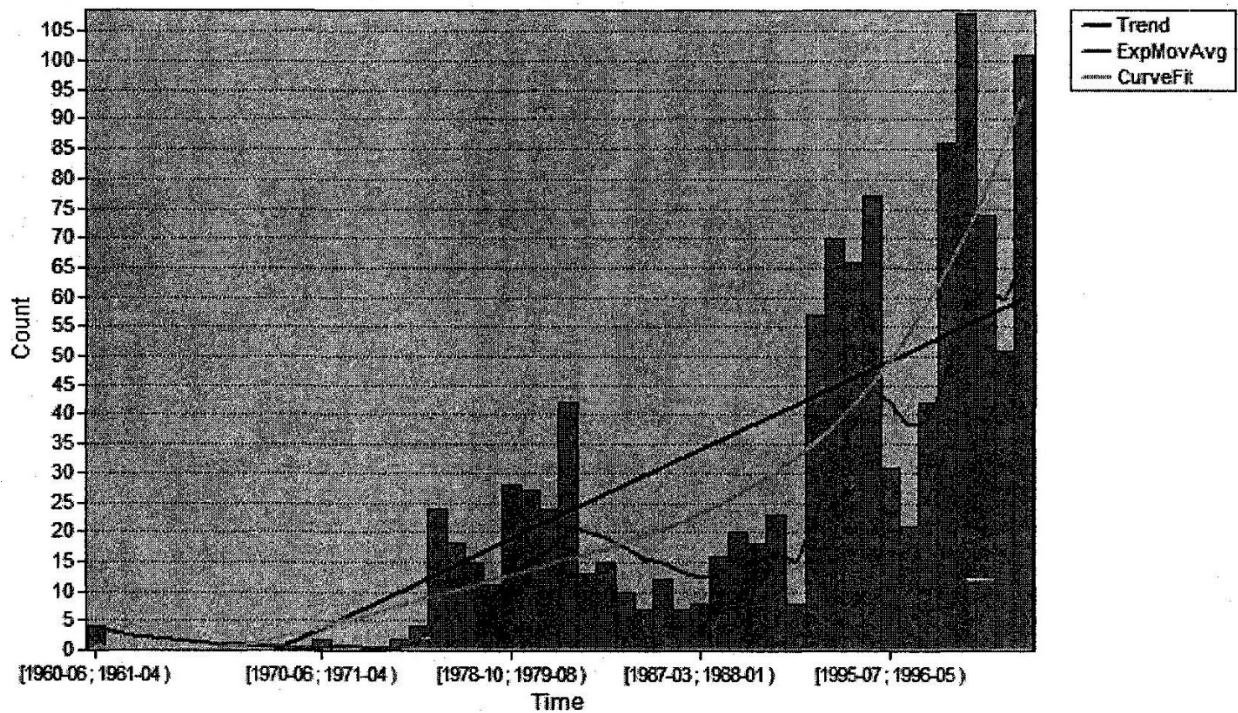
Source: Hodges (2004: 173)

⁶³ The dominance of the Portuguese settlers in administration and economic positions and their mass exodus is often mentioned, in combination with the restricted formal education opportunities for Angolans, as an explanation for post-independence Angola's subsequent economic difficulties in the sense that the country lacked skilled labor. The extent to which this was the case is not clear however. I do not here put much weight on this assertion, which is rarely investigated or substantiated in any detail, because it privileges certain types of skills (formal, certified, for the benefit of colonialists, etc), sometimes obscures the sabotage done and the damage from war, and ignores the numerous Angolans that worked closely with people with formal skills, as well as Angolans' abilities to learn on the job.

During the second era of armed conflict in Angola after the end of the Cold War, fighting was fueled by UNITA's leftover weapons, and its control of diamonds (concentrated in the north-east) for purchase of cheap ex-Eastern Bloc weapons, while the government relied on oil-backed loans until oil production ramped up in the late 1990s. All out conflict resumed after UNITA disputed the fairness of the results of the first round of presidential and parliamentary elections in late 1992 (in which the MPLA won 49.6% and UNITA 40.1%, triggering a second-round run-off that never occurred). Conflict continued until 1995, and from late 1998 until Savimbi's death in early 2002. Smaller episodes of conflict continued to occur for several years with small separatist groups in the Cabinda enclave.

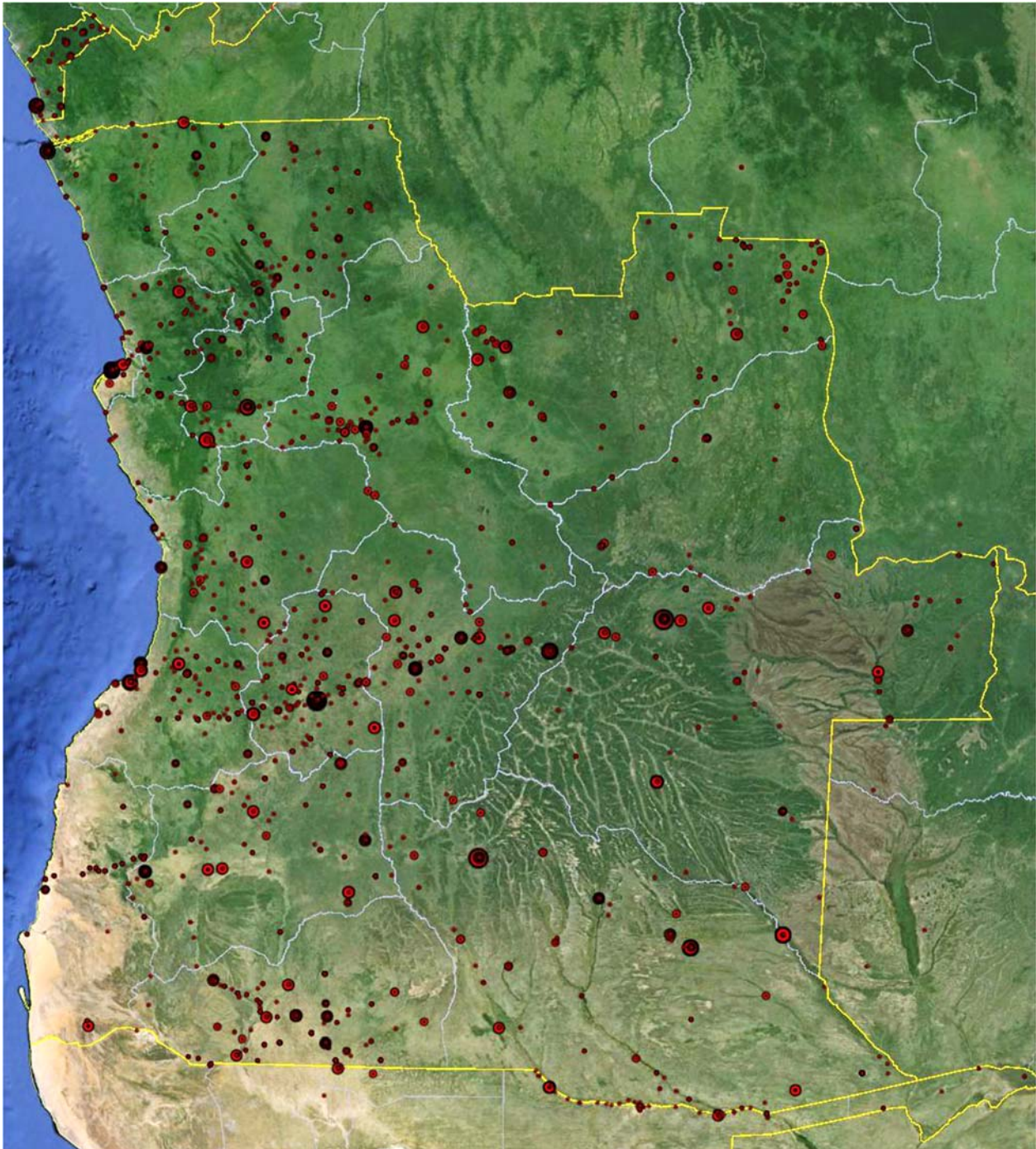
The end of war came in the form of a cease fire declared in the Luena Memorandum of Understanding on April 4th, 2002, after Savimbi – weakened by diamond and arms sanctions, the loss of supportive neighbors, and general weariness – was killed on February 22nd by the state army, which had been able to use new equipment financed by increased off-shore oil revenues. The government moved to establish military and then administrative presence in numerous municipalities, as well as facilitating humanitarian relief and coordinating camps of refugees and former soldiers who were to be disarmed, demobilized, and reintegrated.

Graph 2.3: 'Frequency of Massacre Events, 1960-2002'



Source: Ziemke (2008: 141)

Map 2.5: Select Reported Deadly Conflict Events, 1961-2002



Sources: Ziemke (2008), Google Earth

nb: the 'events' in the map are only ones identified through a limited set of publications, and of those, only ones involving fatalities. A more broad search and inclusion of non-fatal events (including attacks on infrastructure) would significantly add to the map

Elections were promised within several years, but then delayed until 2008. By 2004, however, Angola was able to start securing massive billion-dollar oil-backed loans from China to be used for reconstruction projects.⁶⁴ These, together with oil revenues and loans from other countries, fueled years of massive projects that made Angola's economy one of the fastest growing in the world. The MPLA easily won the 2008 elections, but was then faced with dropping oil revenues during the global economic recession. It put numerous projects and payments on hold, and secured further loans, and was able to stave off much disruption or turmoil until oil prices rebounded. However, the sheen of excitement about post-war reconstruction has started somewhat to wear thin, and the Arab Spring protests found their own manifestation in sporadic protests in Luanda and a few other opposition strongholds, primarily by youth, opposition figures, people displaced by urban redevelopment, and others.⁶⁵ A living standards survey in 2008-9 and the first national census in 44 years in 2014 have provided more precise details on economic conditions and quality of life. The government for its part began speaking more openly about inequality, youth, and economic diversification, but without much change in reconstruction strategy visible as of yet. The recent decline in oil prices has again put pressure on the government, but it is in a relatively better position than six years ago because it has learned from 2008 in conjunction with IMF and aid projects on fiscal management and stabilization. What most academic and popular observers now emphasize is Angola as "a land of contradictions," but precisely how one understands those contradictions matters a great deal, and it is to that subject that I now turn.

2.2 The Weight of History and the Neo-Patrimonial Creole Rentier-Gatekeeper State

The return to war in 1998 marked a major turning point in the broader perception and understanding of Angola as characterized by corruption and conflict induced by domestic neo-patrimonialism, social divisions, and greed. Despite years of negotiations for a political settlement, around 7am on Friday December 4th, 1998, the Angolan government's MiG jets began bombing the headquarters of the UNITA rebels at Andulo, in the central highlands, just as the ruling MPLA began its political congress in Luanda. Bombing would continue over the next few days, followed by a massively destructive ground conflict that would soon encompass nearly the entire country over the next several years until the war ended in 2002. Relations between UNITA and the government had broken down over the preceding months as UNITA used diamonds to resupply itself with cheap weapons from former Eastern Bloc countries. UNITA attacks were continuing and had displaced several hundred thousand people that year. The government subsequently lambasted UNITA, tried to split, coop and marginalize it, and rescinded its diamond mining concessions.

And so Angola began to receive increased public and academic attention, after relative neglect by the international press during the past several years of muddled peace negotiations. Days before the MiG bombing, the newly established London-based campaigning group Global

⁶⁴ See Corkin (2013); Soares de Oliveira (2015).

⁶⁵ See Vidal (2015).

Witness had released *A Rough Trade* – a major report on weapons and diamond trade in Angola, the first of several influential exposés on Angola over the next few years. Angola was also increasingly on the international media radar due to the start of a major deep-water offshore oil boom. The government had also just approved the licensing of lucrative oil blocks, and was due to reap immediate significant signing bonuses worth some \$300 million. As war and deep-water oil surged, over the next few months and years a number of highly influential academic works would recast Angola as *the* paradigmatic example of a resource war and the destructive consequences of patrimonialism in Africa.⁶⁶

By 1998, corruption and inequality in Angola were increasingly visible and growing. And the fact that the government returned to outright war, despite pressure by a church-based peace movement to resolve the conflict through political means, seemed to some to indicate elites were more concerned with domination and accumulation than with the preservation of life and well-being.⁶⁷

By the late 1990s, then, the interpretation of Angola had markedly shifted from a socialist regime beset by Cold War proxy battles, colonial legacies, and socialist managerial problems, to instead interpreting this fourth post-colonial return to war in 1998 as actually indicative of much longer standing tendencies of Angolan political economy. In this context of war and market liberalization of the 1990s, for example, the influential British historian of Angola Jill Dias presented in Luanda a soon-to-be widely cited paper at the 2nd International Conference on the History of Angola entitled “Who Were the Ambaquistas?,” pointing to a long history of elite mediation between the countryside and the trade with the external world. Ambaquistas referred to ‘Angolans’ initially around the old military, administrative and trading fort established in 1618 at Ambaca on the route between Luanda and Malanje who had been ‘acculturated’ to become literate, cosmopolitan, European-dressed Christians acting as intermediaries. Such ‘history’ (really more abstract institutional inertia) was emphasized by the even more influential political scientist Patrick Chabal (1997, 1998, 2001), as he moved to increasingly study Angola.⁶⁸ As he sought in 1997 to understand “why has the situation in Angola become so intractable,” his answer was to consider what Christine Messiant (1983) – who he called “*the* foremost expert on the history of the anti-colonial movement and of postcolonial Angola” (Chabal and Vidal 2007: viii, *emph. added*) – had termed “the weight of history” (“*le poids de l’histoire*”). The weight of history in Angola was, in Chabal’s words, the persistence of “one sharp dichotomy – between the Creole community and the Africans in the interior” (2001: 223).⁶⁹

⁶⁶ See the 2001 Special Issue of the Review of African Political Economy (Power 2001; Kibble and Vines 2001); Dias (1999, 2000); Messiant (1999b, 1999a, 2000); Chabal (1997, 1998, 2001); Birmingham (2002); Global Witness (1998, 1999, 2002); Hodges (2001); Bittencourt (1999); Kyle (2002); Munslow (1999); Vidal (2002); Bayart (2000); Cilliers and Dietrich (2000); Le Billon (2001).

⁶⁷ See, e.g. Comerford (2003). In Chabal and Daloz’s (1999: 83) influential interpretation: Of course, a political conflict can become criminal if its legitimacy dissolves. It is clear, for example, that the present continuation of civil strife in Angola is now rejected by all Angolans, except for those on both sides who have become entrepreneurs of war. It is today very largely a criminal conflict, aided and abetted by foreign economic interests. They also note “the war in Angola is very largely one in which Savimbi operates as a consummate entrepreneur of war with access to diamonds” (85), and highlighted the government’s use of oil: “African rulers have been supremely adept at utilizing the instruments which they did possess in order to turn dependence to their profit” (115).

⁶⁸ See also Chabal (1983), Hart and Lewis (1995).

⁶⁹ As discussed below, this phrase would become the title of a now influential English edited book by Chabal and Vidal (2007), dedicated to Messiant. Chabal’s 1997 text is marked not for quotation, but is almost exactly the same

What is noteworthy about colonial Angola is the extent to which the formal colony evolved in continuity with what had happened prior to the Scramble for Africa.¹² Angola had been linked with Brazil through the slave trade since at least the sixteenth century. During that period there emerged in Luanda a commercial and administrative Creole elite – Portuguese-speaking, mixed race, Catholic, and cosmopolitan – involved in the triangular Atlantic trade. This Creole society lived in Africa but its connections with the interior of the continent were limited to the commerce which sustained the local economy ... This Creole community lived in some considerable separation from the interior, turned as it was towards the Brazilian and Portuguese societies of which it felt a part – and with which indeed it had complex family, social and economic links. It is clear, therefore, that most inland Africans would, long before the colonial period, have viewed these city based Creoles as quite ‘alien’. (ibid: 220-1)

In posing Angola as characterized by a dichotomy, Chabal invokes Messiant’s (1994) article in French, which in turn draws on her 1983 doctoral dissertation, which only became more widely available after it was published posthumously in 2006.⁷⁰ Messiant – who Soares de Oliveira (2015: 102) also calls “perhaps the leading analyst of Angola” – begins her dissertation with a first substantive chapter entitled, “The Weight of History.” Though Messiant doesn’t explicitly elaborate on that phrase, it appears that Chabal selectively draws on and simplifies Messiant’s original analysis in which she sketches contours of social groups by closely analyzing census statistics and some interviews. Later, Messiant (1994: 161-2) summarizes:

The Angolan nationalist movement was formed in the 1950s in a polarized context, around two types of geographically separated elites. One is a minor part of the assimilados ... Nationalists that constitute the MPLA are from the elite of this elite, which is not defined by ethnicity and less by its color – it is mostly made up of mixed race but also blacks – and more by common historical trajectory ... The best way to describe it, it appears to me, is to speak of a “creole” elite.

It is in a completely different environment and a very different course that the FNLA was constituted during the same years. It was born in a purely Bakongo environment, and less in Angola or Europe but in more in the numerous and old Bakongo emigration to the Belgian Congo, especially in Leopoldville (which is thus, more than Luanda, the capital of Angola Bakongo).⁷¹

The precise framing image of a Luanda as a “creole” enclave – and recognized in the citations by Messiant (1983), Dias (1984) and others – dates back to 1965 when an Angolan mestiço poet, historian and trained meteorologist, Mario Antonio Fernandes de Oliveira, wrote an essay that was published in 1968 by the internationally embattled colonial government, entitled *Luanda: Creole Island*. Prior to this, the generic term ‘creole’ was used hardly used as a social or legal category (it could technically refer to children of settlers who had been created/raised – ‘criado’

as the 2001 journal article. The main references that Chabal cites for Angola are Birmingham (1965, 1992), Newitt (1981), Bender (1978) and Boxer (1963).

⁷⁰ It is partly by Chabal’s invocation of Messiant’s work that this notion gets further circulated. Indeed, only two non-circulating copies of Messiant’s 1983 thesis appear to have been available in two universities in France. It’s not clear if it’s at the National Library in Angola.

⁷¹ My translation. The first statement in French is “Le mouvement nationaliste angolais s’est constitué dans les années 1950 dans un cadre polarisé, autour de deux types d’élites géographiquement séparées” (1994 : 161).

– in Angola), and certainly less than the more precise visual and legal terms *mestiço* and *assimilado*. For Mario Antonio, Luanda was, given his meteorological education, part of a ‘Portuguese South Atlantic archipelago’ in which creoles were, quoting Amaral (1964), “born from the harmonious fusion of the White [man] [‘o Branco’] with the black slaves.” In such imagery, Mario Antonio also explicitly invokes the colonial apologist Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre and his (1943) metaphors of islands forming a “creole archipelago.” Luanda was a “nucleus” in which there was an “amalgam” formed by “biological and cultural intercourse,” and this “lusio-tropical city” both attracted and radiated such that it formed the “motor of Civilization in Western Africa.” To foreshadow some of the analysis below (especially section 2.5.3), this oft-referenced book and its poetic dichotomous vision was closely tied to the colonial research establishment in Luanda through the Institute for Scientific Research in Angola (IICA) that also administered the Museum and Archives and produced various classificatory manuscripts and maps on ethnic identity in Angola (see also the intellectual genealogical tree in Figure 2.3 on page 120 below).⁷²

But whereas Mario Antonio’s colonial text celebrated creoles as indicative of historic benevolent Portuguese racial relations, subsequent authors ditched the imperial apologia but kept the spatial analytic schema. To take another key analyst of Angola, and particularly its agricultural sector, the Cornell agricultural economist Kyle (2002: ii) emphasizes the “dichotomies” of Angola that are “mutually reinforcing” along four dimensions: “coastal vs. interior, rural vs. urban/industrial, Mbundu/*mestiço* vs. Ovimbundu and MPLA vs. UNITA”:

any solution to the overall situation in Angola must take into account the fact that the economic distortions caused by the oil and diamond money (and here we can include the political power struggle that it engenders) have a mutually reinforcing relationship with other polarizing forces of long standing historical duration in the country ... these preexisting divisions are all aligned in such a way as to cause the polarizing forces to line up precisely the same groups in opposition to each other over each of these issues (2)

Soares de Oliveira’s (2015) book is the most recent and flamboyant exposition of this perspective: “A thread running through Angolan history is the disregard, even cruelty, with which the powerful have treated the powerless: whether reigning locals or venal outsiders, the enduring design has been the extraction of the riches of the land, with most Angolans counting for nothing” (5).⁷³ Of course one must never ignore or downplay the deaths of roughly one million people during the post-independence wars, nor massive theft, nor the colonial

⁷² The classifications included an entirely invented residual category that they christened the “Luanda.” Moreover, it is painfully ironic that Mario Antonio Oliveira makes his case for a creole elite in Luanda by drawing on the dissertation about Cabo Verde by the most famous Angolan geographer, Ilidio do Amaral (1964), because Amaral had initially intended around 1960 to start his dissertation research in Malanje, but was unable to do so because of the start of the national liberation war – a war prompted not least by the depredations of white settlers, and which then involved rape by white Portuguese settlers and soldiers as retribution, in turn resulting in numerous *mestiço* children throughout Angola. Personal communication, July 2013 (regarding dissertation research). See section 7.3.4 below on the orphanage in Malanje for many of these children from 1961. See Amaral’s preparatory research in Ribeiro (1961). Cf. also Amaral (1966).

⁷³ This perspective is captured well by the disconcerting cartoon on page 21 at the conclusion of Global Witness’ path-breaking 1999 report ‘A Crude Awakening’ which presents a visible binary of powerful monsters and helpless victims, paired with an emphasis on controlling people rather than territory (see the discussion on page 83 below).

exploitation of labor and some six million slaves sold overseas. But crude narratives founded on dichotomies bring no solace, explanation, nor redress to such monumental injustices.

2.2.1 Spatiality in Conventional Models of Angola's Political Economy

This sub-section focuses on spatiality in critically examining the problematic conventional framework used to understand political economy in Angola by situating such approaches in terms of how Angola has been depicted as a particularly extreme or clear example of dynamics that are characteristic of Africa more broadly. The essential dynamic is one of an African neopatrimonial-rentier-gatekeeper state, in which a configuration of cosmopolitan state, party, and business elites in the coastal capital cities profit by controlling trade and the proceeds of allocating valuable enclaves to foreign companies, and retain power by using such wealth to buy off political support through selective patronage, repression where needed, and otherwise neglect of the mass of low-productivity farmers (see Figure 2.2 below).⁷⁴

The notion of a 'gatekeeper state' was elaborated by noted historian of Africa, Frederick Cooper (1992: 17; 1996: 465; 2000), drawing on Bayart's (1989) analysis of extraversion.⁷⁵ After more than two decades, the label 'gatekeeper state,' one of many, has circulated widely, but not received critical scrutiny. To illustrate the notion – really, a spatial metaphor – of the gatekeeper state, Cooper (in Cohen and Cooper 2014) cites Angola:

Maybe the extreme of the extreme is Angola, where you have a narrow elite that's based in Luanda, the capital city, that basically collects revenue from Chevron, Total—the French oil company—and a couple of others. And they spend it on their own luxury living, and they spend it on military goods ... [they] sit and turn the spigot and collect a lot of money in rent for it. So there you have an elite that has very little relationship with its own people. They can get rich. And there is absolutely no reason why it should do anything else.

⁷⁴ On Angola in this framework, see also, e.g., the writings of a host of non-Angolan white academic men with relatively little field research experience in Angola: Oliveira (2007, 2011), Power (2012), Kibble (2006), Kyle (2005a, 2005b), Sogge (2011), Barros (2012), García-Rodríguez et al. (2015), among others.

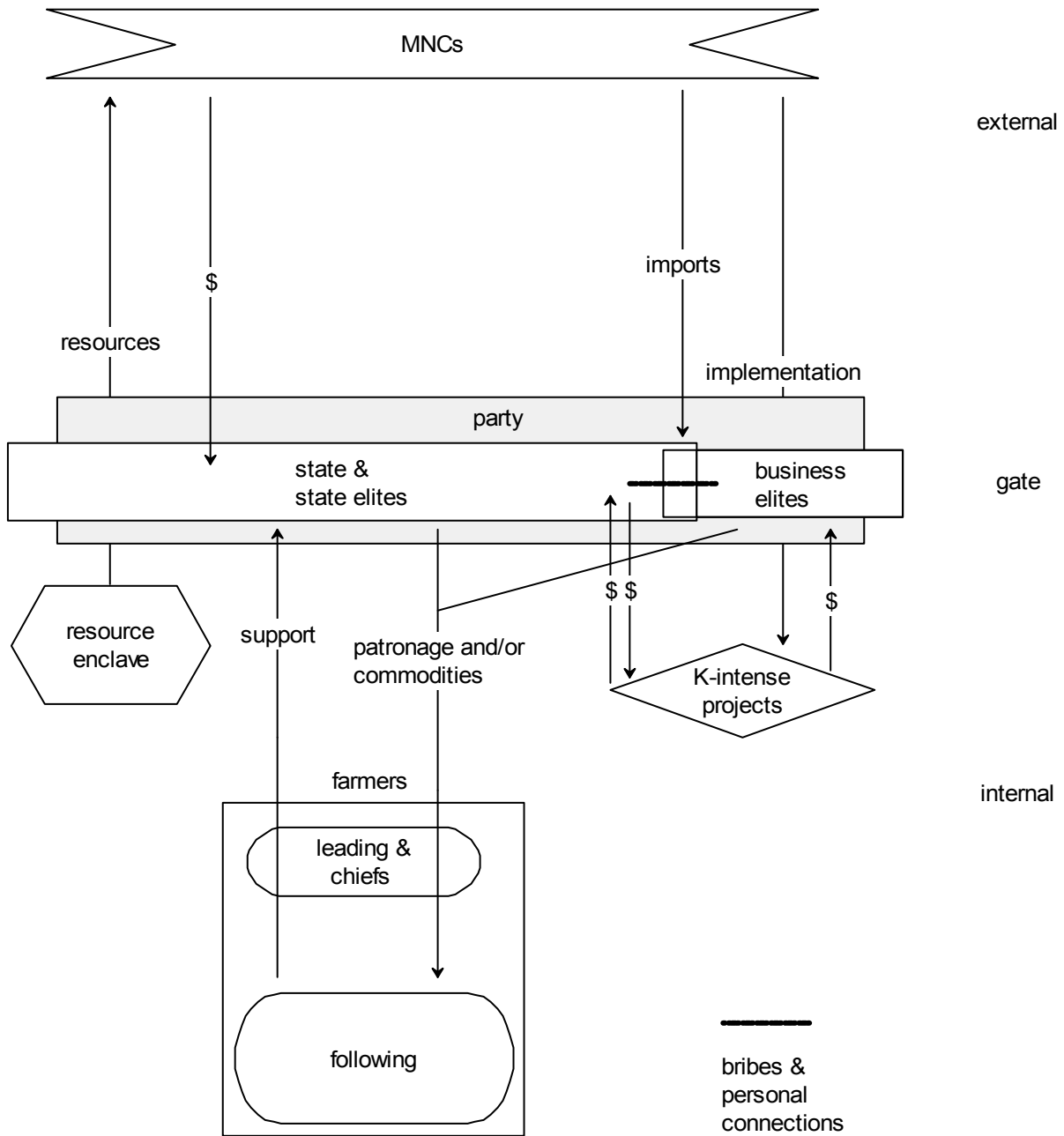
⁷⁵ Although not cited by Bayart, Samir Amin (1974 esp. 191-215 and 237-269; 1976) early on used the term extraversion, drawing on the examples from Perroux's work on British Petroleum in Iran (which the influential initial theorist of oil rentier states, Mahdavy (1965), was then also concerned with) and the Katanga copper mines for which the Benguela railroads through Angola were built. Amin's (1974) use of extraversion is cited by Arrighi (1994: 280-1), but in very different ways than how the term 'extraversion' is used by Bayart (1989). Massey's (1994: 155) use of the adjective 'extroverted' to conceptualize 'a sense of place' entails a different approach than Bayart's 'strategies of extraversion', as well as Arrighi's (1994) usage. The term arguably also represents a spatial 'projection' from the initial 1914 typological binary in Jungian psychology of introverted versus extroverted individuals (Burlison 2005; Jung 1916). The term is originally from the sciences – either chemically, or physiologically (e.g. extroversion of the bladder). Jung's analytic psychology elaborated the more social sense of individual introversion or extroversion, basing it on typological notions, specifically archetypes that dwell in a collective unconscious. The notions of introversion and extroversion were elaborated in a lecture at the Fourth International Psychoanalytical Congress in Munich, amidst his break at this time with Freud, and subsequent mental-emotional difficulties and experiences in World War I camps in Switzerland. Introversion/extroversion became popularized in the English language after Jung's 1914 lecture in London, and, more importantly, when, after discussing the concepts with Hans Schmid-Guisan, his ideas were published in *The Psychology of the Unconscious Processes*, and his influential 1921 book *Psychological Types*.

The traveling etymology of the term illustrates the global processes that the abstract model misses. The term ‘gatekeeper state’ gets proffered by Cooper, who picks it up from French writer Bayart (1989), who in turn draws on the analysis by Williams and Turner (1978: 156) of the cement port traffic scandal associated with Nigeria’s military and oil boom, themselves having substituted gatekeeper for comprador, which came to African studies debates largely via Leys’ (1974) work, in which Leys drew explicitly (and likely based on his radicalizing time in Kenya) from Baran’s (1957) book, though ‘comprador’ had been conceptually used by Mao’s writings from 1926 onward, Mao himself having picked up this Portuguese word based on the influence of centuries trade by the Portuguese (supported by African slaves in Macau) on an older Chinese term for “a man [person?] who purchased provisions for foreign merchants,” or *mai-pan chih-jen* (Hao 1970: 45).⁷⁶

Rethinking Cooper’s interpretation of Angola is particularly important since he has been one of the most clear and outspoken proponents of the ‘relational turn’ in history, yet has done so on a partly problematic basis (Cooper 2001, 2002, 2013, 2014). Cooper has elsewhere produced nuanced and generative histories that incorporate some recognizably geographical themes – plantations, ports, railways, urban spaces and transformations, migration, citizenship, and international trade, activism and decolonization, including several exceptionally prescient and thorough reviews (Cooper 1981, 1983). He has compellingly sought ways of writing that that denaturalize the post-colonial nation-state form, emphasize connection, and move beyond problematic binaries. At points, Cooper is clear in arguing against global essentialism, noting that “gatekeeping states are not ‘African’ institutions, nor are they ‘European’ impositions.” Instead, he emphasizes relationality in stating both that gatekeeping states “emerged out of a peculiar Euro-African history” (160) and that global inequity is a precondition of their persistence (they “would not be a viable strategy but for the extreme asymmetry in economic relations between Africa and the industrial countries” (2014)).

⁷⁶ See esp. Mao’s March 1926 essay, ‘Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society’ (Mao 1954). Turner (1978: 171) writes, “With sovereignty, some state officials began to perform a kind of ‘gatekeeper’ function: they allow the entry and exit of goods and in the process may extract a ‘toll’ for performing the service of ‘opening the gate’. In the following discussion, state officials who perform this function are called compradors, or alternatively, ‘gatekeepers.’”

Figure 2.2: The Neopatrimonial-Rentier-Gatekeeper State



Likewise, in his influential book, James Ferguson (2006), drawing partly on Reed (2006), christens the same dynamic as “the Angolan model”:

investment has been concentrated in secured enclaves, often with little impact on the wider society. The clearest case (and no doubt the most attractive for the foreign investor) is provided by off-shore oil extraction, as in Angola, where neither the oil nor most of the money it brings in ever touches Angolan soil the movement of capital that such

enterprises entail does indeed crisscross the globe, but it does not encompass or cover it. The movements of capital cross national borders, but they jump from point to point, and huge regions are simply bypassed. Capital does not “flow” from New York to Angola’s oil fields, or from London to Ghana’s gold mines; it hops, neatly skipping over most of what lies in between (35, 37-8)⁷⁷

And, most recently, Angola figures centrally in the book *The Looting Machine*, by *Financial Times* journalist Tom Burgis, and which is also structured around similar notions: “For the inhabitants of sub-Saharan Africa’s resource states, capturing some of the rent that resource companies pay the state in exchange for lucrative territory—or capturing a position as a gatekeeper to that territory—is by far the most direct route to riches.”

What are the spatial precepts in such a framework? Such prevalent frameworks ironically often reproduce the same sort of over-emphasis on Luanda as the elite perspectives of which they are so critical. There is a dichotomy between coast and interior, and between valuable enclaves and the rest of the countryside. For example, Ferguson (2005: 380), in critiquing James Scott’s notion of state legibility, asserts,

Usable Africa gets secured enclaves – noncontiguous “useful” bits that are secured, policed, and, in a minimal sense, governed through private or semiprivate means. These enclaves are increasingly linked up, not in a continuous, territorial national grid, but in transnational networks that link dispersed spaces in a selective, point-to-point fashion.

This interpretation is nicely illustrated in a compelling but fairly arbitrary map of “useful Africa” produced for *Le Monde Diplomatique* (see Map 2.6 below).⁷⁸

Though Ferguson notes in a footnote (226) that, for the present he only claims that his description is “broadly accurate for the pre-2002 period” in Angola, he nonetheless argues this “Angolan model” now “appears to be spreading” (201), but the model also “goes back for many decades” (28). Many analysts see such an arrangement as rooted in colonial and pre-colonial history, and indeed Ferguson argues “many of its key features are not very new at all. In many respects, colonial-era extraction was always more “Angolan” than national-developmental” (207).

An indicative account for Angola that builds on many of the above approaches and specifically cites the colonial Malanje cotton area is given by Soares de Oliveira (2013: 168):

the Portuguese systematically resorted to the ‘discharge’ of state responsibilities ... The Portuguese also gave concessions to private corporations that became de facto sovereigns within their domains of extraction ... the administrative and financial means to replace them did not exist. Three companies stood out: CCFB, which ran the Benguela railway,

⁷⁷ Although Ferguson’s (2006) compelling title, language and arguments also explicitly emphasize relationality, Ferguson does not explicitly engage with discussions about concepts of relational geography, nor Cooper’s ‘gatekeeper’ terminology.

⁷⁸ Source: <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/cartes/>.

Cotonang, the cotton firm in Malange district; and above all, Diamang, the multinational mining consortium in Lunda district.⁷⁹

Map 2.6: ‘The Geography of Useful Africa’



Likewise, Cooper (2002) – presumably drawing on the problematic work of Messiant (1998) mentioned above – has a brief section that makes no mention of the nationalist revolt in Malanje, confuses coffee with cocoa, and also assumes the historical continuity of in Angola of a “sharp disarticulation” of society and of the purported three distinctly ethnicized liberation movements:

⁷⁹ The “g” spelling of Malanje is from the colonial Portuguese time, which should be replaced in Kimbundu orthography with a “j,” though state documents still variously use both spellings.

The nucleus of African organized opposition emerged among educated Africans who were either racially mixed or assimilated and especially among educated Africans living outside Africa ... The elite of Angola's capital, Luanda, constituted a small and isolated social category ... They stood in tension not only with Africans who had little chance of acquiring fluency in Portuguese, but also with the "new assimilados" ... [T]he MPLA combined the features of a Soviet party and the African gatekeeper state ... Its real source of power was oil revenue coming from militarized enclaves, and after gestures at revolutionizing agriculture, it did little in the countryside other than recruit soldiers.

Others have also made the case that this arrangement goes back even further, that such enclaves, disarticulation and the associated limited interest in territorial control are indicative of continuities with Nineteenth Century and pre-colonial dynamics (Herbst 2000). Will Reno – upon whom Cooper and Ferguson draw – states that "Angola's [Luanda] capital-based political faction" is similar to "19th century Malay and Niger Delta rulers" in that they "rely on help from outside commercial and diplomatic intermediaries to rule without building their own state and to exploit resources from the global economy, while still centralizing their authority" (2004: 618-9), though the authors do not go beyond asserting a temporal analogy to actually examine Angolan history.⁸⁰ Likewise, in the argument of Jean-François Bayart, Angola is one of the clearest examples of Africa's long "historicity" of "extraversion."⁸¹ In the 2009 new preface to Bayart's influential (1989) book *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*, he argues:

[The MPLA is] the heir to the slave-trading elites of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the sociological descendant of those who collaborated most closely with the Portuguese colonial regime in the twentieth century ... The MPLA's great and overwhelming trouble is that it has to govern a whole people, when it would much prefer to concentrate simply on the plunder of oil and diamonds ... Has the MPLA implemented any measure of social or economic policy which has in the slightest measure alleviated the lot of the general population ...? (Bayart 2009: xxx, xxxiv-xxxv)

In making the case for continuities with slave-trading elites, Cooper and Bayart draw on the hugely influential work of Joseph Miller, whose (1988) 700-plus page book on the Angolan slave trade drew heavily from an analysis of the Malanje area, and helped catapult him to president of the American Historical Association.⁸²

Miller's work points to two more complex underpinnings of this "Angola model" framework. First is the notion that the useful/unuseful dichotomy has to do partly with the historically greater

⁸⁰ Indeed, Reno's (2011) history of warfare discusses Angola (pp. 64-67), but ignores Kassanje and otherwise confuses much of the basic facts and chronology of the 1961 revolts. See also Wright (1997: 6), who says the March coffee revolt was in the "Baixa de Cassange."

⁸¹ Ferguson (2005), in repeating the binary vocabulary of un/useful Africa, cites Reno (1998), who in turn cites Young (1994), who in turn cites Bayart (1989), though Ferguson (2006: 5) pointedly contrasts his own project with that of Bayart. Ferguson's translation of the French "util" as "useable" rather than "useful" is questionable. For some (perhaps original) French invocations, see Cooper (1996: 33), cited by Herbst (2000: 90), who writes: "Colonial Minister Albert Sarraut in 1932 [sic, 1923], having already argued that France was not benefiting from its involvement in Africa four decades after Berlin, suggested that France should concentrate on "islands of prosperity" that could be developed for export, primarily along the coast, and that "We can now sketch a map of useful Africa.""

⁸² Another key author in relation to Malanje is Jill Dias (1976, 1985, 2000), whose work and its errors and later misinterpretations by subsequent authors are to be discussed below. But see also Corrado's (2008: 234-246) critique of the use of the term 'creole.'

importance in Africa of “traditions” of wealth in people rather than modernist control over territory (Kopytoff 1987; Hughes 2006; Gray 2002; Schatzberg 2014; cf. Howard and Shain 2005). Second, such prioritization of people over territory, some assert, is related to the weak technical development of means of production (due in turn to bad soils, landlockage, no plows, wheels, or writing, etc) (Goody 1971; Bayart 1989: 34-35; Herbst 2000: 38). Land was plentiful and relatively unproductive, they argue, and so gathering people as slaves or dependents took on more economic, social, and political significance than controlling territory. Greater clear and explicit conversation is needed about the relationship between the contentions in these influential but problematic studies and other careful empirical work showing investment and meaning in land and territory as part of specific social relations.⁸³

It is also here that my analysis of Malanje – and in particular, the tracing of actual connections between the Nineteenth Century through to today – is specifically relevant not only to academic and policy understandings of political economy in Angola and Africa, and contemporary debates and problems in Angola, but is also directly relevant to two key pieces of scholarship in African studies, namely the late anthropologist Igor Kopytoff’s (1987) essay and edited volume *The Internal African Frontier*, and Miller’s (1988) book mentioned above, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade 1730-1830*. The neat arguments in these two complicated books have proved influential in a range of different types of work in African studies beyond the more narrowly conceived political economy approaches described above, yet these two books have more often been cited casually than examined carefully and critically (Acemoglu et al. 2002; cf. Guyer and Belinga 1995).

Kopytoff seeks to develop a generalized model for Africa by building on the earlier work of Miller focused on Malanje, as well as others, and in particular his own insights from study in Cameroon compared with his earlier dissertation research in the region just north of Malanje in 1958-9, just before the 1961 revolt. He argues that social reproduction and expansion happened via ongoing tensions and fissures of African societies, which would split off, polyp-like, and establish new but structurally uniform settlements and eventually societies. Given Africa’s low population densities and weak productive forces, competition was over recruiting and maintaining people as followers, rather than over scarce land, as in Europe and Asia. Miller charts a similar dynamic in Angola, and how the rise of the slave trade saw such “African communalism” (201) “interface” via “permeable membranes” with “the commercialized Atlantic economy.”⁸⁴

A key part of these two works is how they seem to revive in new language without the rather distasteful racist Victorian evolutionism some long-standing dichotomies within anthropology going back to Henry Sumner Maine’s (1861) *Ancient Law*, which distinguish between kinship- and territory-based societies (Kuper 1982). Echoing Maine, Lewis Henry Morgan’s (1877) *Ancient Society* reiterated the basic binary.⁸⁵ But whereas Maine and Morgan saw even kin-

⁸³ E.g. Bassett and Crummey (1993), Berry (2000), Braun (2014), Guyer (1997), Krieke (2013); Lentz (2013), Ranger (1999), Schroeder (1999); Shipton (2009); Watts (1983, 1993, 2004), Leach and Mearns (1996), Zeleza and Kalipeni (1999), Peters (2013), Monroe and Ogundiran (2012), von Oppen (2003), von Oppen and Luig (1997); cf. Vansina (1990) and Harms et al. (1994). See also the references in fn 639.

⁸⁴ See also Inikori’s (1990) critical review of Miller (1988), which raises questions about demography and “geographical determinism” in the book.

⁸⁵ “... all forms of government are reducible to two general plans ... The first, in the order of time, is founded upon persons, and upon relations purely personal, and may be distinguished as a society (societas). The gens is the unit of

organized societies as relatively rooted in places, Kopytoff and Miller – influenced by critiques of static and bounded colonial anthropology – were able to unite a revived notion of kin-based societies’ wealth in people with a notion of non-territorial mobility. Kopytoff drew heavily on Herskovits’ lineage theory of the day in his PhD dissertation in the southern Congo, just north of Malanje (Kopytoff 1960). This modified mobile lineage approach has been used in a range of different types of analyses in African studies, but is frequently invoked to explain the extent of corruption, war, rural poverty and neglect, and lack of effective states and development across the continent (Bayart 1989). Due to limits here, a careful assessment of the conceptual logic and empirical evidence in these two works will have to be done elsewhere, but I do hope instead to at least lay out in this dissertation a well-documented alternative argument.⁸⁶

What the preceding sections have shown are the ways that Angola’s contemporary political economy, development and social conditions have been interpreted in terms of a geo-historical continuity. Moreover, such an interpretation has also invoked the extreme socio-spatial patterns in Angola as indicative of much broader phenomena throughout many countries in Africa. All the more important, then, is the critical discussion in the next sections of the core concepts underlying such interpretations.

2.3 Key Limitations of Conventional Models

In the dissertation are a range of instances in which the material on Angola illustrates some of the limitations of the gatekeeper and rentier approaches (variously errors of commission, omission, and consistency). The dissertation is concerned with constructing an alternative explanatory narrative, rather than a systematic assessment of these approaches, but some of the main ways in which they are problematic can be mentioned here in order to highlight how my contributions differ. A fundamental root problem of these approaches is the lack of thorough, critical and historical attention to spatiality (including materiality, scale, and processes of connection) – in short, to geo-histories, which leads to errors on specific issues of rural areas, protests, commodities, infrastructure, taxation, and roads. My basic argument contends that the patterns of reconstruction in Angola can only be properly interpreted and explained by the ways that securitized and logistical spatial management emerged out of both protracted war and an extensive agro-industrial economy. Yet such phenomena are ignored by gatekeeper and rentier approaches that treat rural areas as residual, protests as restricted to strategic choke points, primary commodities as equivalent, infrastructure as narrow and static, and taxation as fiscal and indirect.

Perhaps the most key contention of rentier studies is about the taxation-representation nexus – namely that rents or tariff revenues provide weak incentives for productive and democratic state

this organization The second is founded upon territory and upon property, and may be distinguished as a state (civitas)” (6-7), cited in Kuper (1982: 74).

⁸⁶ It bears mentioning that despite numerous references to the book as clear and definitive proof and consensus, Miller (1988) is at pains to hedge his argument as verging at times “dangerously close on sheer speculation” (xxii), noting also, “it has sometimes been necessary to adopt inferences as working hypotheses and then proceed to build other conclusions on that less than absolutely solid basis ... In the end, even starting points as tenuous as these gain enormously in plausibility and probability from the coherence of the entire set of conclusions to which they lead” (xxiii). Kopytoff on the other hand expresses few qualifications about his grand, abstract claims – cf. Tsekenis (2010) and Palmeirim (2006).

engagement with society and non-rent economy. There are several problems here. First, empirically, contrary to the gatekeeper/rentier model emphasis on the prevalence of trade taxes, direct taxes were actually significant in Angolan history. Later in this chapter and others, I lay out how and why this was the case. More broadly, the actual systematic empirical study of direct vs indirect taxes in African history is still weak, and the claim about the greater proportion from indirect taxes is not based on good evidence.⁸⁷ In contrast, more recent ‘historical fiscal sociology’ studies that look systematically at the patterns of taxation incidence in Africa illustrate that in various countries, direct, hut, and native taxes were often greater in quantitative size than tariffs or indirect or trade taxes.⁸⁸

However, even where the actual proportion of direct taxes in revenue was low – as in post-WWII Angola – such cash taxes nonetheless were important in forcing people to work for a (low) wage in the rest of the economy (directly or indirectly) that was producing the exports from which tariff revenue was derived. In other words, to just contrast amounts of direct and indirect taxes is to make an artificial separation, since the (possibly relatively smaller) direct taxes were a pre-condition for (possibly relatively larger) indirect taxes.

Another fundamental problem with this taxation-representation claim is that it often ignores the ways that taxes were paid in kind – what could be called analysts’ retrospective ‘fiscal fetish.’ The terrible history of forced labor in Angola is downplayed by only examining taxes paid in money.⁸⁹ Looking at colonial financial account books in metropole archives in order to assess the incidence of direct vs indirect taxation ignores the great amount of effective ‘tax’ that was paid in the form of labor, or in the production of requisitioned crops.⁹⁰ Attempting to put a quantitative estimate on the value of such labor and contributions would likely entail numerous challenges. Moreover, even the official records about the size of forced labor and crops may be a gross underestimate given that there were heavy incentives for colonial powers to not acknowledge the extent of illegal and abusive labor practices.⁹¹

Such notions about taxation are in turn related to notions about the extent of state control. Gatekeeper/rentier studies have sometimes over-emphasized the lack of state presence in rural

⁸⁷ The emphasis on indirect taxation in Cooper (2002: 5, 14, 156-60) sounds very much like the cited work of Herbst (2000: 116), whose argument in turn is geared around Hopkins’ (1973: 191) unreferenced contention that “both British and French colonies relied mainly on revenue from customs duties, which accounted for about two-thirds of total revenue for the greater part of the colonial period.” Gardener (2012: 50) states “There have been few attempts to estimate tax burdens in real terms in Africa, and to compare them across colonies.” However, Gardner (2012) doesn’t engage Cooper, Herbst or Bayart on the questions of extraversion, gatekeeping states, and lack of state presence. Also compare Manning (1998), and the important recent work by Havik et al. (2015).

⁸⁸ Beyond Angola, Havik (2013) shows that direct taxation was greater – sometimes much greater – than customs revenues in Mozambique and Guinea for decades before the post-WWII commodities boom. Likewise, in the early years 1901-13 in northern Rhodesia native taxes were 50-60% of total revenue (Gardener 2012: 48-49). Hut taxes (and subsequently other direct taxes) far outweighed customs taxes in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia 1918-24 (ibid, 96). For 1925-9, trade revenue was less than 1/3 of total revenue in Kenya, Uganda, Nyasaland and the Rhodesias, and tariff revenues hardly constituted a great majority of revenues in Kenya and northern Rhodesia from 1924-38 (ibid, 64, 94). Ironically, it was in Ghana – which Cooper (2005: 10) emphasizes as recently showing “positive social and economic policies” – that early colonial head taxes were almost absent after early revolt against such tax imposition there. And yet there was still taxation in kind in the form of forced labor to build roads, requisitioned by chiefs who received payments based on miles constructed (Akurang-Parry 2000: 6).

⁸⁹ Cf. Cleveland (2005); Wheeler (2005); Vos (2005).

⁹⁰ See Okia (2012) for a recent overview of some of the increasingly thorough literature on forced labor in Africa.

⁹¹ Cooper does note this in passing.

Africa – the so-called ‘thin white line’ – often as they reacted to studies on the other end of the spectrum that over-emphasized the ability of the state and capitalist system to totally restructure rural areas to suit their needs. The operative terms here are ‘exit option’ and ‘agency.’ But – to take on the false syllogism that is often invoked – simply because colonial states were not able to entirely control rural areas nor able to always obtain their desired outcomes does not mean that such interventions did not have important consequences nonetheless. This is illustrated in Chapter 3 in relation to experience of ‘exit options’ by cotton farmers in Kassanje in relation to the revolt there.

State presence operated partly through indirect rule, as Mamdani’s (1996) classic study emphasized, and a range of studies have since emphasized intermediaries.⁹² Although indirect rule did not operate perfectly in practice, it still had hugely significant consequences, and hence the premature dismissal by Herbst (2000: 60-1) and Cooper (2005: 2) is unjustified. Colonial state functionaries in fact quickly recognized that heavy taxes could prompt peasant resistance and avoidance, and hence taxes were varied and modified, harsh penalties levied, penal institutions established, numerous intermediaries of rule used, pass systems established, and roads constructed and villages resettled to enable monitoring and enforcement. Over-emphasis on the distinction between direct and indirect taxes comes at the cost of appreciating the important patterns of variation in taxation, between different areas, people, crops, works, time periods, countries, imports vs exports, goods, and the organization of state and private marketing systems. ‘Exiting’ would in any case still be a grievance – the deeply meaningful socio-economic and political processes of being forced to leave one’s home are discounted in the abstract spatial metaphor of an ‘exit option,’ which Hirschman originally derived by analogy with the ‘options’ consumers in Western capitalist countries have when they choose between purchasing different commodities in the market.

I have also found for Angola a spatially expansive dynamic, in which some state presence enabled forced labor to construct roads that in turn expanded state presence, leading to labor control, and so on. An emphasis on narrow rail infrastructure, customs tariffs, and limited state presence totally ignores how intensive forced labor was used throughout Angola over decades to build and maintain some 28,000 kilometers of roads enabling military conquest and harsh administration – and Angola is supposed to be the “*extreme of the extreme*” example of gatekeeper states.⁹³

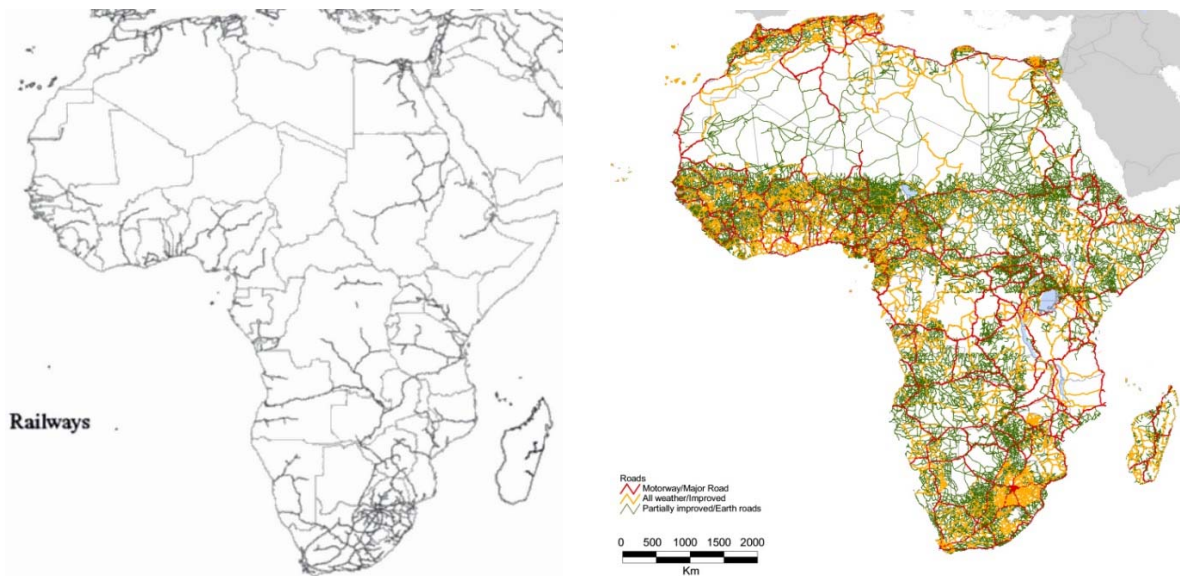
Part of the main conceptual problem with the fact that Cooper’s (1996, 2002) studies begin in the 1930s and 1940s is that they consequently do not properly appreciate the massive ‘taxation in kind’ prior to these years in the form of forced labor to construct the road systems that enabled administrative rule and the associated cash taxes that forced people into producing the primary exports that he emphasizes. The fixed capital of infrastructure is a product of past labor performed as taxation in kind. The issue of infrastructure as a sort of fixed capital is a key element tying together past taxation with subsequent periods. Indeed, part of the particularity of the timing of colonialism in Africa was that rule was solidified just during the moment of global transition from rail to automobile transport. To focus only on narrow rail networks in Africa as

⁹² Osborn (2003); Lawrence et al (2006); Austen (2011); Cf. Hertog (2010).

⁹³ Chapter 2 emphasizes the colonial historiography and changing conditions of access to archives that have resulted in most claims about the ‘light presence’ of the state in rural Angola not actually being founded on serious research using empirical archival evidence.

an indication of scant transport and colonial presence would be to gloss the importance of roads and to ignore that specific moment of shifts in prevalent transport systems occurring in Africa and in much of the world. A great deal of planning in African colonies as elsewhere was concerned precisely with how to fashion regulations to make road and rail networks complimentary – perhaps most significantly, to prevent the expansion of cheap auto traffic from undercutting railroad revenues required to pay back the loans used to construct them.⁹⁴ There were heavy incentives, in other words, for extensive state attention to spatial logistics – not the purported exclusive focus only on tariff collection at the ports/gates.

Map 2.7: Rail vs Road Networks in Africa



Source: Cooper (2002: 101); UNEP,
<https://na.unep.net/siouxfalls/globalpop/africa/images/roads.png>

The road map above is if anything a gross underestimation, because it does not include the numerous minor roads and paths that are often of great use for large proportions of people. More generally, both maps portray the ‘fixed capital’ of infrastructure as something fixed and static, rather than as always in process, being built, maintained, degraded, expanded, surpassed, and so on.⁹⁵

In contrast to notions of infrastructure as a narrow and static drainage network (exemplified by simplified maps of rail networks), I emphasize the multifunctionality, dynamism, and coordination of infrastructure. The contemporary importance and the history of roads in Angola

⁹⁴ See for example, ICC (1933), Wohl and Albitreccia (1935), and Hazlewood (1964). In 1927, Britain’s Empire Marketing Board financed the British Overseas Mechanical Transport Committee to investigate the issue.

⁹⁵ Cooper (1983) does briefly engage David Harvey’s ideas, but not really in later work.

is misread by Herbest, Cooper, and, to a lesser but still significant extent, by Soares de Oliveira (2013, 2015).⁹⁶

There certainly was early colonial rhetoric about the necessity of railroads for draining commodities, and later analysts saw such projects as economically functional (either as beneficial ‘vents for surplus,’ or as outlets for imperial Western capitalist finance). However, more detailed scholarship is showing that the reasons why and how contracts for such capital-intensive and uncertain rail projects actually materialized in colonial Africa also have to do with a great deal of collusion, speculation, nepotism, labor abuse, fraud, corruption, and political and military factors – certainly the case with the ‘Ambaca’ railroad from Luanda to Malanje.⁹⁷ In short, it is a gross misreading to view narrow rail infrastructure as indicative of a colonial state driven primarily by preoccupations with tariff revenue.

If issues of transport were not confined to narrow railroads, nor were such railroads even as static and narrow as portrayed. While Angola is known for having three main rail-lines, each running east-west, and roughly parallel, the picture is more complex than this. These lines also include various branches, and plans for other branches that were not materialized but still circulate.⁹⁸ More broadly, infrastructural change was particularly the case with regard to extractive industries, which have their own sort of drives to expand scale and productivity.⁹⁹ Also important are the actual materialities of road and rail infrastructures (the beds, curves, sleepers, bridges, width, rolling stock, etc), which have been the object of constant reworking. In other words, rail (and road) construction in Angola was not a discrete episode, and rail networks are not simply ‘fixed structures’ – rail work in Angola began with early studies in the 1850s, and continues to this day.

If the point about early forced labor and colonial presence is conceded, then the question becomes about the extent to which purported colonial gatekeeper state institutions were ‘inherited’ or continued based on institutional inertia into the post-colonial period, and the role therein of continuities and changes in economic structures, particularly the rise of valuable mineral exports, most notably oil.

Here the problem with rentier approaches is that the ‘fiscal fetish’ comes at the cost of appreciating the materiality of commodities. Without resorting to the kinds of commodity determinism that colors some resource curse studies (as Watts (2004: 53) rightly notes), any serious political economy has to consider the specific differences amongst and between different commodities – alluvial diamonds are not the same as cocoa beans are not the same as deepwater sweet oil. In addition, the actual institutions (state oil companies) facilitating rents – the ‘gates’ themselves – also show considerable variation in ways that matter significantly. Not least is the relation of such institutions with transnational oil industry.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Cooper says that in the 1960s Angola’s “roads ... were miserable” (139), while Herbst (2000) ignores both the spate of late-colonial road building as well as the subsequent enormous deterioration and deliberate destruction of such roads during conflict.

⁹⁷ See Sunderland (2004, 2007), Dumett (1975), Linder (1994), Clarence-Smith (1985), Guimarães (1983).

⁹⁸ See for example Pereira da Costa, Vergilio (1931) ‘As comunicações internas e externas de Angola’ BGU v7 n74-5, pp. 75-102.

⁹⁹ Bunker and Cicantell (2005).

¹⁰⁰ As Watts (2012) notes. Indeed, it is notable that the classic rentier state studies by Mahdavy (1970) and Beblawi and Luciano (1987) make no mention whatsoever of British Petroleum.

The issue of the specificity of such commodities also bears importance for expenditure, particularly in the forms of ‘countertrade,’ ‘oil barter,’ or ‘resources-for-infrastructure’ deals that have garnered international attention at various moments (see Chapter 5). In addition, the emphasis on revenue rather than expenditure ignores important shifts in global finance and construction industries that enable sorts of resource-backed infrastructure project financing. Focusing only on the distinction between direct and indirect tax revenue implies little about the spatiality of state activities and expenditure.

Rentier/gatekeeper models posit little about the dynamics of rural areas, except as characterized by neopatrimonialism.¹⁰¹ For Congo, where more than two thirds of the people are rural, Cooper (2002) has almost nothing to say about their specific conditions of life: “most people lived off their own production and networks of social relations independent of the state” (167).¹⁰²

By over-emphasizing choke-point protests, Cooper *analytically* glosses huge swaths of important and influential varied rural protests.¹⁰³ Indeed, the inter-connections between rural and urban areas and people in such protests is what is key and not helped by the emphasis only on narrow networks to be used strategically for protests. The varying, indirect, and complex relationships between infrastructure and protest in Africa are collapsed in favor of just strikes by workers.¹⁰⁴ How then *are* we to analytically approach the political economy of countrysides in petro-states?

2.4 Conjunctures as an Alternative Explanation: Settler Colonialism, Protracted War, and Leveraged Liberalization

In contrast to the above approaches, the following dissertation chapters argue that specific conjunctures explain the course of reconstruction in Angola. The threads of colonialism, war, and liberalization weave through all the chapters. Here I don’t attempt to conceptualize each separately (a lofty project in any case), but rather briefly provide some details and context.¹⁰⁵

2.3.1 Settler Colonialism

There is a great need for further research on colonial Angola, as well as comparative work with other experiences of settler colonialism. Indeed, the analysis below and throughout the chapters

¹⁰¹ See T. Young’s comment that, “Cooper tends to fall back on the standard political science accounts and tell something like the neo-patrimonialism story” (2005, ‘Book Review,’ *Journal of Modern African Studies* 43(1):140-1).

¹⁰² Compare, for example, the hundreds of references in Nicolai (2009) and Nicolai et al. (1996).

¹⁰³ Even though of course he is prescient enough to recognize them empirically at some points in his 2002 text, making it somewhat inconsistent. Curiously, the 40-page online bibliography for Cooper’s (2002) book leaves out Isaacman’s (1990) important review, despite it being included in the edited volume by Cooper et al (1993). Cf. Freund (1998) on rural tax protests.

¹⁰⁴ Part of this has to do with projecting ‘industrial sociology’ notions of factory workspace labor politics onto the transport sector: “[protests] were concentrated in a span of ten to fifteen years, and influenced and reinforced each other, above all because cities and mine towns in those years brought together, through migrant labor systems, different crises of reproduction in a single, demographically dense, socially connected locus The very narrowness of commercial pathways in colonial Africa and the timidity with which capital stuck to the locus of state power made the problem of disruption and the threat of bottlenecks all the more acute” (Cooper 1983: 35, 36). Cf. Mitchell (2011); Watts (2013).

¹⁰⁵ But see, for example, the reviews and arguments in Burbank and Cooper (2010), Watts (2012a), Harvey (2005).

show that there is a great deal about key colonial periods and processes in Angola that is still not well documented or understood. Archival research was highly restricted in Angola in the 1960s, when the discipline of classic African history took off. Subsequently, archival access was also restricted during the post-independence and war years, and then practices and interpretations were still shaped by colonial historiography.

And particularly for the rural areas, there has been a severe dearth of study, for similar reasons. Yet here there are numerous key points that the dissertation highlights, but all are geared around explicitly considering the spatial aspects of settler colonialism, and hence moving away from the simplistic dichotomous and enclave models mentioned above. Extensive settler colonialism led to a vast road network that served settler plantations, led to the conduct of war against nationalist movements, and led to regional development projects designed as part of counter-insurgency. Settler colonialism also involved the formation and regulation of extensive markets for the extensive agro-industrial economy. This was not limited to particular enclaves, and involved a much greater extent that has hitherto been appreciated. This extensive agro-industry entailed a particular spatial agrarian structure characterized by concentration, hierarchy and fragmentation. The extent of land inequality was greater than often appreciated subsequently. But this inequality/concentration was closely related to different hierarchies or rankings of land – both in terms of different districts, areas within districts, and different types of land. The result of dividing up land into so many plantations and different hierarchically organized places was that smallholders found themselves with marginal land fragmented amongst larger plantations, with little supportive agricultural economy for their products, and with difficult access to water and transport for their own livelihoods.

2.3.2 *Protracted War*

I emphasize how the spatiality of war in Angola grew out of the colonial period, which involved the buildup of infrastructure and logistical approaches during late-colonial counter-insurgency. Such infrastructure then deteriorated and was attacked in the post-independence conflicts.

Putting some dollar amount on the wars can help partly put them perspective. But in estimating costs of war, one has to be careful to not underestimate by focusing only on obvious physical destruction (as opposed to, for example, economic disruption also). The figure of \$60 billion in damage to infrastructure is cited by Soares de Oliveira (2015: 58), referencing *The Economist's* country profile for 2008. However, that figure was not based on any sort of sophisticated calculation or inside source by *The Economist*, which had been citing it since 2006, after it reprinted almost word for word an article from Angola's state news agency. That article in turn paraphrased the president of the economics association of Angola, Carlos Gomes, at a conference saying it could cost \$60 billion to rebuild infrastructure, but the article reported no details as to whether he gave any basis for that estimate, and I have been unable to confirm on which evidence and assumptions it is based.¹⁰⁶

In contrast, there are a range of ways that the costs of war can and have been estimated in Angola, but about \$200 billion seems reasonable as a very rough estimate of the value in 2013

¹⁰⁶ ANGOP (2006) 'Recuperação das infra-estruturas avaliada em 60 biliões de dólares,' May 31.

dollars of the damaged infrastructure, the money spent on weapons and defense, the extra expenses of humanitarian relief, the lost economic growth and revenue, the opportunity costs of foreign exchange and revenue, and the interest on loans, among numerous other smaller expenses.¹⁰⁷ There is ample room for error and uncertainty in such estimates, but part of the point is that analysts have not even bothered to try, instead hundreds upon hundreds of articles have focused on the monies lost to corruption that are absolutely significant but pale in comparison to the economic damages of war (to say nothing of the social, political and human toll).¹⁰⁸

By focusing on Western Malanje, I've provided a grounded analysis of the course of protracted war, rather than the more common sorts of geopolitical analyses (mentioned at the end of Chapter 1). I consider protracted war primarily with regard to its spatial aspects on a number of issues, including rural displacement, agro-industrial infrastructure, transport infrastructure, broader geopolitics, logistics, access to and blockage of food, and militarization of state institutions. There are two pertinent questions worth addressing here since they are not dealt with much throughout the rest of the dissertation: firstly, how do I document and conceptualize the role of destruction, violence, and abuses by government troops, and, secondly, how to I explain the extent of participation in the conflict on UNITA's side. A caveat is that the purpose of the research was not to address these questions, and I do not have the time and space here to fully respond to these important issues.¹⁰⁹

That said, various government officials have recognized at various points the indiscipline and inappropriate actions of government troops, and there are no shortages of subsequent punishments, prosecutions, and remedial measures. As in all wars, some of this was due to individuals with their own problems. But rather than view government troop problems as an innate structural feature due to some authoritarian and superiority tendencies, I think they are more likely due to the difficult circumstances of training, experience, wages, supplies, and the everyday conduct of protracted war. Particularly relevant to Angola's experience with such a widespread and protracted war is the analysis in Stathis Kalyvas' (2006) book *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, which shows how limited information and tit-for-tat grievances in the intermediate contested zones of war come to take on a violent logic of their own.

Kalyvas analysis – drawing on Greece – may also be directly helpful in explaining the extent of UNITA's presence and support. While UNITA may have had some limited but genuine peasant and popular support in particular places for some of its military actions in the early years, by the 1980s it is recognized to have significantly exercised rather cruel and authoritarian tactics. Sheer brutality, financing and weapons could go a long ways in perpetuating the insurgency over a vast

¹⁰⁷ On cost estimates of the war, see Sogge (1992), Johnson and Martin (1989), UNICEF (1989), UN (1989), RPA (1982), and, on military spending and arms imports, see WMEAT. WMEAT with Johnson and Martin figures put total military expenditure in 2013 constant dollars from 1980-2003 at about \$53 billion, and arms imports at about \$33 billion. Estimates of physical damage from the period 1975-1991 adjusted to current value are at least \$34 billion, likely well over, and then perhaps doubled for the 1992-2002 period. Plus the cost of disruption to the economy, opportunity costs, and costs of loans and loan interests, puts the total cost of the war closer to, if not well over, 200 billion in recent dollars.

¹⁰⁸ Part of what I am asserting is the importance of the still important geographies of the Cold War. See also Barney (2015), Cowen (2014), Hecht (2011), Westad (2007), Schmidt (2013), Farish (2010).

¹⁰⁹ See also Weinstein's (2007) work, and for Angola see the following works and the plethora of references therein: Gleijeses (2002, 2013), HRW (1989, 1994), Pearce (2015), Weigert (2011), Ziemke (2008), Beck (2012), Westad (2007), and numerous different UN reports.

area for many years.¹¹⁰ In Angola, the errors and reprisals by the MPLA government however – in the logic that Kalyvas points to – likely did generate some mix of defensive and resentful actions against government troops and/or with UNITA.¹¹¹ The uncertainties about these issues all also point to the need for more careful research, though many in Angola may also not wish to dig through that difficult past.

2.3.3 Leveraged Liberalization

The following pages provide more in depth discussion of liberalization, which, as described above, is sometimes viewed as indicative of the creole elite's extraversion, its following the lucrative winds of international political economy from Cold War support to global neoliberalism.¹¹² In contrast, I contend that liberalization can only be properly understood in relation to war and colonialism, and since these latter two form the bulk of much of the following chapters, this section chronicles how liberalization was leveraged on a reluctant and tumultuous Angola, and hence greatly exacerbated in the 1990s many of the problems of state capacity, territorial control, and illicit accumulation, which were then read back in history retrospectively as enduring characteristics.

In August 1987, the government was increasingly in economic crisis and announced its intention to join the IMF as it was faced with sharply lower revenues from oil, with increasingly unmanageable debt service on some \$4 billion in external debt to both socialist countries and Western creditors, and with UNITA militarily expanding further based on tens of millions of dollars in renewed US military and financial support.¹¹³ During the years of heavy war and low oil prices between 1985 and 1992, external debt would quadruple from \$2.5 to \$10 billion. Joining the IMF was a precondition for expanded access to international credit and debt rescheduling, and Angola requested to do so after only being able to reschedule a third of its

¹¹⁰ And Weigert (2011) argues that Savimbi's inspiration was less Mao's strategy of popular support ('fish in water') and more that of a different strategist that he admired, the right-wing George Grivas, who led the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters war of attrition against the British in 1955-59. Despite Grivas' group being cast as "reactionary thugs," Savimbi stated that he admired Grivas because he "fought a protracted campaign in restricted terrain, with virtually no external aid, against a vastly superior adversary." Quotes are from Weigert (2011: 11-12). Incidentally, British colonialism in Cyprus was one of the subjects of Carl Rosberg's doctoral dissertation at Oxford, in addition to the East African Federation.

¹¹¹ Ziemke (2008) and Beck (2012) consider Kalyvas' argument with regard to Angola.

¹¹² For example, Soares de Oliveira (2015) contends, "Angolan elites also have a natural affinity for whichever language maximizes power and influence and keeps them at the centre of political economy." He mentions the IMF more as a critic of corruption than an enforcer for Western debt markets (96, 133), provides no analysis whatsoever of the 1980s debt-leveraged imposition of liberalization, and instead writes "In response to the global geopolitical shift and the UN-mediated peace process the MPLA stripped away its "socialist ready-to-wear" ..." and then later adds glibly, "The MPLA leadership swiftly broke with the socialist tropes ..." Chabal (2001: 228) argues that Angola's official identification with Marxism-Leninism in 1977 was "above all ... a way for the ruling [Creole] clique to mark out their ideological differences with their political competitors ... In Angola, ideology was a weapon of power and served to identify those who were close to the regime and those who were dangerous to it." The denial of the importance of differences between socialist and capitalist regimes is prominent in older approaches (which cite Angola as an example), such as Bayart (1989), and Jackson and Rosberg (1982).

¹¹³ External debt was reported as \$4 billion in late September, 1987, and \$4.83 billion for the entire year. See Betts, P. (1987) 'France takes the long view of its growing links with Angola,' Financial Times, Sep 30, and EIU Country Report.

request in June 1987 through the Paris Club (it had hoped to reschedule \$1 billion, but was limited to only \$343 million).¹¹⁴ President dos Santos then toured Europe to mobilize support for joining the IMF, which the US promised to block. The Angolan government worked with the UNDP, which had been in the country for years, to initiate a thorough review of the Angolan economy in preparation for negotiations with the IMF and World Bank. By 1988, after massive military outlays on Cuito Cuanavale (the last major global battle of the Cold War) the state had been unable to pay many salaries for a year or more.¹¹⁵ It drew up economic liberalization plans to assuage the IMF, which was sending various scoping missions to Angola. The US was conditioning IMF membership on accords with UNITA, but with the Cold War ending and with ongoing talks on withdrawal of Cuban troops, outright opposition was quieted. The IMF continued visiting Angola, and Angola planned devaluations.

By June 1989, the Angolan government had also created legislation on privatizing the socialist state organizations – called ‘Redimensioning’ – and days later was admitted to the IMF, with the World Bank then publishing its inventory, diagnosis and prescriptions on Angola’s economy (conducted jointly with the UNDP). The IMF visited Angola again, the Paris Club then rescheduled a further \$474 million of Angolan debt, and a new joint program with UNDP was announced to carry out adjustment. In August 1990, some austerity measures were introduced, with prices liberalized, wages monetized, ration cards disbanded, and privatization launched (with Paris Club negotiations continuing). The internationally coordinated withholding of credit to a devastated Angola was slowly working to force through liberal economic reforms.

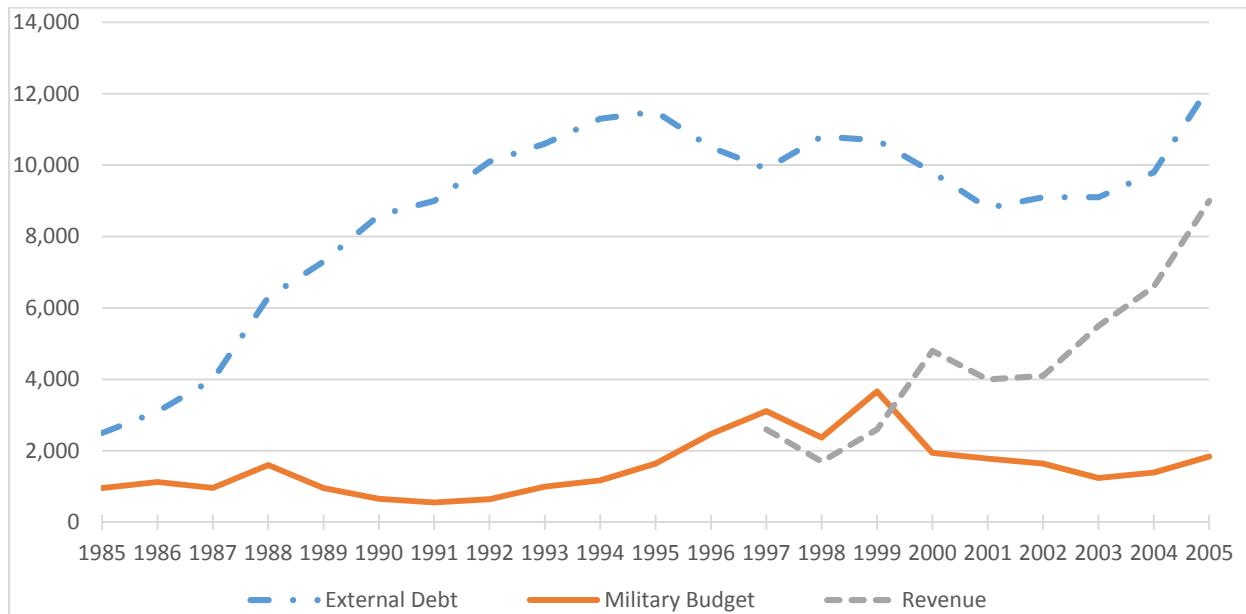
However, at this point, late 1990, the stabilization and structural adjustment measures entered a period of several years of politically volatile economic turmoil continuing through to the return to war in late 1992. Amidst the conflict’s devastation of infrastructure, society, and the economy, a major IMF credit was being conditioned on prior implementation of a standard shock-therapy “package.” The government tried to address inflation and the exchange rate by introducing a new currency to cut the money supply, but it backfired, and the IMF and Paris Club insisted that only a “full package” of reforms would really address the underlying problems. A key problem appears to have been military spending covered by printing money, and hence the tight stabilization and structural adjustment measures were seen as potentially severely threatening to the government’s security and actual hold on power.¹¹⁶ After several months, the government re-tried the devaluation in March 1991, by 50%, as well as paying some delayed wages. Continuing with further legal reforms was necessary for any IMF credit, including regulations on privatization.

¹¹⁴ Hodges (1993: 159). See debt figures in World Bank (1989) and Aguilar (various). “More than half of our debt is with Western banks - Chase, Morgan, Bankers Trust, Manufacturers Hanover,” said Mr. Pizarro, the vice governor of the bank, of Angola’s \$2.6 billion debt.” Brooke, James (1986) ‘Angola’s economic struggles,’ *New York Times*, Jan 31.

¹¹⁵ See Weigert (2011); Gleijeses (2103).

¹¹⁶ As Aguilar (1990: 50, 51) noted, “The IMF and the World Bank are proposing several massive devaluations in order to reach the target rate rapidly ... The policy package suggested by the IMF and the World Bank strongly emphasized the reduction of the fiscal deficit ... The reduction of military expenditures is in fact a crucial point of fiscal policy.”

Graph 2.4: Government Annual Military Budget, Total External Debt, and Annual Revenue (\$ million, current)



Source: Table 1.1 and WMEAT

However, amongst these measures, and after strikes became legal in June as part of political liberalization occurring at the same time, a number of sectors experienced labor unrest. Oil workers in Cabinda had submitted demands in March, and by late June cargo workers went on strike in the key southern port of Lobito, followed soon thereafter by oil workers striking for better pay and housing. Facing strikes, the government was also denied any further Paris Club rescheduling of the debt that had come due after the last rescheduling of three years – rescheduling that would reportedly “only be considered after implementation of structural adjustment.”¹¹⁷ By the end of that July, the government raised wages to halt the strikes, and began the privatization of some 33 coffee plantations. For the remainder of the year, the government tried to balance devaluations, wage payments in cash, and increasing money supply, with inflation continuing to grow. It was also in this context, in December 1991, that the government was also formulating new legislation on land – discussed in Chapter 7 – to facilitate private concessions.

As elections approached in November 1992, in January the prices of basic goods rose significantly, and another devaluation was introduced in April, stoking popular discontent. By the next month, in mid-May, 300 Angolans had protested by setting up barricades on Luanda’s main road east, while 400 demobilized troops in Malanje demonstrated over four months of unpaid salaries.¹¹⁸ Feeling the heat, the government drafted a \$10.5 million contract for Price Waterhouse to usher in mass privatizations and bring in much-needed cash. With prospects for the government’s electoral victory looking increasingly uncertain amidst the turmoil of the

¹¹⁷ Quoting Aguinaldo Jaime, in Coulson, Anita (1991) ‘Angola finance minister ponders devaluation timing,’ Reuters, July 18.

¹¹⁸ (1992) ‘Disabled Angolans erupt road blocks, demand better treatment,’ Xinhua, May 15.

leveraged economic crisis and partial liberalization adjustment measures, UNITA then also held talks with the World Bank and IMF. The elections were held the next month at the end of September, with the MPLA just shy of 50% and hence triggering a second round. However, UNITA disputed these results, and there soon followed the Battle of Luanda and the return to war (as discussed below on p. 219). With military expenses and disruption, economic troubles grew worse, but the IMF continued to press standard macro-economic reforms that were totally unrealistic given the war situation and unadapted to it: cut public spending, devalue the currency, simplify taxation, privatize, etc. Although neoliberal criticisms always harbor claims that reforms would have worked if they had been properly implemented, implementing the measures could plausibly have caused social chaos (due to inflation, lower wages, higher import costs), further crippled the government (through lower wages, privatizations, staff cuts, service fees, etc.), and enabled the military victory of UNITA (due to reduced spending on military salaries, equipment, and programs).

Table 2.1: Luanda City Population Estimates

Year	Millions of People
1975	0.62
1986	1.2
1990	1.5
1995	2.1
2000	3.3
2005	4.5
2007	5.9
2009	6.0
2014	6.5

Sources: Cain (2013a); INE (2014); Moyo et al. (2014: 7)

The use of coordinated restriction of Western credit markets as leverage to liberalize Angola's economy can only be understood as enabled by and operating in conjunction with the Cold War-driven physical destruction over the previous years – both were deliberate objectives of a larger geo-political battle. It is in this context of years of internationally coordinated deliberate destruction of the institutions of the Angolan state that consequent corruption and inequality emerged. Amongst the disruption of domestic food networks documented in the previous sections, the hierarchical ration cards and stores were designed to keep the state from total collapse in a context of war-induced shortages. During the period 1975-90, the population of Luanda had roughly tripled from 620,000 people to 1.5 million as numerous war-refugees came to the city (see Table 6.3). Businesses were hit by war and a lack of inputs and cash for wages, and instead they paid workers in kind, and these goods were then sold or bartered (including beer, prompting ridiculing reporters to brand this as a “beer standard” for the economy). At the time however, rationing and in-kind wages were portrayed in Western media as the irrepressible market emerging amongst ill-conceived Stalinist corruption, downplaying how they were direct results of the underlying context of war and economic destruction that had impeded businesses and made the rationing necessary in the first place.

The emergence of the black market is portrayed in titling anecdotes from Western journalists as the green shoots of irrepressible market capitalism emerging amidst crumbling Stalinism. The

key icon was the open-air Roque Santeiro market – named after a Brazilian soap opera at the time – that emerged around at a former trash yard just uphill from the pilfered containers at the port, and not far from the journalists’ downtown hotels. Conservative reporters gloated, ‘In Marxist Angola, Capitalism Thrives,’ ‘Adam Smith Crowds Marx in Angola,’ ‘Angola Wants West’s Help after Spectacular Failure of Socialist Experiment,’ and so on.¹¹⁹ The street market was described as having prices that “are guided by the hand of Adam Smith rather than by state planners devoted to Karl Marx.”¹²⁰ In the black market, wrote analysts, “Candonga *operates as a free market*, tolerated and not regulated by the authorities, with prices set by demand and supply” (Aguilar and Zejan 1991: 10, *emph. added*), entirely ignoring the social, administrative, violent, and political aspects of the informal market. At this point, the orthodox neoclassical economist Renato Aguilar started what became a highly influential annual series of reports on the Angolan economy.¹²¹ There was a rush of investors and trade groups and missions.¹²² Headlines crooned, ‘Angola Ripe for an Economic Revolution,’ ‘End of War Will Unlock Rich Angolan Economy,’ ‘Treasures Lie Untapped in Impoverished Angola,’ and ‘Riches Beckon in War-Torn Angola on Prospects of Peace.’¹²³

It was amongst such praise for destruction of Angola’s post-independence socialist state that UNITA was able to seize most of the countryside after disputing the 1992 elections, and that lack of territorial control was then retrospectively interpreted by analysts as indicative of a much longer tendency by creole elites towards extraverted accumulation and neglect or delimited exploitation of the countryside.

So far this chapter has described Angolan history in a broad sketch, conventional interpretations of that history and its spatiality, my own emphases with regard to settler colonialism, protracted war, and leveraged liberalization, and some key differences between my approach and classic rentier/gatekeeper models. The rest of the chapter illuminates more precisely the problems with conventional interpretations, and how exactly such problematic concepts have come about.

2.5 The ‘(Mbundu) Creole Elite’ of Angola: Geo-History and Identity

There is clear evidence for questioning the assertions of the existence of a narrow creole elite confined to Luanda or a few coastal enclaves. The following paragraphs and maps address this. However, the question of the ethnic basis of such a creole elite requires more careful analysis, both with regard to the purported “Mbundu” composition of creoles, and with regard to the

¹¹⁹ Thurow, Roger (1988) ‘In Marxist Angola, Capitalism Thrives, Using Beer Standard,’ Wall Street Journal, Sep 19; Brooke, James (1987) ‘Angola wants West’s help after spectacular failure of socialist experiment,’ The Globe and Mail, Dec 30; Brooke, James (1987) ‘Adam Smith Crowds Marx in Angola,’ New York Times, Dec 29.

¹²⁰ Thurow, Roger (1988) ‘In Marxist Angola, Capitalism Thrives, Using Beer Standard,’ Wall Street Journal, Sep 19. Cf. Sogge (1992), Lopes (2007), Tomás (2012).

¹²¹ Aguilar (1988, 1992, 2001, 2004) Aguilar et al. (1994; 1995), Aguilar and Zejan (1991). The titles of Aguilar’s series of economic reports on Angola are indicative of this reification and anthropomorphized pathologizing of the problems as ones of a bounded nation: Angola was variously facing its “last stand of central planning,” on “a long hard way to the marketplace,” “trying to break through the wall,” “reaping the benefits of peace,” or perhaps “coming out of the woods?”

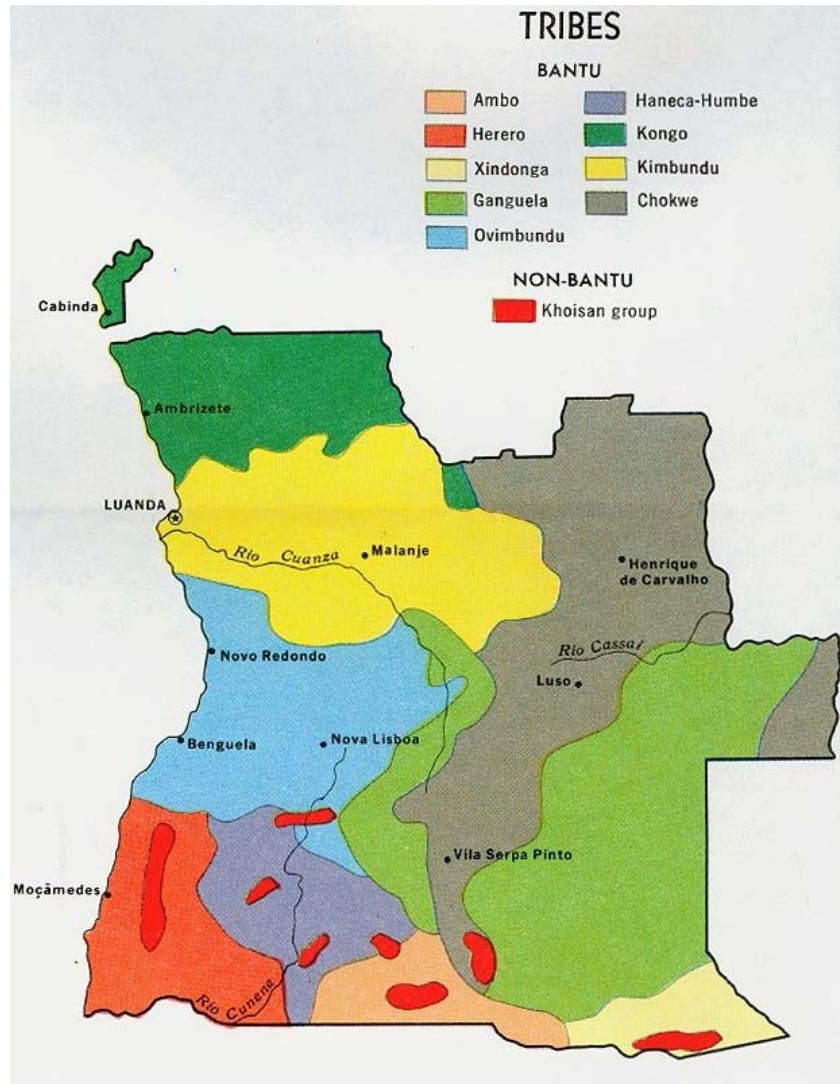
¹²² (1991) ‘Portuguese businessmen in Luanda,’ Diário de Notícias, Feb 6.

¹²³ Fletcher, Pascal (1989) ‘End of War Will Unlock Rich Angolan Economy,’ Reuters, 2 July; Bell, Gavin (1989) ‘Treasures Lie Untapped in Impoverished Angola,’ The Times, 18 January; Melly, Paul (1988) ‘Riches Beckon in War-Torn Angola on Prospect of Peace,’ Globe and Mail, Aug 30.

notion of “creole” as a salient identity itself (Vidal 2002, for example, uses the moniker ‘creole/Mbundu alliance’).

The following sections deconstruct the notion of a few distinct ethno-linguistic groups, or ‘tribes’ as some people anachronistically call them, of which the main categories often identified are Mbundu, Ovimbundu, Bakongo, and Chokwe. This basic division is repeated in much academic work on Angola, and the simplified map available online at the Perry-Castañeda Map Collection

Map 2.8: Reification of Ten “Tribes” of Angola



Source: Wikipedia & Perry-Castañeda Map Library, after Redinha (1962)

and Wikipedia for instance repeats these divisions, drawing on a classic atlas sketched in 1962, which I discuss in sub-section 2.5.3 below. However it conflates language groupings for names of “tribes” – conventionally, Kimbundu is a language used by a broad ethno-linguistic

classification of people designated as “Mbundu,” and, likewise, “Ovimbundu” is a language (not a tribe) said to be used by people classified ethno-linguistically as “Umbundu.”¹²⁴ Some of this academic and institutional lineage of thought about ethnicity and ‘creole elite’ in particular is represented diagrammatically by Figure 2.3 on page 120 below.

The notion of “The Mbundu” people as a relatively singular entity appears to have gained widespread academic use following the publication in 1966 of the classic British historical anthropology dissertation at London’s School of Oriental and African Studies by David Birmingham (1964, 1966). However, “The Mbundu” and each of the other apparently solid ethno-linguistic formations have also been critiqued in largely unrecognized ways as being highly diverse, non-circumscribed, somewhat artificial historical constructions, as has gone the critique of other colonial ethnic/tribal categorizations elsewhere in Africa.¹²⁵ What section 2.5.3 in particular does is to show how this conception of distinct ethnic groups has arisen as a particular sort of mental geography amongst other possible ones (compare, for example, the two spatial representations of ethnic groups in Map 2.8 above and Map 2.9 below). It bears mention here, for example, that what are grouped together as “Mbundu” are both ethnically and linguistically very diverse, including major (sometimes unintelligible) distinct dialects of Kimbundu (which is tonal), as well as other variations such as Songo and others, spanning hundreds of kilometers of vastly different areas with different histories that often share more in common with other nearby groups than others also classified as “Mbundu.”¹²⁶ This became vividly clear to me over the course of several years of regular study with a range of different Kimbundu teachers. Ethnically, different maps over the years have in turn presented a number of different ambiguous, shifting, overlapping and conflicting representations of which of some dozens of purported ethnic sub-groups make up the supposed broader “Mbundu” ethno-linguistic category: Ambaca, Ambundo, Bahungo, Bамbeiro, Bângala, Bondos, Cambambe, Cari, Cazenguista, Dembo, Haco, Holo, Hungo, Jinga, Kalandulas, Libolo, Luango, Minungo, Mussende, Ngola, Puna, Quibala, Quissama, Songo, and Xinje.

¹²⁴ Redinha’s (1962) map appears to be the original source of the basic boundaries here (though not of course the errors with regard to “tribes” vs languages):

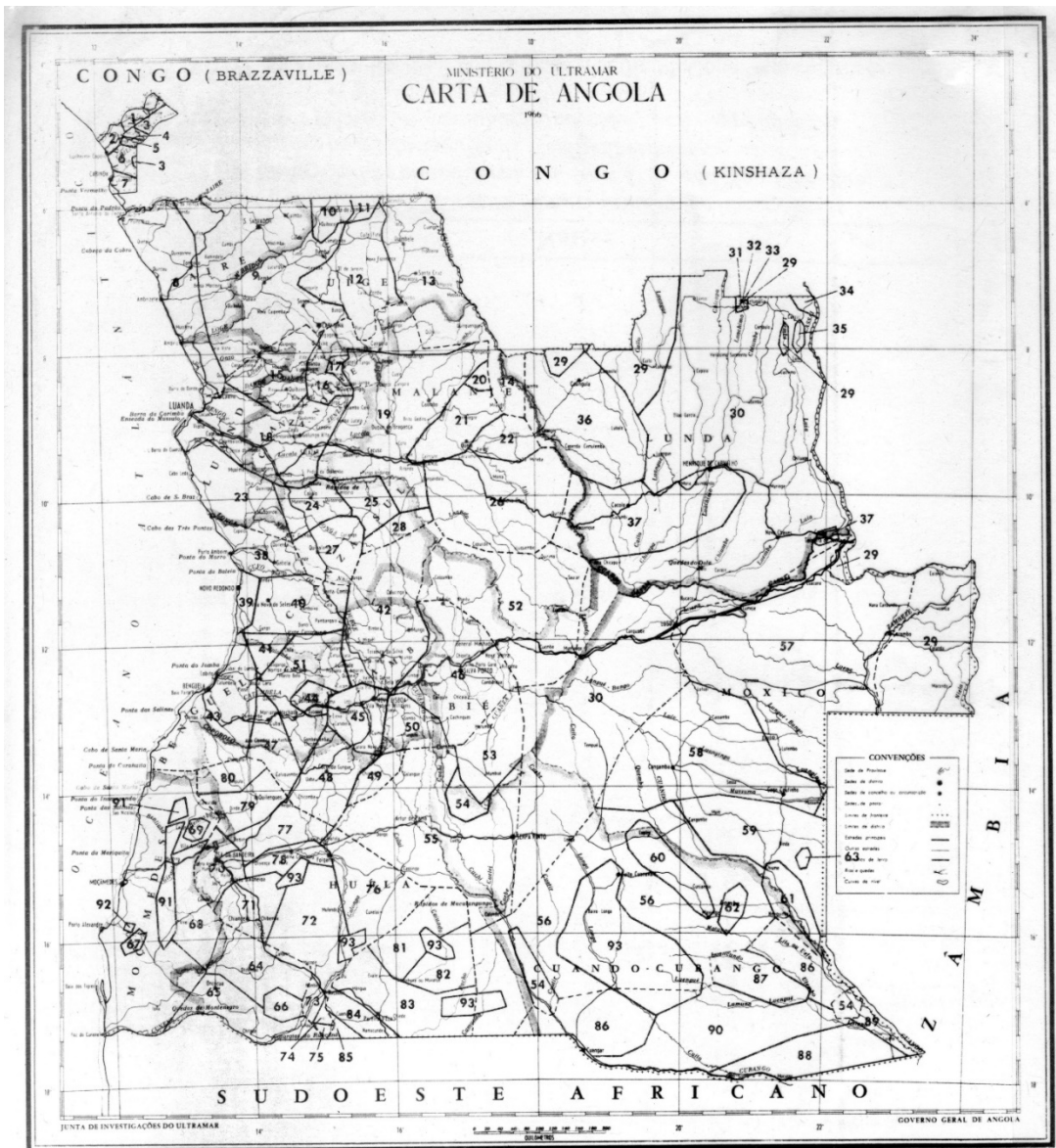
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e2/Angola_tribes_1970.jpg,

http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/angola_tribes_1970.jpg.

¹²⁵ For this discussion, see Berry (1993), Ranger (1993), Lentz (1995), Mamdani (1996), and Spear (2003). For Portuguese colonial anthropology, see fn 146. For Angola, see Candido (2013) and Heywood (2000) on Ovimbundu (cf. also Péclard 2005; Pearce 2015); see below and Chapter 3 on Mbundu and Malanje (cf. Mabeko-Tali 1992; 1996, 2001; 2005). See Pritchett (2007), Palmeirim (2006), Manassa (2011), and perhaps Kayita-ka-Tembo (2013) on Lunda-Chokwe; consider Bakongo ethnicity (Diasson 2002; Mbah 2010; MacGaffey 2000); on southern Angola, see also Wilmsen (1989), Clarence-Smith (1979), Bollig and Gewald (2000), and Ntongo (2003) among others.

¹²⁶ See Chapter 3, but also see Vieira-Martinez (2006) and the references therein, as well as Atkins (1955), Maia (1951; 1964), Pedro (1993), and, more recently, de Almeida (2012), Guimarães (2004), Xavier (2010), and N’sonde (2011).

Map 2.9: Alternate Colonial Representation of Ethnic Groups



Source: Cardoso (1970)

2.5.1 Distribution of White and Mestiço Population

The following table and maps show that the majority of whites and mestiços lived *outside* Luanda, and these white and mestiço populations were also distributed throughout various municipalities. The statistics in Table 2.2 show three points clearly. Firstly, throughout the Twentieth Century, the vast majority of whites and mestiços in Angola have lived *outside* of Luanda. Secondly, the statics vary greatly by year and criteria of categorization, and these need to be specified clearly if any sort of meaningful inference is to be gleaned, and these make comparisons over different years fraught. Thirdly, beyond these measurement questions, neither

whites nor mestiços constituted the majority in Luanda; only after 1950 did they together form a significant majority in Luanda. Even if ‘creoles’ are seen in cultural terms with a particular ‘historical trajectory,’ these actual geographic patterns require analysis.

Table 2.2: Relative Population of Whites and Mestiços in Luanda and Angola, 1845-1970

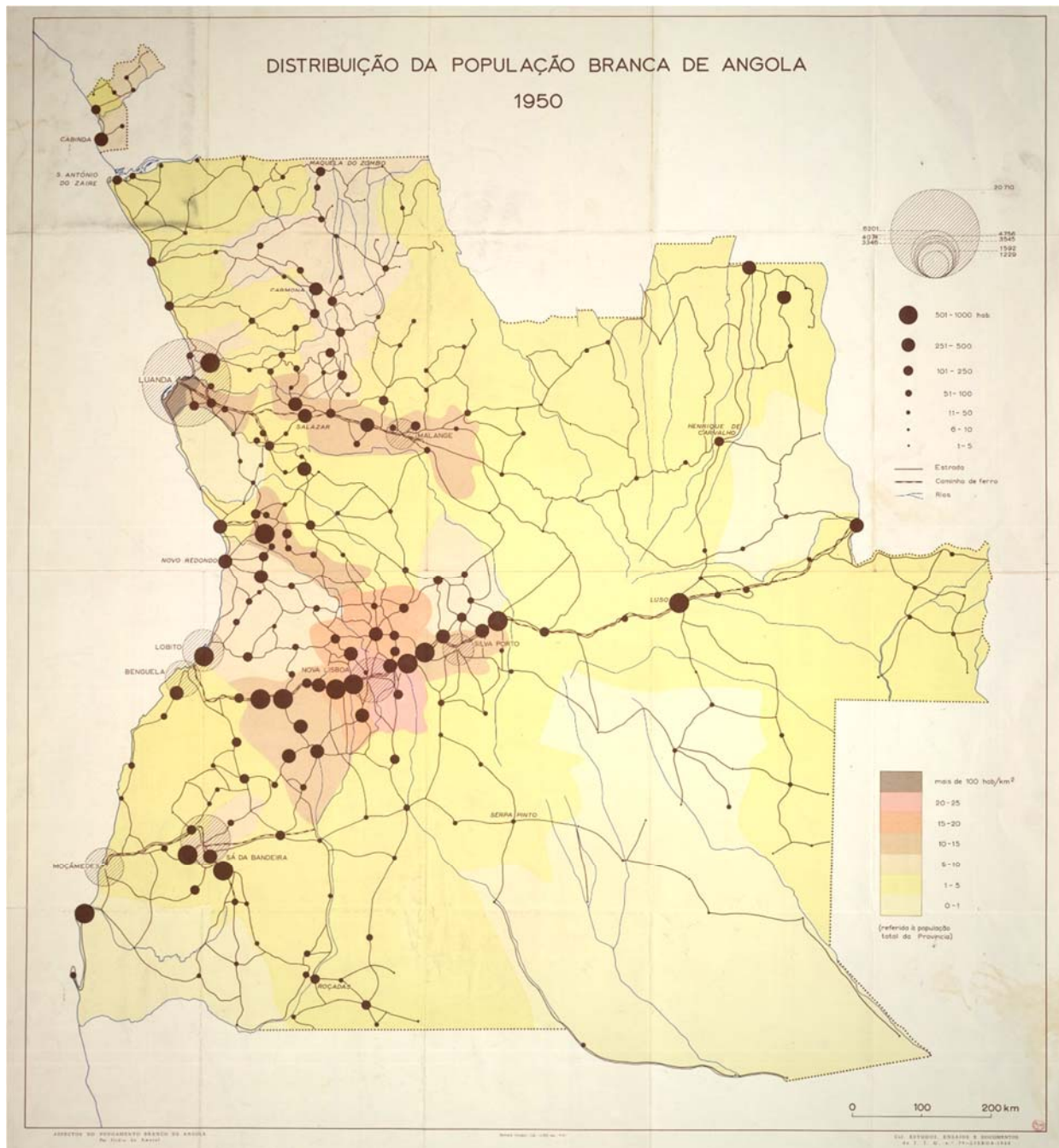
Year	Mestiço		White		Mestiço		White	
	Luanda as % of Angola	as % of Luanda total pop	Luanda as % of Angola	as % of Luanda total pop	Luanda	Angola	Luanda	Angola
1845	8.5	8.7	87.4	28.6	491	5770	1601	1830
1851		19.6		6.7	2400		830	
1900	15.9	10.4	37.8	16.2	2232	13,960	3479	9197
1930		11.0		11.8	5557		6,008	
1934	47.5	25.9	15	24.1	9458	19872	8771	58098
1940	22	10.1	21.3	14.7	6191	28035	8,944	44083
1950	33.4	6.9	26.6	14.6	9932	29648	21,018	78,826
1960	25.4	6.1	32.2	24.7	13593	53392	55,567	172,529
1970	43.9	8.1	45	26.0	39255	89337	126,233	280,101

Sources: Mourão (1995); 1970 Census; see also my Table 3.3 – Mourrao is drawing from 1930 and 1934 numbers from Amaral (1968: 64), and the 1934 Anuário Estatístico de Angola.

The following maps based on the 1950 and 1970 censuses give a sense of the relative distribution of white and mestiço populations throughout Angola. However, the maps themselves *underestimate* the wide extent of distribution of whites and mestiços because the maps only indicate aggregate numbers for each municipality, when in fact whites and mestiços lived, worked, socialized and traveled in various sub-municipal locations. For example, for Malanje province, there are just roughly a dozen dots representing the white and mestiço population in Malanje’s municipalities, but the more disaggregated statistics (see Appendix D) show that numerous whites and mestiços lived outside of the municipal capitals in smaller and very rural administrative units. In addition, the 1970 census itself may have also significantly undercounted whites and mestiços outside of Luanda – for example, the census suggests there were less than 2,269 mestiços in Malanje city, while a 1973 report drawing on local administration and intelligence agency figures for 1972 states that there were roughly three times as many mestiços in Malanje city (6,628)!¹²⁷ One quite possible explanation could be that whites and mestiços registered an address in Luanda as their official residence, but spent much time in the municipalities. In terms of the whole country, the fact that whites and mestiços are concentrated in the ‘mid-western’ parts of Angola also accords with the fact that that is where most of the total population resided (the eastern parts being relatively more arid and sandy).

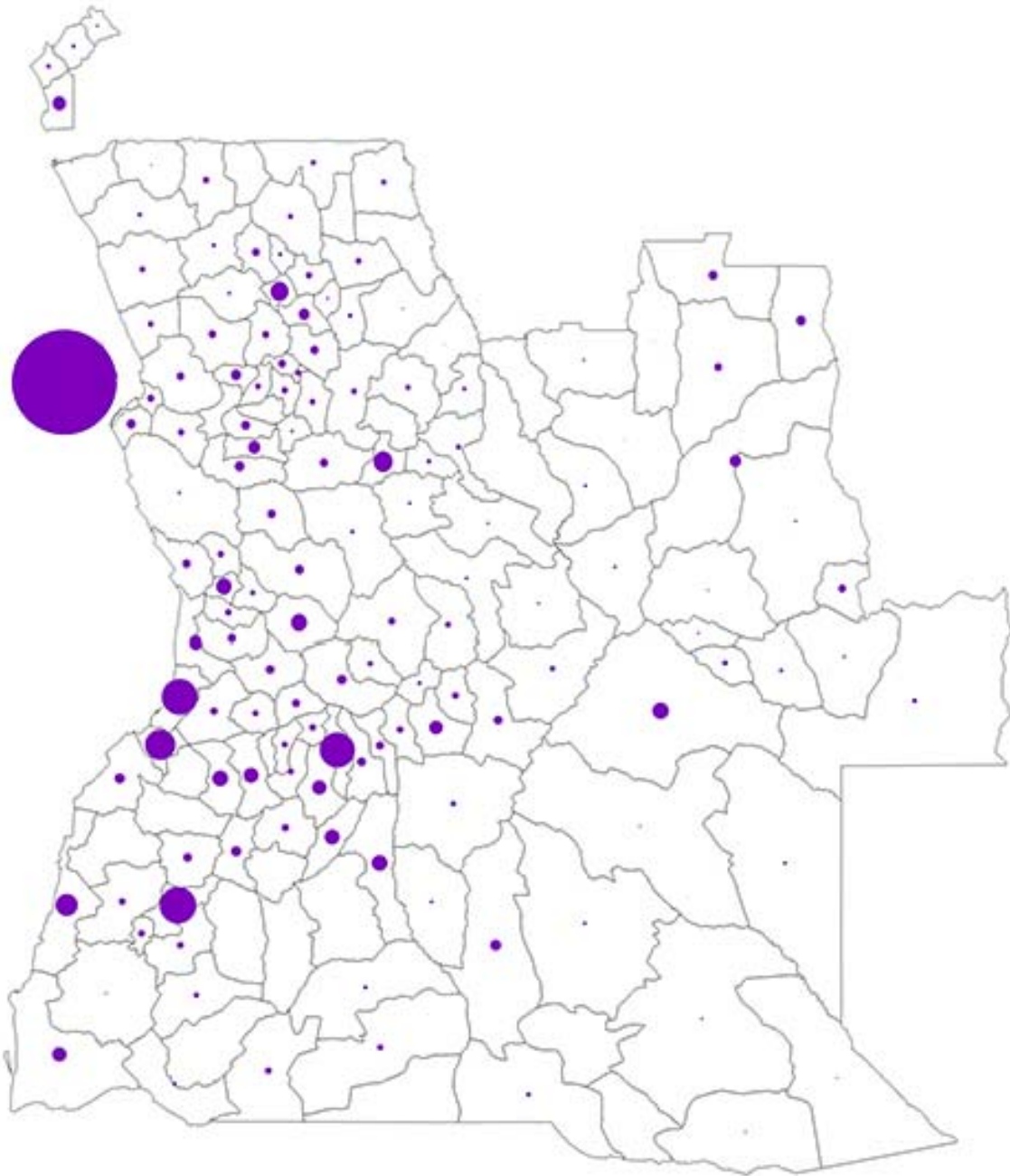
¹²⁷ See Table 3.3. For whites, the figures are roughly 6,628 vs less than 4,725 in the census.

Map 2.10: Distribution of White Population in Angola, 1950



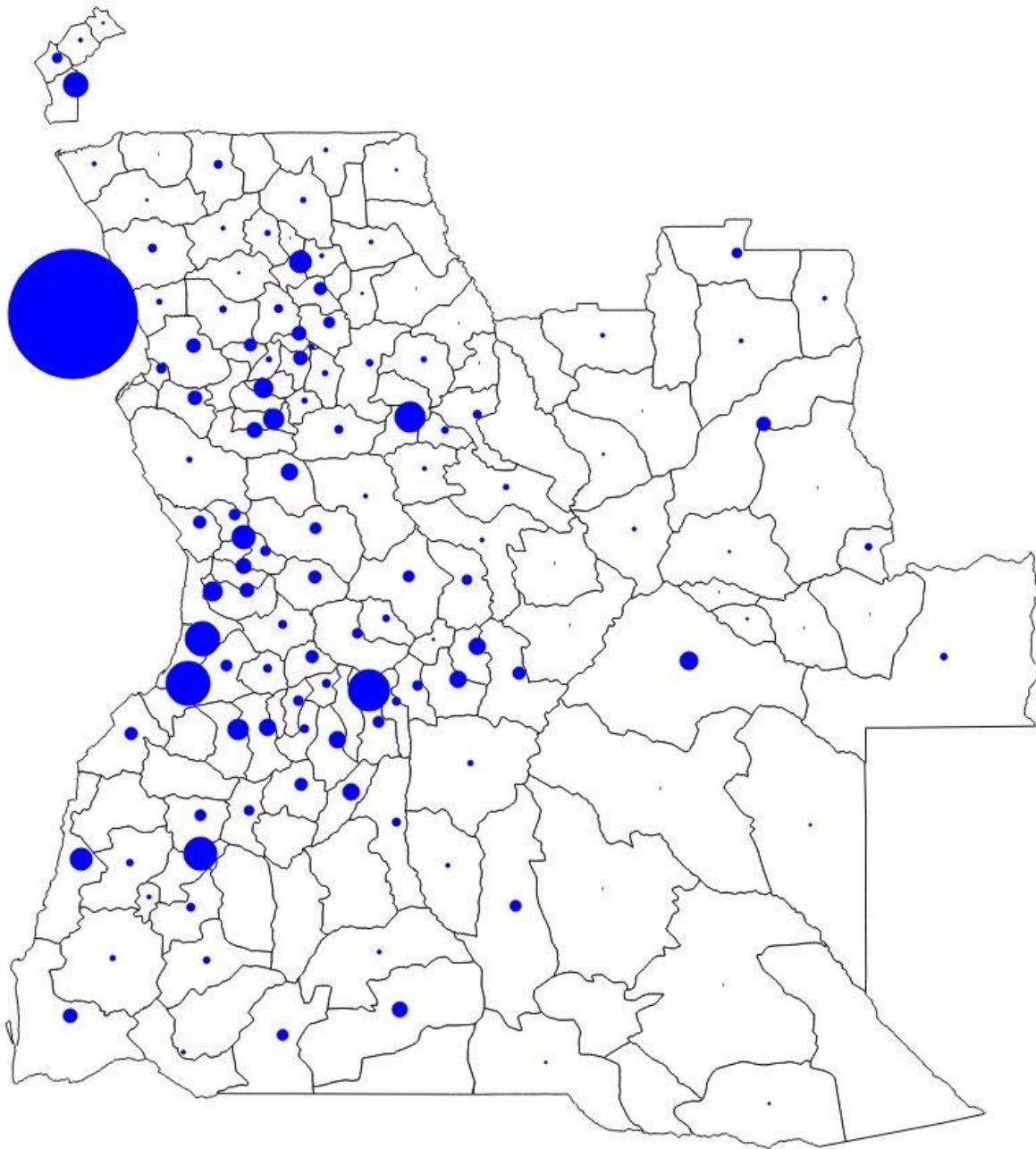
Source: Amaral (1960)

Map 2.11: Relative Distribution of White Population in Angola, 1970



Source: Census 1970; nb Luanda = 126,233

Map 2.12: Relative Distribution of Mestiço Population in Angola, 1970



Source: Census 1970; nb the scale is different than the preceding map; Luanda = 39,255

2.5.2 'Creole' vs Multiple Identities

The term 'creole' has been used crudely in analyses of Angola to collapse a vast range of different concepts. This reduction is an attempt to link a particular notion of identity with certain spatial notions. This operation occurs through the particular metonym of the "dozen great families" (themselves epitomized in the form of one, the Van Dunem family), discussed in subsection 2.5.5 below.

Taking on the concept of creole, Heintze (2011: 23) notes that "in postcolonial Angola the term was (and is?) charged with racist meaning, being a political "fighting word" used in a deprecatory manner." Indeed, the term is contested by Angolans in popular media.¹²⁸ She goes on to elaborate:

While such a convenient, comprehensive term covering all the diverse groups found at the coasts is useful for large-scale, comparative research, "Creole"'s application in Angola is fraught with problems. Because it has a long, multifaceted history in diverse parts of the world, both as a noun and an adjective, even when it is redefined for a given situation, it remains charged with misleading connotations gleaned from its other uses. In the Angolan context, it suggests commonalities in terms of topics, space, and time that do not exist. ... "Creolization" is supposed to involve a process of ethnicization, and so it tempts scholars to recognize some new, shared, and authentic identity, even where one does not exist. In fact the word never became an ethnonym in Angola. (22-23)

Belatedly, Chabal (2008) also came to acknowledge this, though not admitting to his own complicity nor poor understanding of 'perception outside Luanda': "it may well be that the significance of Creole political domination lies less in the reality of the accusation than in the widespread perception outside the Luanda region that this charge is indeed accurate ... In many ways, then, the issue has become a myth" (5).

Dias (1984: 62) was careful to note that "the word "crioulo" rarely appears utilized in Angola in the 19th Century," but like Chabal, Soares de Oliveira (2015: 7) uses the term nonetheless: "The term has never been deployed as self-definition, and some Angolan intellectuals recoil from it." He uses the term despite also recognizing that the caricature of an MPLA controlled by "a handful of Creole families ... avoids the fact that the party is now a catchall organization with a national footprint," and the fact that "UNITA supporters in turn demonized the 'minority regime' of the Creole bourgeoisie as 'non-Angolan' " (13).

There are four main 'strands' of writing that connect broad ethnic and racial categorizations – including 'creole' – from the colonial period to the contemporary period (see Figure 2.3 below). Chronologically, three of the strands have complementary timeframes – Miller studies 1730-

¹²⁸ The term seems to be almost never used state media. See Vunge, A. (2009) 'Mutamba-Interview,' *Novo Jornal*, Sep 18, pp.6-7; Kandjimbo, V. (2009) 'Para uma teorização da Literatura Angolan-II,' *Semanario Angolense* 299, 17-24 January, p. 26-27; Maria, Pombal (2013) 'Angolanidade: Pressuposto para a teoria da literature em Angola,' *O Pais*, p.45, Nov 22; Mata, Inocência (2011) 'E la se foi o Édouard Glissant,' *Semanário Angolense* March 26, p.29; Batsikama, Patrício (2011) 'Angolanidade kajimbanguiana,' *Folha* 8, Feb 26, p. 44; and (2004) 'Edmundo da Rocha versus Fernando Correia: "Crioulidade em Angola: realidade e mitos,"' *Semanário Angolanese*, Sep 30.

1830, Dias studies 1830-1930, and Messiant studies 1900-2000 – while the fourth strand, Birmingham, makes sweeping, synthetic arguments for roughly 1600 through to the 2000s.

Contemporary invocations of the term creole, however, really are most influenced by selective use of Messiant and Birmingham's writing, that latter being already methodologically, empirically, and scholarly problematic.¹²⁹ As Heintze (2011: 36) notes, "Jill Dias, who first alluded to an "elite crioulo" defined in very broad terms, later avoided using that term." Indeed, in Dias' (1985, 1989) articles just after the "elite creole" piece, she does not use the term a single time. Influenced by Dias' disavowal, Miller (1988) too avoids the term, using instead "Luso-African."

For Soares de Oliveira (2015: 7) and others, the term creole capture the "hybrid culture" that was a "product of" or "resulted from" colonialism. In this manner, the main distinction is between African and European, with each group homogenized. Yet, as Neto (1997: 332) notes, the term "creole" in Angola, Cabo Verde, and Brazil "has a plurality of signs that have come to be contradictory ... However, even in the sense given to "creoles" in African history generally ... crioulidade and "racial" mixing are not synonyms."¹³⁰ For her,

social dynamics that accompanied colonization did not result simply from the impact of a "Luso" (abstract and idealized) upon a "tropical" (even more abstract and subalternized). Rather, historically speaking, there was not "a tropic" but instead diverse civilizations in tropical regions, which is the general consensus today. But also it is necessary to affirm that "the luso" did not exist (nor "the Gaule" nor the "Anglo-Saxon") ... there existed groups, individuals, State and private institutions, that acted in diverse and even contradictory manners.

Neto (1997: 354) emphasizes the diversity within the category, and that race did not always determine or correspond absolutely with other fixed aspects of identity:

"mulatos," or, to be more encompassing, "mestiços" never constituted a homogeneous category in colonial society – they did not form a class, nor did the form holders of the

¹²⁹ A very large portion of Messiant's (1989-2008) and Birmingham's (1964 -2012) publications, arguments, and claims do not cite empirical examples or any references. Vansina (1967: 548) for example noted that "one could have quoted authorities for 'facts' which are rather startling." Of Birmingham's (2006) compendium, Heywood (2007) notes "some readers might take exception to some of the superficial comments that appear in many of the scholarly essays." In what she calls a "quite a misleading assessment," "The number of such casual comments about contemporary Angola (and some of Angola's neighbors) are too numerous to list in a short review." She notes also "The almost complete absence of footnotes in many of the scholarly chapters detracts from the many critical reflections that the essays contain," and that "Specialists in the history of the region seeking penetrating analyses of the region might not find much in Birmingham's book." Remarkably, over a decade earlier, about Birmingham's (1993) *Concise History of Portugal*, Wheeler (1995: 94-5) noted, "Scholars should warn students ... and word should go out to those editors and publishers that this book is an example of irresponsible or sloppy editing, hasty production and a manifest failure to consult and take the advice in time of known Portuguese history scholars ... At a recent scholarly meeting on the future of Portuguese and LusoBrazilian studies ... several participants went so far as to agree that this book was so bad that the publisher should immediately withdraw it from the market" (emph. in original). After 11 pages detailing dozens of problems big and small, Wheeler concludes, "Merely on a review of factual and other small errors, however, this is a troubling volume and, if it survives to a second edition, massive editing and correcting are in order" (107). Birmingham (1992: vi) does at least note that his 1992 book of essays on Angola "does not pretend to be a comprehensive or rounded history," and draws on "limited personal experience" (vi). However, it is nonetheless one of the few references that Chabal (2001) cites, for its "useful background."

¹³⁰ For Neto, Venancio's work is a "critical revision of lusotropicalism, but doesn't discard it as an interpretation."

same status, nor did they share a singular cultural identity ... “race” was not sufficient to define socio-economic status, standard of living, level of schooling, or the rules of conduct for each person.

From my count, there are at least several dozen different terms to connote some sort of racially, ethnically, or culturally mixed supra-local commercial and/or social elite minority. I will not discuss in depth all of the different comparisons and contrasts. These categories are not all always fixed, clear and separate, and have different moral connotations. Their reductive collapsing all down to the notion of “creole” is a gross categorical move that blinds us to important everyday debates and discussions throughout Angola about race, space, colonialism, sexuality, nationalism, agency, work, identity, wealth, class, gender, and power.

1. Mestiço
2. Mulato
3. Brancos “Negros”
4. Assimilado
5. New assimilados
6. Old assimilados
7. Filhos da terra
8. Euro-africanos
9. Luso-africanos
10. Luso-Quimbundos
11. Afro-Portuguese
12. Black Portuguese
13. Half-caste
14. Raça Mista / Mixed Race
15. Mixed blood
16. Crioulos
17. Creoles
18. Old creoles
19. New creoles
20. Pretos calçados
21. Calcinhas
22. Civilizados
23. Ambakistas
24. Ambaquistas
25. Cabrito (child of a white father and mixed mother)
26. Cafuso (child of a mixed father and black mother)
27. Parda
28. Filhos de colono
29. Moradores
30. Escrivae
31. Capitaes de Mor
32. Comerciantes do mato
33. Fumbeiros
34. Pombeiros
35. Pumbeiros
36. Sertenejos
37. Funantes
38. Quimbares
39. Kimbaris
40. Feirantes
41. Avante
42. Aviados
43. Oligarchy
44. Local urban oligarchy
45. Nomenklatura

The notion of a dominant creole elite is problematic because it collapses a wide range of historically nuanced and situated identities. The deployment of the category of ‘creole urban elite’ is less a self-evident fact or natural observation and more a situated political active claim – an attempt at fixing in a term – that has to be explained historically and geographically.

Also, strikingly, much of the literature on ‘creole elite’ in Angola totally ignores the insights of an entire sub-field of ‘creole studies,’ largely focused on the Caribbean. For Stewart (2011: 48) conceptions of creole, creole-ness, creolization, and so on “have been used willy-nilly by different influential scholars, or regional schools of thought, often with little effort to specify in detail what the term is supposed to mean, and which antecedent contexts of usage are being embraced, or rejected.” Instead, Stewart emphasizes examining moments and processes of classification. Likewise, Scott (2009) emphasizes that notions of creolité arose “in the context of a particular conceptual debate, and a particular historical moment ... not as a response to timeless Caribbean conundrums, but as an answer to a particular configuration of questions” (ix).¹³¹

This is partly what I have been trying to do in this section with regard to Angola. The prominence of the notion of a creole elite comes as a *critique* in relation to the spatial and social inequalities arising out of colonialism, war, liberalization, and reconstruction, and as different people try to navigate fields of power relations and livelihoods. The critique of a creole elite is part of this – it is an assertion about the entitlement to resources, rather than a well-informed objective description of reality.¹³² The use of the notion of racialized pathologization of Angolan state is particularly evident in the case of Heilbrunn (2014), who mentions Angola a few hundred times based on a superficial reading of secondary sources, and conflates Luanda creoles for former slaves, then conflates creoles with Kimbaris (a term used hundreds of kilometers away), with mestiços, and then with assimilados to boot. What seems to matter more than accurate nuance is deploying some sort of term or category by which to group and pathologize.¹³³

The particular moment of Dias’ (1984) deployment of term “creole elite” – which she quickly disavowed – was picked up by an influential pair of rising French scholars, Michel Cahen, who worked mostly on Mozambique, and Christine Messiant. It is here that the crucial reduction of the term occurs, between a very nuanced discussion in Messiant’s lengthy thesis (written in 1983 and defended in 1984) in which creole is hardly used (there she instead uses the term *métis* several hundred times), and her first publication in the form of a lengthy chapter about Luanda published in 1989 in which the term creole is used dozens of times in order to *substitute* for that nuanced discussion.

¹³¹ The full quote is “Brathwaite’s conception of “creolization,” for example, doesn’t come from nowhere; it emerges in the context of a particular conceptual debate (with Lloyd Best’s idea of “plantation society,” with M. G. Smith’s idea of “pluralism”), and a particular historical moment (that of the political radicalization of Jamaica in the late 1960s and early 1970s: Walter Rodney, Rastafari, reggae, Michael Manley). It emerges, in other words, not as a response to timeless Caribbean conundrums but as an answer to a particular configuration of questions.”

¹³² In terms of field research, a lack of reflexivity by external researchers can lead to taking abstracting statements made by particular people in particular interview performances as self-evident facts.

¹³³ See also Herbst’s (2000: 79) confusion of the term *assimilado*, and likewise Yates (2012: 46) equates mestiços with “mixed-blood creoles.” To take another important (and striking) example, Heilbrunn notes, “Portuguese administrators ascribed the names Kimbari or Mbari for this mestizo and *assimilado* population.” He takes the term *kimbari* from Clarence-Smith’s 1978 study of colonial Mocamedes, hundreds of kilometers away in the very different context of southern Angola. Yet another example comes from Wheeler’s (1984: 102-3) review of Newit’s (1981) noted but flawed book: “*Ambaquistas* were not simply “mulatto traders” and Ambaca, the town, is not on the Kwanza River ... *Ambaquista* (or *Ambakista*) did not refer to the mestiço population of interior Angola, but described the “civilized” Africans and *mestiços* in the Luanda region, especially in the Ambaca districts ... *Assimilado* referred not only to African but also to *mestiços* (Afro-Europeans) with the presumed rights of Portuguese, and *civilizados* also included both Africans and *mestiços*.” See his ‘Review,’ *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*.

What had happened between 1983 and 1986/7 (when Messiant's chapter appears to have been written) to prompt such reduction? The link appears to be Dias' (1984) article. Messiant (1992: 16) goes on to use the term "the 'creoles'" to refer to "mulattos and blacks – the 'famílias' – ...having preserved its elite position," because "for me their historical trajectory is what delimits this group and defines its specific identity."

In addition to the work of Messiant, the other key strand continually invoking creoles is the various work of the British historian David Birmingham. In a short 1994 presentation entitled "Urban elites and rural masses," the casual approach of Birmingham is quickly evident in reducing armed conflict to age-old divisions between "traditions":

Angola has, for the last 100 years, been divided between the people of the city who speak Portuguese as their native mother tongue and the people of the countryside who speak various dialects of Bantu and use Portuguese only as their vernacular language of wider communication. In the last 20 years these two traditions have been at war with one another. (1995: 91)

Two decades later, Birmingham's (2012) outright dismissiveness and sweeping generalizations make the analysis even less valuable.¹³⁴ Yet it is partly upon this highly questionable basis that numerous prominent commentators on Angola, not least Soares de Oliveira (2015), in turn build their argument.¹³⁵

Having laid out in the preceding sections some of the context of the consolidation and popularization of a simplified notion of "creole elite" in the late 1990s, the next section examines some of the relevant geo-historical roots – simultaneously intellectual and material – of notions of ethnicity and identity in Angola upon which the afore-mentioned studies draw. In the subsequent sub-section, I again return to the context of the immediate post-colonial period and lay out how, prior to the academic adoption of the term "creole elite," the term had been invoked as part of Cold War propaganda and, following Savimbi's electoral defeat in 1992 and loss of US support, as part of insurgent vitriol.

¹³⁴ He writes (without evidence, examples or references) "Does Angola, or its chattering class and its financial elite, feel itself to be truly African. Probably not" (219), "If nationalism is about civic pride and social achievement then nationalism is perhaps confined to the city of Luanda ... So far little is being done to meet provincial aspirations in any province" (220), "The government dreams of Salazarian authoritarianism ... Citizens of Angola – in contradistinction to politicians – are not proud of their country, nor of their government" (221), and "Angola chose the Shanghai economic option, orchestrated by the political masters in Beijing" (226).

¹³⁵ To situate Birmingham, there is Rodney's (1972) critique of the bourgeoisie, atheoretical nature of such work, which bears connections and similarities to Dias' work: "In the actual historical essays, there is no overall conceptual approach. That means of course that they partake of the values, assumptions, etc., of the authors' own capitalist society, and faithfully follow the bourgeois approach to history as an academic discipline. One of the characteristics of that approach is a pre-occupation with the past as an end in itself and an escape from the present ... [and] with the bourgeois liberal [n]otion of "markets."" See, Rodney, Walter (1972) 'African trade through bourgeois eyes,' *TransAfrican Journal of History* 2(1): 123-6. See also the commentary: "Her ability to keep an open mind unclouded by theoretical formalities is probably one of her major contributions to the conduct of scientific research" (Havik 2011: XXVII). Birmingham (2011: xvii) also noted, "Jill belonged to the respectable bourgeoisie of Middle England and grew up in a business family on the edges of the country's industrial heartland."

2.5.3 *Ethnographic Cadasters, Colonial Historiographies, and Geographic Erasures*

This section shows how the notions of ethnicity and the history of Angola that are invoked by recent academic literature on “creole elite” derive directly from colonial contexts of classification for rule, for labor exploitation and for international legitimation. In contrast to such perspectives rooted in colonial historiography and ethnology, the actual geo-historical dynamics of wealth, rule, and identity in Angola have not been sufficiently studied. One of the consequences of the protracted liberation and post-independence conflicts has been that claims about the historical roots of such conflict largely did not or could not utilize the actual historical archives in Angola. In addition, the relatively late date of independence in 1974/5, and the en-masse exodus of colonial settlers, also meant a longer period of influence – as part of colonial propaganda campaigns amidst the liberation war – by colonial researchers and colonial views of Angolan history and society.

The impulse to classify ethnic groups grew with increasing demands for labor as part of the establishment of colonial administration in the late Nineteenth Century. From roughly 1900 to 1926 basic ethnic inventories and labor regimes were established as part of the implantation of administrative rule following military conquest. The next decade saw adjustments to regulations and intensified administration, as well as the increasing self-conscious deployment of ‘modern science’ by colonial ethnographers and administrators. On these foundations post-World War II funding for colonial development expanded and institutionalized imperfect and scientific attempts at ethnic classification for administrative rule.

The roots of contemporary ethnic classification in Angola lie in imperial competition and economic crisis at the end of the Nineteenth Century. Ethnic categories were a means of implanting and conducting the local administration necessary to finance the whole colonial enterprise in Angola in the formative years during and after military conquest. Local colonial administrators would come to operate through local traditional authorities to ensure labor requisitions and tax payments. In order to facilitate this work, these local administrators were in turn schooled in the languages and “customs” of the “tribes” of Angola as part of their training at the colonial school in Lisbon.¹³⁶

Attention to surveying the indigenous population and regulating labor grown by the 1850s after the abolition of the international slave trade. After legislation, in 1852, 1854, 1856, and a major regulation in 1875 to ‘protect’ liberated slaves, a key turning point was 1898. The Portuguese government was trying to lay claim to territories, but facing rebellion and insufficient finance to get trains built and carry out military conquest. Meanwhile, Britain and Germany had agreed to seize Portugal’s colonies if Portugal defaulted on its debt. Portugal’s trade deficit had been covered by short-term credit from London’s Baring Brothers and by remittances from Brazil, which were disrupted by the 1889 republican revolution in Brazil, forcing Portugal off the gold standard by 1892, and reducing the rates and rapidity of payments on government bonds, forcing the Portuguese government repeatedly to the brink of bankruptcy through the turn of the

¹³⁶ See e.g. the *Anuário da Escola Colonial*, various years. A colonial course was in place by 1907 with curricula on methods of collecting head taxes, as well as language training in “ambundo.” Legislation in 1919 noted that “The language exam for the respective colony is indispensable for overseas functionaries” (Decreto 5827, Article 11, Section 1).

century.¹³⁷ Meanwhile, proto-nationalists in Angola were publically lobbying for autonomy, with some claiming they would even be better off under the British. However, while contemporary conventional accounts emphasize these early Luanda nationalists as indicative of a distinct historic coastal elite, such a perspective neglects how the Portuguese responded to these threats through both increased connections and movement throughout Angola, and through the construction of ethnic categories of identity that many scholars have taken as natural and self-evident when such scholars now counterpose ethnically bounded ‘rural masses’ to the creole elite.

In 1898, a committee was set up and found that “the only practical way of solving the national crisis” was to “to oblige the overseas provinces to be productive” through native labor:

only if they are made fertile by the labour of their populations, will the millions of square kilometres of abundant land, which we acquired with so much effort and retain at such cost, give us and save for us — as they can and must save and produce abundantly — this gold which the credit markets threaten to sell us only at the price of autonomy ... We need the labour of the natives, even for improving the lot of these workers: we need it for the economy of Europe and for the progress of Africa ... The so essential capital lent for [African colonies’] development requires labour for development, abundant, cheap and resistant labour¹³⁸

And yet, simultaneously the government was struggling to control enough labor in Angola as it tried to complete the railroad to Ambaca, as it formulated plans for other rail lines, and as it was beset by a major sleeping sickness epidemic. So by 1899 it passed a major law on rural labor that set the stage for hugely expanded ethnic classification and control over labor in the next decade after military conquest. Building on this 1899 law, a 1911 regulation established a Secretary for Indigenous Affairs. In 1912, an ethnographic questionnaire had been devised on the rationale that “the disappearance or the simple diminution of the indigenous labor force is a cause of death or decay for a tropical colony,” but the questionnaire was not implemented until a few years later.

The two key figures responsible for early ethnic classification for labor control and indigenous taxation in Angola were Governor General José Norton de Matos and Secretary of Indigenous Affairs José de Oliveira Ferreira Diniz. As the capable modernizing military governor de Matos took charge in Angola in 1912, he brought with him Diniz, who stated, “the principal wealth of the province is, without doubt, constituted by the thousands of its habitants still very removed from us” (4) and hence one of his office’s “principal goals” was the “cadastralization of this wealth.”¹³⁹ Local administrators and labor recruiters needed to know which traditional authorities they should press to supply labor, and which languages they should to use in order to

¹³⁷ Clarence Smith (1985).

¹³⁸ Mentioned in ILO (1961: 73), and also citing Cunha (1955: 26-7). It had also noted “The State, not only as the sovereign of semi-barbaric populations, but also as the depository of social authority, should have no scruples in obliging and, if necessary, forcing these rude negroes of Africa ... to work, that is, to better themselves by work, to acquire through work better means of existence, to civilise themselves through work Portugal must, absolutely and urgently, make the African inheritance prosper, and this prosperity can only come from productivity. Today, the most important and fundamental administrative problem facing [the Minister of Shipping and Overseas Affairs, to whom the report was made] is to oblige the overseas provinces to be productive, and perhaps the solution of this most difficult problem is the only practical way of solving the national crisis ”

¹³⁹ Diniz (1914).

communicate their demands. It was then that de Matos also created Luanda's main museum, around which key archival and ethnic classificatory work would happen in the 1950s and 1960s, as described below. De Matos introduced 1913 legislation stipulating an "ethnographic cadaster," which was compiled by Diniz, and gave rise to the first maps of ethnic and language groups in Angola in 1916, though fairly crude and conflicting with later maps (see Map 2.14 and Map 2.15 below). The following year, 1917, head taxes would reach their highest level to date, and would double again after five more years (see Appendix E). With this de Matos and Diniz administration, there is a clear increase in the number of people taxed, and in the tax revenues, which both roughly double over the few years of their rule. With the colonial military-administrative juggernaut picking up steam, taxation continued apace, and with military control and administration increasingly solidified in many areas by the end of the decade, a new tax was introduced in 1920 that tripled head tax revenue. After various adjustments and extensions in the 1920s, by the late 1920s regulations were sorted out to facilitate work in lieu of tax payments.¹⁴⁰ As part of this regime, from at least 1926 onward, many Angolans were also required to carry passbooks, called 'cadernetas,' showing either that they had paid their taxes or were liable for payment via forced labor.¹⁴¹

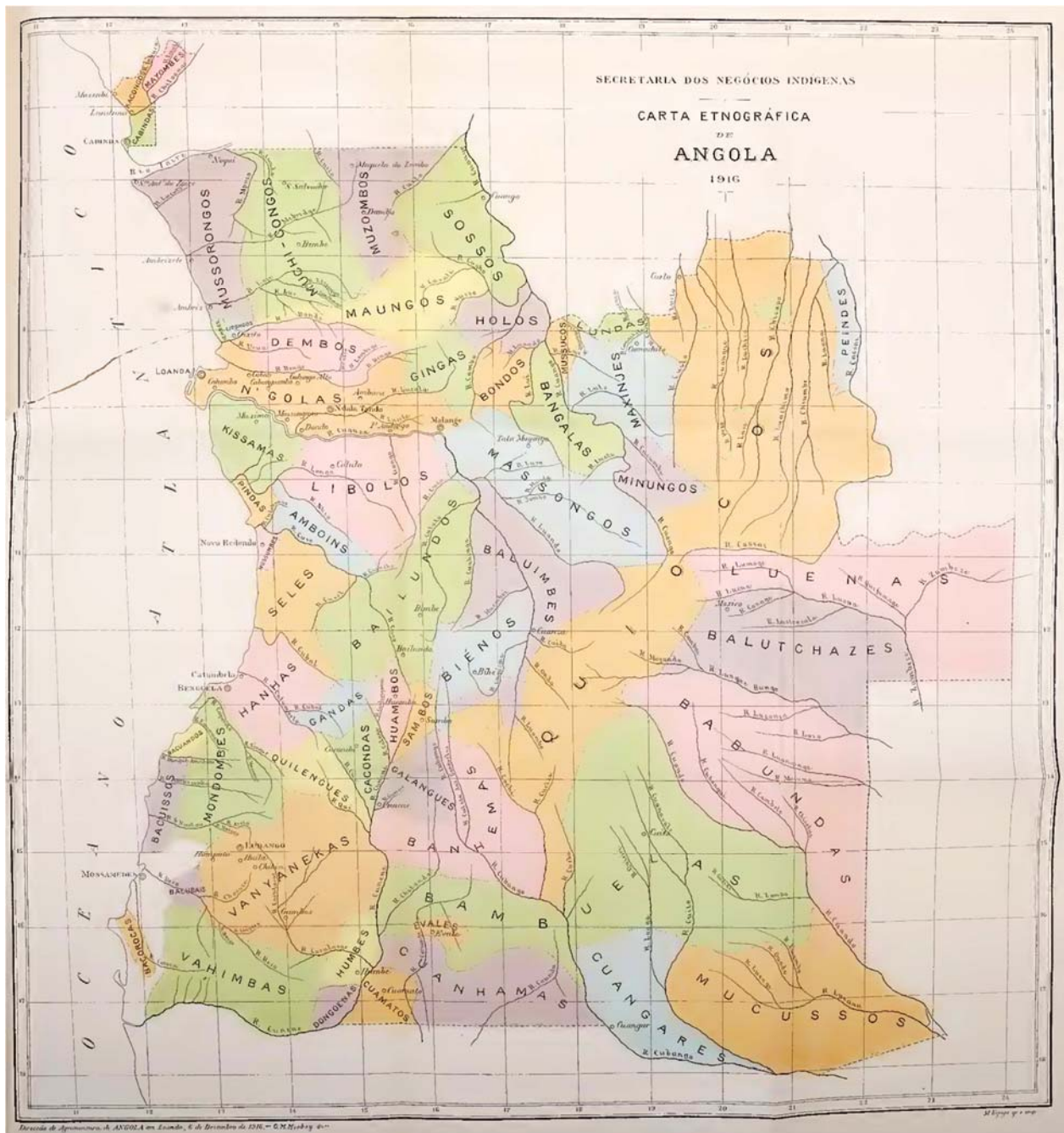
This was the very important context of broader ethnogenesis that is often ignored by numerous conventional dichotomous accounts that only emphasize attempts around this time at hardening and institutionalization of the distinctions in Angola between civilized/uncivilized and, more importantly, indigenous/assimilated.¹⁴² Through the impetus of labor recruitment to solve imperial economic crises were created and mapped bounded ethnic categories that subsequent commentators have taken for granted as reified entities throughout Angolan history.

¹⁴⁰ In 1929, the Estatuto was passed (Decreto 16473 of Feb 6). A 1928 native labor code had fixed the minimum wage as a percentage of the tax due such that 65-100 days of minimum-wage work were needed annually to pay the tax (ILO 1961: 174). In 1923 the tax had been raised by 5% for Malanje for 5 years, and then extended to Congo in 1925. In 1926 a new 'estampilha' form was set. In 1929 there were new instructions on how to do the census and covering of the tax, and the amounts and distribution were modified.

¹⁴¹ The 1926 law required passbooks of men over the age of 16. See Portaria 115, 1923, BO 28; Portaria 4, 1925, BO 4; Portaria 57, 1926, BO 21; Portaria 2167, 1936 BO 52; Portaria 3927, 1942, BO 8, etc.

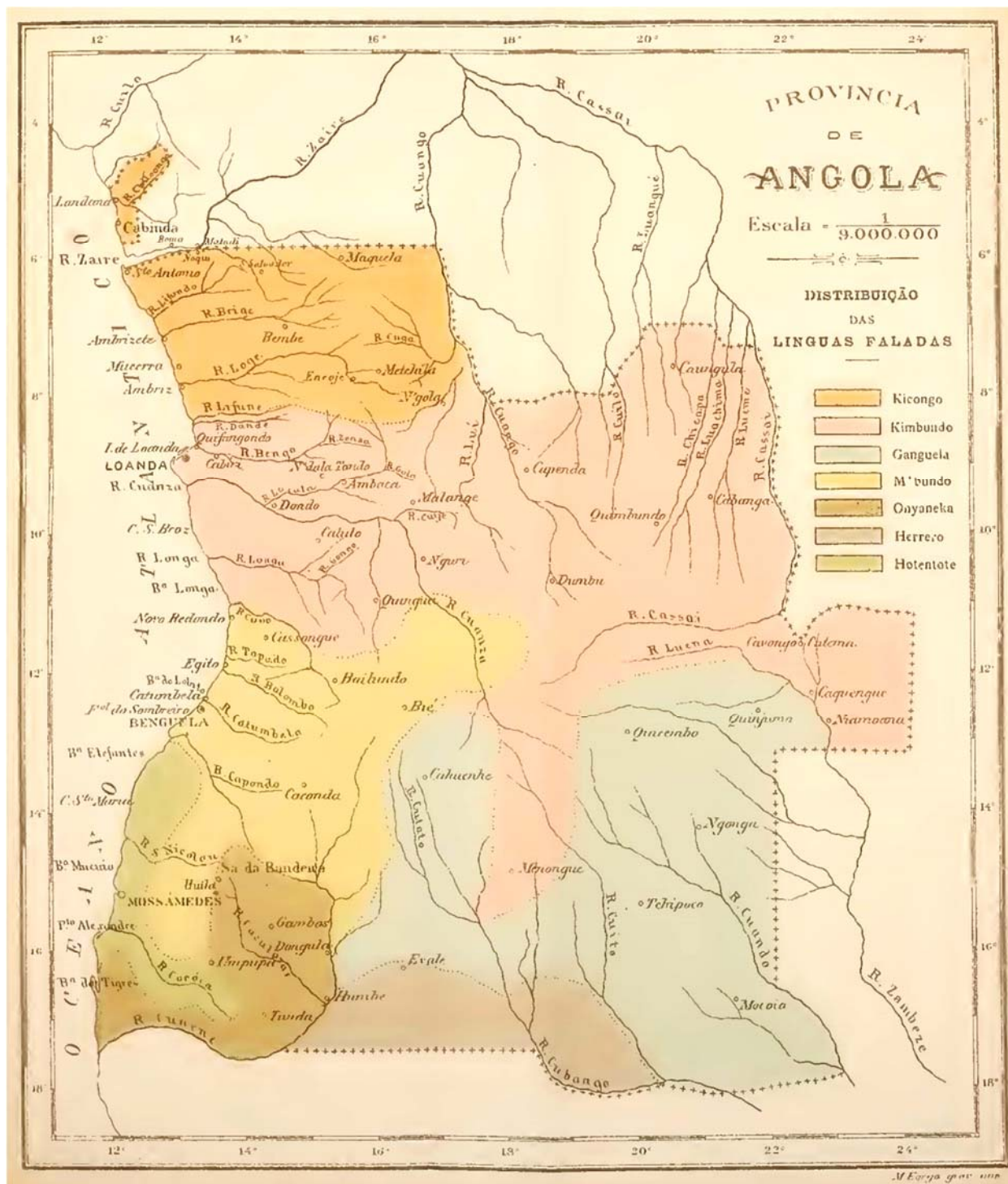
¹⁴² E.g. Wheeler and Pélissier (1971).

Map 2.14: 'Ethnographic Map of Angola,' 1916, by the Secretary of Indigenes Affairs



Source: Diniz (1918: 508)

Map 2.15: 'Distribution of Spoken Languages,' 1916



Diniz (1918: 548)

This deep history of colonial ethnogenesis in relation to labor control and taxation has not been investigated, perhaps due to the mistaken notion that Portuguese colonial rule largely neglected populations outside of a few enclaves. Such a notion is belied by the fact that for several key early decades ‘head taxes’ were one of the largest sources of revenues for the colonial administration in Angola, providing roughly a quarter of total revenues in many years. Moreover, the fact that the share of indigenous taxes as a percentage of total state revenue declined to below 10% after World War II is also a measure of their success. Although total indigenous tax revenue continued to increase, the overall tax base was expanding more rapidly.¹⁴³ This was because taxation pressures helped push Angolans into labor on plantations, mines, and construction, and so the economy and hence tax base expanded on the backs of such cheap compelled labor. The irony and inaccuracy of the initial 1916 ethnographic map that sought to fix into bounded units different ethnic groups is that it would facilitate a massive rearrangement and movement of people across those very imagined boundaries due to military conquest, violent administration, and harsh exactions of labor, money, and goods.¹⁴⁴

The paragraphs below discuss the subsequent reification of ethnic groups by Portuguese colonial biological anthropology (including Kimbundu and mestiço identities), the rise of geographically informed mapping of ethnic areas, and the key role of colonial research networks – particularly centered around the Institute for Scientific Research in Angola (IICA) – in disseminating classificatory ethnic schema that formed the basis for distinction from the Luanda ‘creole elite.’

The major efforts at ethnic categorization built crucially on the biological anthropology in the 1940s and 1950s, which had specific roots in the Porto school of anthropology. For example, Oliveira, in his key essay on Luanda as an “creole island,” draws on the work of Antonio de Almeida, who had done years of ethnographic classifications in the historically rebellious Dembos hills area north east of Luanda after the final colonial military crushing of resistance there in the 1920s, and later became the director of the anthropological mission in Angola during which he spent years measuring the heads and drawing blood samples from thousands of people across the country that he believed to be in different races, tribes, and ethnic groups.¹⁴⁵

Such approaches rose to prominence as the influential Porto scholar Correia became director in 1946 of the Colonial Research Board (which had been established in 1938 after recommendations from the colonial congress and fairs). The Anthropological Mission of Angola directed by Almeida was part of a broader self-consciously modern colonial project of “scientific occupation” to follow up the military and basic administrative occupation of the preceding decades 1890-1920.¹⁴⁶

Kimbundu-speaking groups and mestiço groups – amongst many others – were each reified in such anthropometry studies. For example, a colonial outpost administrator in Seles (south of

¹⁴³ In 1948, the “indigenous tax” was re-christened the “personal tax” as part of ‘Tributary Reform’ (Decreto 37215 of December 16, 1948), and was applicable to all “uncivilized” black men that were not covered by any other tax. The different tax rates were to be set by the Governador General, taking into consideration “the diverse regions of the colony.”

¹⁴⁴ See, e.g. Valente (1966).

¹⁴⁵ By Almeida, see (1942) ‘As investigações antropológicas e etnográficas em Angola,’ at the Palestra da série o império português, realizada na Emissora Nacional,’ *Anuário da Escola Superior Colonial*, 141-8; (1936) ‘Subsídios para o estudo antropológico dos Dembos,’ 3 vols; and in particular the bibliography in (1943) ‘Subsidio para o Estudo antropológico da população dos Dembos (Angola),’ *Anuário da Escola Superior Colonial*, 183-193.

¹⁴⁶ See Castelo (2012a, 2012b), Perreira (1986, 2005); de Matos (2012), Delicado (2013), IICT (1983), Gallo (1988).

Luanda), O. Casimiro de Figueiredo (1948) measured a number of peoples' heads as part of his study of the anthropometry of the "tribe" "the Kimbundu" and concluded that the Kimbundu tribe had a horizontal, vertical and 1-2 cranio-facial cephalic indexes of 77.6, 81.5, and 66.6/86.0, respectively, all duly compared with graphs to skull measurements of other local "tribes" of Mundombes, Mussumbes, and Musseles. While such biological studies varied widely depending on funding, interests and initiative, this example does illustrate the broader underlying impulse to scientifically classify ethnic groups. In addition to reifying Kimbundu and other "tribes," a range of biological anthropology and anthropometry studies were also carried out on groups labeled "mestiços," "Euro-Africans," or otherwise.¹⁴⁷

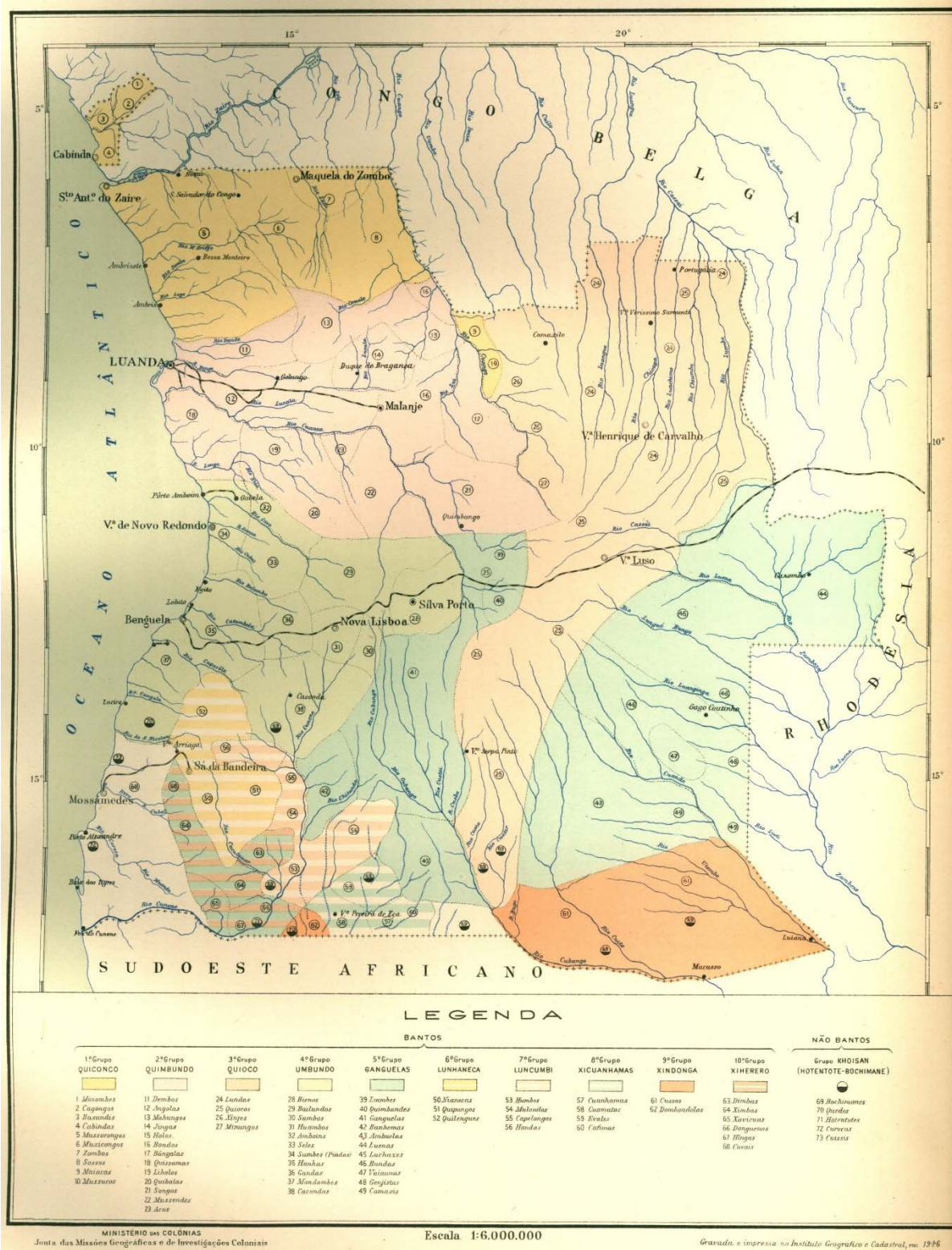
In conjunction with these biological anthropological approaches, the prevalent contemporary (mistaken) notion of dichotomous cleavages in Angola draws from a specific rooting of ethnic groups in particular places that also resulted partly from the overlap between ethnic and geological classification, and geographic mapping. One of the key aspects of this is the early ethnographic work done by Angola's geologic surveyor, Fernando Mouta. For the 1935 colonial fair, Mouta helped put together a volume containing maps and descriptions inventorying those resources in Angola – geology, fauna, ethnicities, etc – that were being managed and made available for exploitation.¹⁴⁸ The other key aspect is that this 1930s work itself influenced a new 1946 'scientific geography' map. A new geographic mission in Angola had begun in 1941 and it drew on the results of the 1940s census, for which the census' ethnic designations had been devised based partly on the 1930s work.¹⁴⁹ The new ethnic map (see Map 2.16 below) finalized by the geographical mission in 1946 corrected and updated Diniz' 1916 map of specific ethnic groups, and it helped lay the basis for a series of much more widely circulated published maps produced by more qualitative ethnographers in the 1950s and 1960s that have in turn become the taken-for-granted standard references in discussions of ethnicity in Angola, and the assertions of stark dichotomies.

¹⁴⁷ An indicative early work was the 1930 study of the ethnography and anthropometry of "the Luso-Descendants of Angola," presented at the 3rd National Colonial Congress in Lisbon. One of the key figures in the biological reification of mestiços appears to have been Alexandre Sarmiento. Sarmiento (1943) for example examined the head sizes of people in central region of Bie, studied the growth rates of mestiço children (1942), as well as mestiços' blood (1953), fingerprints (1945), infant blue discoloration (1951), and so on. See also the more general early study Sarmiento, A. (1940) 'Subsídios para o estudo do índice cefálico dos indígenas de Angola,' Sep. Trab. Soc. Port. Antropologia e Etnologia, 9.

¹⁴⁸ See Mouta (1935) *Generalidades sobre Angola*, and Mouta (1934) *etnografia angolana*. See also his (1934) 'Contribuição para o estudo da etnografia angolana,' in, *Trabalhos do 1º Congresso Nacional de Antropologia Colonial*, Lisbon: Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia, Vol. II, p. 213-216.

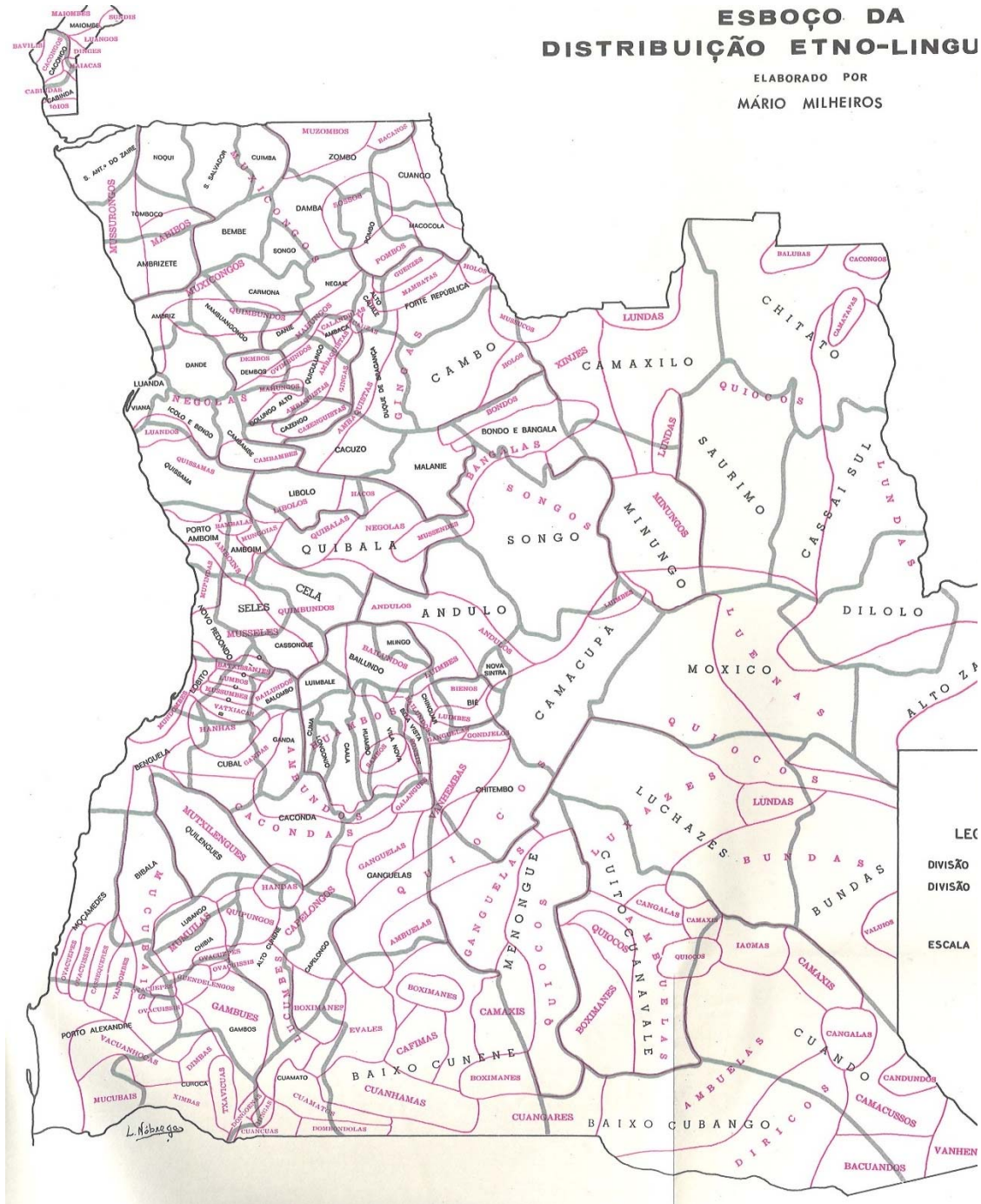
¹⁴⁹ The *Pauta Etnografica* for the 1940 and 1950 censuses draws on the "Esboco Etnografico" by Jose Nobre, published in Fernando Mouta's 1935 collection *Generalidades sobre Angola*. Mouta was in the Secção de Indústria e Minas (and the Politecno Lisboa) and had participated in the geological mapping expedition, published in 1933, and also published in 1934 a large picture book *Etnografia Angolana* of 32 people from Malanje and Lunda for the 1934 1st Portuguese Colonial Exposition (noting that it "has no pretention of an ethnographical study"). Presumably he took these photos and descriptions during his geological expedition. For the small paragraph descriptions of the "principle types" of the "races of Angola," he relies on Diniz's (1918) *Populações Indígenas de Angola*.

Map 2.16: Colonial Ministry's 1946 'Ethnographic Sketch of Angola: Linguistic Differentiation'



Source: JMGIC (1948: Map 66)

Map 2.17: 'Sketch of Ethno-Linguistic Distribution,'



Source: Milheiros [1951] (1967)

Classificatory and inventory research on ethnic groups became consolidated in the 1950s as these earlier sketches and maps were joined by the 1950s with a network of local administrators with formal education in colonial anthropology centered around the newly strengthened Institute for Scientific Investigation in Angola (IICA).¹⁵⁰ It is out of the IICA and related institutions and people that emerged most of the research on ethnicity, history and social issues that has informed contemporary perspectives on Angola's political economy. The IICA was under the jurisdiction of the Overseas Ministry in Lisbon, and had gotten a significant boost with the 1954 development investment plan. The Institute was responsible for both the Museum of Angola, and the Historical Archives, which were housed in the basement of the Museum.¹⁵¹ In 1951, Mario Milheiros published an ethno-linguistic map of Angola in his book *Notas de Etnografia Angolana*.¹⁵² An administrator at some point in his early career, Milheiros was the second assistant at IICA after being trained by the high colonial school in Lisbon, and by 1972 was director of Angola's Historic Archives.

Written geographies and histories, of course, bear to some extent the traces of the times and places in which they were composed by particular people. Much of the history of the slave trade and its legacies remains to be written, a fact which may be less apparent to many academics with mostly general knowledge, and more apparent to Angolan scholars and government officials who are familiar with places in Angola but see no published work about them on the shelves of bookstores and libraries. This statement about the histories-yet-to-be-written may be surprising to some academics, particularly since there has been a half-century of dedicated study in the institutionalized form of African history. But for Angola, from where a large proportion of slaves originated, access to archives was restricted and conditioned first by colonial rule, and then by the independent government and the conditions of war and the associated economic turbulence.

The Historical Archives were located at the bottom of the Museum of Angola, what is now the museum of natural history. That location illustrates the classificatory tendencies, it was just up from the road named after the key institution of imperial exploration, business and lobbying, the Geography Society of Lisbon. Meanwhile, the IICA headquarters stood in a drab grey modernist high-rise, overlooking kitty corner the red tile roof of the 'National African League,' built in 1942. When the question of the nationalism of creoles could not be ignored as the participants in the League in 1948 started to renew the suppressed Angolanidade (Angolan-ness) agitation, the mandarins of propaganda at IICA could be reminded of it simply by looking out their window.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Many of the ethnographic studies were published as "Ethnographic Registries" in the monthly bulletin for colonial administrators in Angola, *Mensario Administrativo*. The profiles of ethnic groups included a relatively standard set of characteristics to be inventoried, including everything from key phrases, to marriage practices, to skull size, clothing and house structures. Many of these profiles were done by Mario Milheiros, but there are others. For southern Malanje, see Marques, Alberto Ferreira "Os povos de MUSSENDE," *Mensario Administrativo* 49 & 50.

¹⁵¹ Miller (1974: 552).

¹⁵² That book describes basic aspects (food, clothing, etc), but is very general for each, giving spotty examples here and there. There is also another 'Socio-Cultural' map by Milheiros in the book of the distribution of hunters, gatherers, farmers, fishers, pastoralists, and various combinations thereof. There is no bibliography or description of sources or methodology. In 1960, Milheiros published a wide-ranging global academic anthropological text *The Tribal Family*.

¹⁵³ Cf. <http://ligaafricana.blogspot.com/> and Zau, F. (2014) 'O aniversário da fundação da Liga Nacional Africana,' *Jornal de Angola*, July 30.

Bender (1974: 517) recounts some of the tense context of colonial propaganda under which research occurred:

There were a small number of creative scholars at the ISCSPU [high colonial school] and other Portuguese universities but, like all teachers and researchers in the country before April 1974, they risked professional, economic, and political sanctions if they were too vigorous in challenging official orthodoxies. Consequently, most were forced either to pursue politically safe subjects or to carry out their work in exile (e.g., A. H. de Oliveira Marques and Jose Cutileiro). Moreover, Portuguese scholars also suffered from most of the handicaps which plagued foreign researchers, including restricted access to archival materials, limited opportunities for field work, concern over potential problems for one's informants as well as the omnipresent preoccupation with the political repercussions of any study.¹⁵⁴

Some of the underlying beliefs of the colonial figures controlling the research, archives and information come out in remarkably frank pieces of racially tinged colonial apology published in the aftermath of the violent nationalist uprisings of 1961. Suffice it here to quote a few pieces by three key colonial mandarins of colonial knowledge, Father Silva Rego, José Redinha, and Mesquitela Lima. These are figures that helped establish and run the post-World War II colonial social science institutions in Portugal and Angola, and who then returned to prominent positions in such institutions in Portugal after the end of colonialism. They thus profoundly shaped not only the documents and telling of Angola's history and geography, but also the initial interpretations of the post-colonial regime in relation to their colonial versions of history.

Glossing centuries of violent conquest and slave trade, Father Silva Rego – who oversaw the organization of the Historical Archives of Angola and was sub-director of the high colonial school in Lisbon – saw Africans as in “an inferior state of civilization,” for which Portugal as a beacon of universal values had a divine duty to continue colonizing and uplifting. After the uprisings of 1961, Rego published a piece in the periodical of the Portuguese community overseas entitled “Color: Barrier, Argument and Weapon,” in which he reiterates tropes of Portuguese multi-racialism and then paints African nationalists as primitive racists manipulated by foreign communists.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Likewise, Miller (1972: v-vi) recounts, “The Portuguese government in my case granted a thirty-day entry visa, renewable for sixty days at a time. The possibility that the administration could have terminated my stay at almost any time, together with the possibility that political or military events might have affected the feasibility of my research, made it impossible to plan an orderly research project extending over several months or years. I therefore found it more efficient to gather as much information as possible in a short time ...”

¹⁵⁵ “We Portuguese, exactly because we never considered color as a substance, but rather always as an accident, we did not let color be raised as a barrier between us and overseas populations. Imbued with the true Christian and universalist spirit, we considered men by their just human value, and not by their anthropological appearance [Color] is racial segregation, but now coming from Africa and towards Europe, and not from the white continent towards the black continent. It is a racial segregation based in hate, in declared hate, of everything that is white, of everything that is related to whites. Even Christianity, preached by Europeans with such care and enthusiasm, is suffering the effects of this attitude, which at first glance appears inexplicable. Africa, supported by feelings fomented by international Communism, insults and offends Europe using the same *barriers*, the same *arguments*, and the same *arms* by which it was offended in the past ... Africa ... is being manipulated by powers that are not Africa and that, stoking their base instincts, desire only to conquer its sympathies and markets ... Man, despite such centuries of wanted and desired conviviality, still has primitive xenophobia ... [Color is] a weapon brandished with satanic fury ... It is a flag raised up and carried along almost the whole black continent. It is known today that, even

The auto-didactic ethnologist José Redinha had worked as an administrative assistant at the Chitato post in the Lunda areas, and worked for the colonial diamond mining company, Diamang, from roughly 1936 to 1946, for whom ethnographic knowledge was key to labor recruitment and control.¹⁵⁶ Redinha then managed the museum in the diamond capital Dundo, and left for health reasons to Luanda in 1959 where he managed the Museum of Angola until 1961, being replaced there by his old friend from Lunda work, Mesquitela Lima. Redinha composed dozens of articles on ethnicity and culture in Angola, and a widely circulated, cited and reproduced map of the country's ethnic and ethno-linguistic groups.

Redinha, in his written response to the events of 1961 published in the periodical *Portugal in Africa*, explicitly tries to respond to questions by Portuguese about “the reasons for the insolent events that have occurred in Angola, since the month of February of this year.”¹⁵⁷ He marshals his anthropological expertise to declare that the brutality of the revolt did not follow customary law, and therefore was the work of confused and frenzied “savage bandits” rather than disgruntled “regular natives.” He substitutes any Angolan agentful action and legitimate grievances with a purportedly innate susceptibility to irrational suasion that turned some Angolans into criminal terrorists.¹⁵⁸ “How then to really explain the extent of the debased hatred for the Portuguese?” he asks rhetorically. His answer: the racists are trying to subvert Portugal's longstanding noble luso-tropicalism. “The ferocious desire to annihilate across the land the only example of fraternal conviviality between whites and blacks. From that, international conspiracy. From that, the low grade of savagery in which the blacks were instructed, a flagrant fact, ethnologically confirmed, with a view to create an unremediable breach in our multi-racial tradition.” He concludes that “native Angolan people are far from being able to govern themselves. The inconfessible craziness of States and organizations in plain view and fashion, is nothing more than political idiocy in face of the ethnologic realities.” He urges protected settlements to prevent contact with terrorists, and says the “from here on out, the word doesn't belong to the ethnologist. It belongs to the eloquent mouth of the armed forces of order, who, with the help of God, will bring us justice and peace.”¹⁵⁹ At this same moment Redinha also

in our Africa, foreign interests are seeking to hoist this flag and employ this weapon” A da Silva Rego, in *Mocidade Portuguesa*, 1961, v5, pp. 9-17.

¹⁵⁶ See also Cleveland (2008).

¹⁵⁷ Redinha, J. (1961) ‘O caso de Angola,’ *Portugal em África*, 18, pp. 271-280.

¹⁵⁸ He explains that the revolt was not against labor recruiters, nor particular classes and races. As an anthropological expert, he says it wasn't a popular revolt, a tribal revolt, nor an agrarian revolt, and was in fact against tribal tradition. Rather, the events were the product of criminal bands operating outside even of native norms. Redinha explains that these criminal tendencies arose because Angolans were misled with beliefs “that, with incredible ease, are accepted without examination by brains of blacks, who have a character that is inapt at credulity.” Natives have “a psychic artifact disposed to accept poor suggestions, fanaticization, [and] the myth of bewitching by sorcerers.” This “psychic artifact” is in turn is related to natives’ “Superstition, suspicion, complexes of inferiority, vivid receptivity without the defensive armature of a culture that is temperate, animist and submissive beliefs, [and] spiritual anarchy about new beliefs that are poorly assimilated,” which have combined with bad doctrines instilled in them by “pretentious defenders of black people.” This then becomes “dangerous and perverse, when mobilized at the service of crime.”

¹⁵⁹ As the war ramped up, he would subsequently go write for Luanda audiences an apologia of the white settlers' volunteer militias, whose reprisals had been responsible for atrocities and deaths possibly surpassing the deadly March revolts. See Redinha, José (1964) ‘Os voluntários e a sua expressão social,’ *Boletim Cultural da Câmara Municipal de Luanda*, 2: 92-95.

published his overview of the ethnic groups of Angola.¹⁶⁰ Redinha was quite explicit about the difficulties and limitations of trying to neatly bound different ethnic groups, though for him these limits were also related to what he viewed in racist terms as the problems with trying to get accurate information out of recalcitrant “blacks.”¹⁶¹

These doubts were less convincing to Redinha’s long-time friend and colleague, Mesquitela Lima, who took over the Museum of Angola, and who was a structural functionalist who wanted to make ethnography more scientific. Lima, of Cape Verdean ancestry, had served as a local administrator just east of Malanje in Mona Quimundo, where he developed his anthropological proclivities amidst the challenges of “distrustful blacks” who “shamelessly lie.” It was there that he befriended José Redinha, “who condemned that attitude of the black person in an admirable phrase, ‘for the black person, to investigate is to profane.’”¹⁶² After being trained at the high colonial school in the early 1960s under the colonialist and quasi-biological anthropologist Jorge Dias, Lima became conservator at the Museum of Angola from 1963-66. Lima’s views were illustrated, after the events of 1961, in his speech on colonialism at the colonial college, “Colonization is a historic and proper phenomena of human nature ... We have to admit, evidently, that there exist men more *efficient* and others less *efficient*,” on which points he duly cited Rego’s own racist views.¹⁶³ Citing the Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre, who was a proponent of luso-tropicalism and was employed as part of colonial propaganda campaigns, Lima emphasized that the plasticity of Portuguese colonialism had resulted in a happy equilibrium of mixed culture. These views are important because it was Lima who oversaw the institutionalization by IICA of the map of bounded ethnic units, which was actually outlined by an assistant, Carlos Alberto Lopes Cardoso.¹⁶⁴

The task of elaborating the first IICA map of bounded ethnicities (which would later be widely reprinted) fell to Cardoso as an assistant at IICA from at least 1959 onward. Cardoso developed the map in 1962-3, and by 1963 he had become director of the Division of Ethnography at

¹⁶⁰ Redinha, José (1961) ‘Distribuição étnica de Angola,’ 167-172 (July-Dec), pp. 3-22.

¹⁶¹ The IICA image used as cover art of Redinha’s *Atlas* of ethnographic types is illustrative because it makes a spatial move beyond the numerous ethnographic inventories that include pictures or profiles as ‘exemplary’ types. The image is an outline of Tchicondo chief of Sombo (in Lunda) in which the echo or shadow of chief’s profile forms a map border on the canvas. The chief’s head stands in as anthropomorphized metonym for a geographically delineated tribe. The ethnic group is reified and anthropomorphized. Ironically, it was the impossibility of producing such defined boundaries that distinguishes Redinha’s map.

¹⁶² Lima (1956: 14).

¹⁶³ He went on a meandering review of various anthropologists and discussions of colonialism before returning whole-heartedly to an exposition of a luso-tropicalist view of Portuguese colonialism, which has, “in sociological terms ... the following characteristics”: “negation of racial ethnocentrism, cultural assimilation, search for *horizontality* in the collision of cultures, conviviality, ecological accommodation and accommodation of different cultural values, and production of ‘new cases.’” Lima, M. (1963) ‘Alguns aspectos sociológicos da colonização,’ *Mensário administrativo* 186-191, pp. 73-87; see also Nascimento (2012).

¹⁶⁴ Lima was perfectly aware of the major efforts at administrative relocation of populations – discussed in Chapter 7 – involving the concentration and relocation of various villages, which he thought could be imprudent given poor African soils. But he carried on with the mapping exercise because, for him, scientific ethnology was part of the duty of colonial service. See Lima, M. (1958) ‘A concentração populacional do indígena: subsídios para um estudo de geografia humana,’ *Mensário administrativo*, 135-136, p. 21-25; and (1959) ‘A concentração populacional do indígena: subsídios para um estudo de geografia humana,’ *Actividades de Angola*, 1, p.51. Lima, M. (1965) ‘A etnologia e o serviço social,’ *Trabalho: Boletim do Instituto do Trabalho, Previdência e Acção Social*, 9, pp. 107-126.

IICA.¹⁶⁵ Redinha had initially describe what he called a “Mbundu complex,” and Cardoso (1959, 1961) had also been interested in older anthropological notions of “culture areas” and “culture complexes.” The first published version of the map of ethnic borders that is now taken as standard was the one by Cardoso in published in 1964 in an encyclopedia, and subsequently by IICA in 1970.¹⁶⁶

The large extent of institutional reification of ethnic groups is also evident in the production of secret police reports by the 1970, and probably earlier, providing ethnographic inventories for different groups.¹⁶⁷ The dossier for Jinga, for example, mentions Redinha’s map in stating that some ethnographic studies had grouped Jinga with Ngolas. These reports were only available due to decades of administrative knowledge – which contradicts notions of light Portuguese rule and knowledge. The Nineteenth Century archives in Luanda that I consulted contain detailed listings of the various local traditional authorities around Duque de Bragança (see also Dias 1976, for example), and by the mid-Twentieth Century administrations had continued with surveys of sobas, which would in turn be used as material for the administration and police inventories of traditional authorities in the 1950s and forward.¹⁶⁸

Colonial historiography was conducted amongst the armed conflict and battles of international public opinion in the 1960s and 1970s. As a part of an explicit policy and well-resourced propaganda campaign, a significant tendency of the colonial historiography became to focus on Portugal’s long-standing and culturally deep relations, and creoles were the perfect metonym for this. Mario Antonio Oliveira and (as well as another key colonial ethnographer, Oscar Ribas) were two mestiço Angolans who were found and supported by colonial administrators to take up such research. Oliveira, having been thrown in jail for a month for his nationalist dabbling, was invited to go write for the colonial research service and then enter into the bastion of colonial research and training in Lisbon.¹⁶⁹ It was there in Lisbon a few years into the armed struggle, that Mario Antonio Oliveira would draw on the luso-tropicalist ideology of his new-found colleagues in the colonial research system via IICA to pen his influential essay *Luanda: Creole Island*.

After independence, Lima helped establish the anthropology department at the New University of Lisbon, where Mario Antonio Oliveira would become an auxiliary professor and complete his doctorate in the 1980s, and at which Dias became an assistant in 1982 and lecturer in anthropology in 1983.¹⁷⁰ Lima and Cardoso sat on the editorial board of the new journal that Dias launched in 1984, whose first issue featured her subsequently influential article on the “creole elites,” in which she cites the ethnic maps that had been produced at IICA.¹⁷¹ This then

¹⁶⁵ This was to be housed at the old Palácio Dona Ana Joaquina – cf. Wheeler (1996).

¹⁶⁶ See ‘Angola,’ in *Enciclopédia Focus*, n5, Lisbon: Sá da Costa; Cardoso (1970). With regard to culture complexes, he engages Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson.

¹⁶⁷ The 1970 Jinga dossier mentions another report produced in September 1964, “Os Jingas da Baixa de Cassange,” Ethnographic Monograph, produced for the review of a promotion of a local administrator.

¹⁶⁸ The 1970 Jinga dossier also mentions at least 11 volumes by the intelligence services of ‘Regedorias and their Authorities’ (p. 9). See Ramos (1970) for some of the legislation on producing inventories of traditional authorities, as well as their uniforms, pay, obligations, and so on.

¹⁶⁹ See Laban (1991).

¹⁷⁰ Lima then also worked at the Paris Museum of Man until 1969, at which time he returned to Angola until 1975. See also Havik (2011: XXV-XXVI).

¹⁷¹ That issue’s editorial board included a number of other key academics, including David Birmingham, Gervase Clarence-Smith, Joseph Miller, Leroy Vail, Henriques Abranches, Beatrix Heintze, Adelino Torres, Ilídio do Amaral, etc. The article had originally been presented as a paper at a Conference in Charlottesville on the history of

was the direct link between the colonial research apparatus established for territorial and labor administration and the contemporary notions of a creole elite versus black mass socio-spatial dichotomy. Organizationally, the links also continued: two years later, Dias was appointed as a director of the Center for African and Asian Studies at the Institute for Scientific Tropical Research, which was the re-christened successor organization to the old Overseas Scientific Research Board that had administered the IICA that had in turn overseen the Archives, Museum, and hence the work of Lima, Cardoso, Milheiros, Redinha, Rego and others.¹⁷²

The equation between contemporary creole elite and Angolan history was part of the colonial luso-tropical ideology. What Dias (1984) did was to continue the basic socio-spatial schema, but without the ugly self-serving colonialist rhetoric. Whereas colonial luso-tropical rhetoric presented Portuguese imperialism as a long-standing harmonious and mutually beneficial racial mixture, Dias drew uncritically on the very partial research by colonial functionaries such as Couto and Mario Antonio Oliveira and agreed that there was a distinct and identifiable long-standing mixed group – the creoles. The basic argumentative structure is likewise one of sweeping generalizations, decontextualized anecdotes and examples, and scanty references largely to published colonial administrative records or explorers' accounts. The archives in independent Angola were, by that point, off limits to nearly all foreigners.¹⁷³

It is important to get broad perspective of the actually only very tiny scope of historical archival material about Angola that has hitherto been studied by scholars. Key academic historical studies over the past decades have examined hundreds of – perhaps even a few thousand – different colonial reports, archival records, and accounts by explorers, sometimes largely through holdings at the archives in Portugal.¹⁷⁴ In contrast, I estimate, based on the archives' rough inventory *only* for Malanje and *only for part* of the records from 1863-1965, of at least 75,000 pages of documents in the archives' Malanje section alone. The archives' total amount of documentation is most likely in the hundreds of thousands of pages, if not a million or more. Out of these, only a

ethnicity in southern Africa organized by Leroy Vail, whose other papers were published a highly influential edited book *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Vail 1988).

¹⁷² Havik (2011: XXIV) writes “A research grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation from 1976 to 1979 would allow her to pursue these goals, as would support from the Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar (renamed Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, IICT, in 1979). In 1984 Jill founded the *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* with later support from the Gulbenkian Foundation. In 1986 her appointment as director of the *Centro de Estudos Africanos e Asiáticos* under the umbrella of the IICT.”

¹⁷³ Where the Dias (1984) article does differ is in arguing that elite creoles were also nationalists, and saw their fortunes decline. But the basic luso-tropicalist notion of a long-standing group of ‘creoles’ continued nonetheless. The reproduction of friendly notions of Mbundu-creole elite was all built on rather shaky and qualified foundations however. In a key passage in Dias, she points to “a series of syncretisms of fusion of beliefs [of creoles] with those of Mbundu” (63). However, the footnote notes says that such syncretisms “await detailed and systematic study,” and cites Couto (1972) and Oliveira (1981), the important but limited colonial luso-tropicalist researchers. In addition, she mentions that there was actual heterogeneity within identity categories, that the term “creole” was actually not used, but she is still using the term because others have elsewhere in Africa (citing Curtin 1972; and Cohen 1982). She notes, “... the little that is known up until now about the comportment of the members of the native elite of the Portuguese colony of Angola in the 19th Century is sufficiently similar with that of the other comparable elites in the African continent, to which the word “creole” has been applied ... to justify its use here” (62).

¹⁷⁴ See, e.g. the references listed in fn 57 above. Some of the *Angolan* archives used by scholars are those that have been published in a few volumes of archival reports from Angola consisting of a few thousand pages covering 1783 to 1887, compiled and edited by Mario Antonio Oliveira (author of *Luanda: Creole Island*), while another two volumes reprints a thousand pages worth of documents just for each year 1845 and 1846. See Oliveira (1968, 1971), dos Santos (1976, 1995).

very small portion have been examined, and an even smaller portion carefully studied and discussed publically. In contrast, my dissertation's relatively brief but nonetheless important retelling of the story of Malanje empirically illustrates how it is on a very thin evidential basis, and a great deal of colonial historiographical bias, that contemporary understandings of Angolan geography and history are based.

In addition to such qualifications and limits being generally ignored by subsequent authors, what happens with various reproductions of versions of the IICA map – perhaps most influentially, Messiant's (1983) reproduction of Pélissier's version – is that the more detailed geographic base has been removed (compare Map 2.9 on page 90 above with Map 2.19 below).¹⁷⁵ What is left are

Map 2.19: Conventional Map of Ethnic Boundaries on Empty Space



Source : simplifiée d'après Mesquitela Lima in Pélissier 1978 : 16
Messiant (1983: 35)

¹⁷⁵ Lima is also mentioned as the author, though he only authored the preface, not the map, which was composed by Cardoso.

deceptively coherent, bounded, homogenous blank ethnic spaces. This is a process of erasing indications of actual changing historical relations between ethnic groups and the geographical features, such as rivers, roads, mountains, fortresses, cities, mines, battlegrounds, towns, valleys, forests, deserts, and their innumerable unique conjunctions and combinations. What are also erased are the traces of the map-making process itself – specifically erased are the ways in which map makers motivated by practical concerns and pressures of colonial science and administration had either used such geographical features in guessing where the ethnic boundaries lay, or how the relatively smooth, straight, continuous drawn boundaries implausibly cross diverse geographic features. It seems rather odd, for example, how the Jinga's identified northern boundary follows so closely the 8° longitude line. In other instances, the borders are simply towns connected by straight lines. The straight, smooth contiguous lines are those of the map-maker looking down at the paper, not those of actual social reality on the ground. The notion of objectively identifiable and distinct groups is thereby naturalized – they appear as self-evident and given units. What is thereby constructed is the broad ethnic 'African' interior that can collectively be counter-posed to a distinct Luanda creole enclave.

There is also a mis-reading or simplification of the map originally elaborated by Redinha back into the large linguistic groups – Mbundu, vs Ovimbundu, vs Bakongo. Messiant's (1983) own recognition and qualification about her simplification are not given proper weight in other author's subsequent citations of her work.¹⁷⁶

The notion of a historically continuous distinct creole-Mbundu ethnic identity formed around capturing the gains from exploitative trade thus has its own history. The sorts of maps exemplified by Map 2.1 at the beginning of this chapter are an all too common and problematic way of depicted Angolan history. Dozens upon dozens of works portray Angolan history with the use of such maps in which the routes and agency and history-making of traders and explorers are highlighted, and the rest of the map is left blank, except for some ethnic groups roughly located in place.¹⁷⁷ The lack of a well-informed understanding of the historical geography of

¹⁷⁶ Messiant (1983) begins on page 31 by examining the "ethnic composition of the population of Angola" by looking at census figures. She cites Redinha (1975) and says "the distribution in ethnic groups and the naming of them varies somewhat according to authors, but one can here retain the classification adopted by the 1960 census, which is made up of large ethno-linguistic groups." She notes "It is therefore on very different human and cultural foundations that have been constituted the ethnic groups that one distinguishes today in Angola, and the authors who have studied this history prior to effective colonization warn against 'any entrenched ethnic division' ... There is therefore the presence of recently stabilized ethnic frontiers, of ethnic margins difficult to classify, and even the criterion of language, determinant in the distinction of large groups, shows these margins – the two "dialects" Mbundu, that of the west and of the east, are difficult to mutually comprehend." She mentions Pelissier's statement about "92-112 tribal units," and concludes saying "this tribal fragmentation, if it is important in certain circumstances, *it weighs less heavy* than the existence of three major Angolan ethnic groups" (emphasis added). In Messiant's 1994/5 articles, she states in a footnote at the beginning that "This article will not discuss further the both theoretical and empirical problems posed by the identification and delimitation of ethnic "groups" (160, fn14), and points to her unpublished dissertation. Other parts of her dissertation had been published as a long 1989 chapter on Luanda, but, similarly, there also any questions about ethnic groups are dismissed hastily early on in a footnote referencing the dissertation.

¹⁷⁷ E.g. Miller (1988); Henriques (1997); Heintze (2008). Such maps are the external representation, the official marketing. But the actual original archival and explorer's texts sometimes describe, and have various images of, particular places and features, which are too often overlooked or not pursued in favor of emphasizing the official narrative of movement across space. The cover of colonial explorer-ethnographer-administrator Carvalho's (1890) key book that such studies commonly cite for Nineteenth Century history in northern Angola illustrates this very

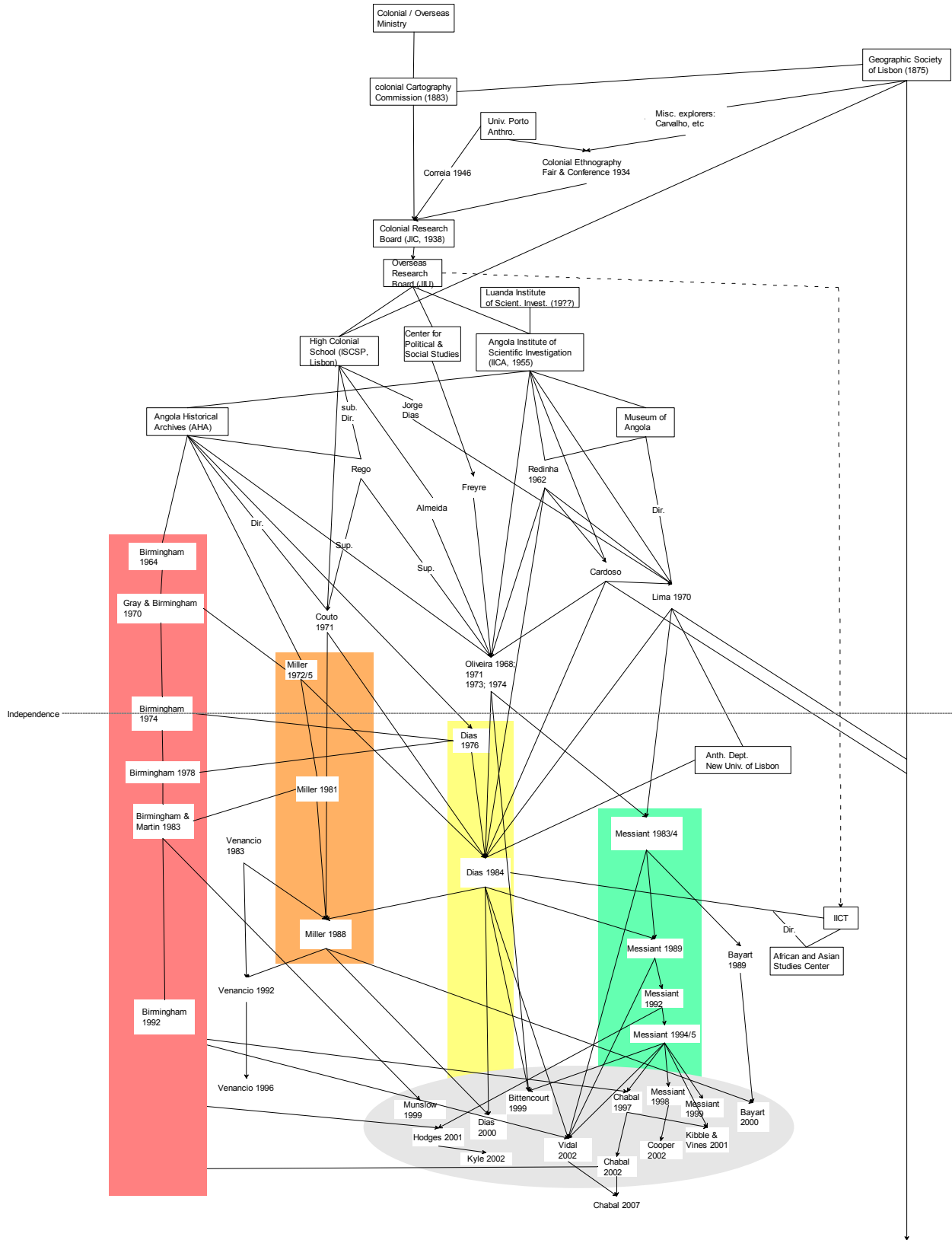
Angola is closely related to the inadequate use of the historical archives in Angola, as well as oral history. This is something I try to address briefly, by examining in section 7.3.4 the subsequent historical context of the Malanje garden plantation of Custódio Machado, who was one of the key traders operating throughout Angola and West Central Africa in the Nineteenth Century and features prominently in Carvalho's (1890) book, and numerous other accounts.

Only over the past decade or so since the end of the war has a new generation of scholars worked through the archives and sketched out some initial work, which is very revealing. Important work has been done about the slave trade in Angola drawing on the archives, however this has some important limitations. Some key early work continues to focus mostly on the coast and Luanda hinterlands (Curto 2004; Pantoja 2008). There is some promise that the future may bring more systematic, locally rooted and novel research. A new building to house the National Historic Archives of Angola is to be built in the next few years in the Luanda neighborhood of Camama, several dozen kilometers east of the current downtown building, and next to the large new University Complex.¹⁷⁸ This Luanda neighborhood was also the site of war refugee migrations, and the cemetery where victims of the 1992 Battle of Luanda were buried (see Chapter 6). It has since experienced demolitions. Histories always have locations. Histories are always written in places.

notion of explorers shedding light on an otherwise blank continent awaiting to be scientifically studied and classified.

¹⁷⁸ António Bequengue (2014) 'Festival de Cultura à medida da Nação,' *Jornal de Angola*, Aug 30. The name Camama is a place in Huila, and also a part of a river in northern Malanje (Cambo-Camama).

Figure 2.3: Colonial Geo-Historiography and a Critical Genealogy of the Notion ‘Creole Elite’



2.5.4 'Creole Elite' as Reified by Cold Warriors and Savimbi

Just as research on ethnicity shaped, and was shaped by its colonial geo-historical context, so too the notion of a "creole elite" entered broader discourse throughout the West in its specific contexts, namely Cold War propaganda and insurgent mobilization, before becoming academically formalized in the 1980s and institutionalized by the late 1990s. The notion of a dichotomy between a "creole elite" and black African mass came to the fore after UNITA lost the 1992 elections, as part of a strategy that, as Messiant (1992: 38) recognizes, had been "using *populist* means and verbal attacks" (emph. added).

Savimbi had been gaining international notoriety at the height of the Reagan Cold War years. The theme of a racialized division between authoritarian Marxist regime and an oppressed black populous was repeatedly stressed, for example, in speeches on floor of the US Congress mobilizing support for the renewal of tens of millions of dollars of funding and arms for UNITA. The lead sponsor of the efforts, Senator Steven Symms of Idaho (an ardent anti-Castroist who had been a marine at Guantanamo during the Cuban missile crisis), declared in May 1984 that they would be "sending a message of vocal support for the overwhelming number of Angolans who want to be freed from Communist slavery."¹⁷⁹ Symms made this statement after personally visiting Savimbi in Jamba in Angola several months earlier that year, describing him as "one of the greatest men in the world ... a leader in Africa who is pro-Western, Christian, black nationalist."¹⁸⁰ Symms likewise submitted for the record a chapter on Angola from the book 'Combat on Communist Territory' that asserted "the MPLA had only limited political support. Since it had been founded by Portuguese and MESTICO (people of mixed ancestry) Marxists with urban roots and secondary education, the MPLA had difficulty in dealing with rural issues ... Its rural support came almost exclusively from the Kimbundus, Neto's tribe" (Cain 1985).

This then was the context in which Dias' 1984 article came out purporting to describe the history of the "creole elite" in Angola who had for centuries dominated commodity and slave trade.

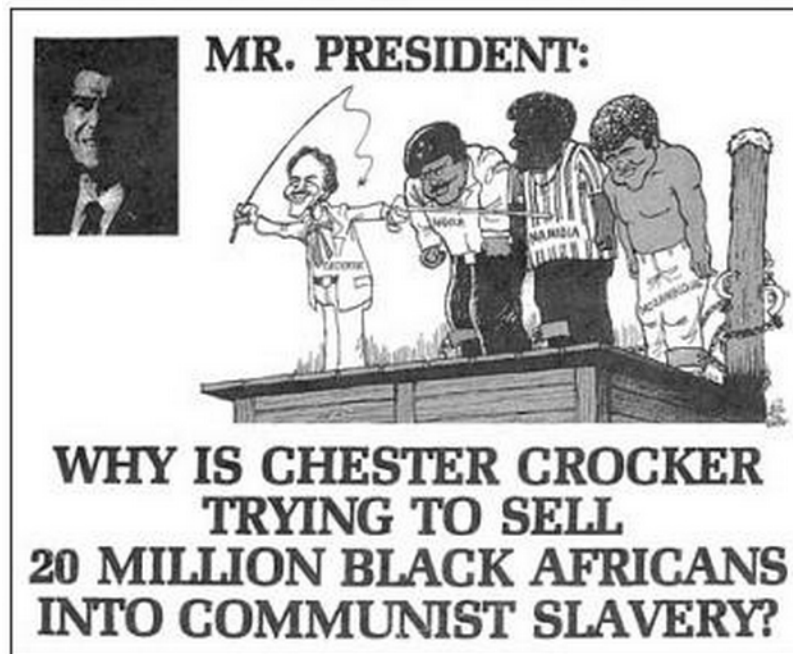
Cold Warriors in the US were quick to pick up on dichotomous images counterposing 'mixed-race' authoritarian communists allied with the Soviet Union in contrast to repressed freedom-loving black masses. In December 1984, leaders of prominent conservative organizations in the US lobbied for increased military and financial support to UNITA and published an open letter to President Reagan drawing on this striking imagery (see Figure 2.4).¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Speakman (1994: 401-2).

¹⁸⁰ Congressional Record— Senate. May 14, 1985, S 6053.

¹⁸¹ National Coalition of Americans Committed to Rescuing Africa from the Grip of Soviet Tyranny (1984) Washington Times, Dec 7, p. A5.

Figure 2.4: Cartoon from Conservatives' Open Letter, 1984



Source: Gleijeses (2013: 283)

While Savimbi and UNITA – notoriously plastic in terms of ideology and rhetoric – had, prior to the 1990s, carefully maneuvered around the issue of race in an effort to curry international public opinion and retain US Cold War support, it was really after the elections were lost in 1992 that Savimbi and UNITA, now without US support for their movement as an anti-communist ally, turned to emphasizing “creole” domination as part of a strategy of increasingly desperate reliance on crude ethnic divisions in order to mobilize support for the destructive insurgency.

A range of conservative groups and figures in the US in the 1980s had in fact been making these sorts of assertions publically for several years, building on Savimbi’s rhetoric and earlier visit to the US in 1981.¹⁸² UNITA would in turn hire the well-connected lobbying and PR firm Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly for \$600,000 to further press its case. As early as 1979 Savimbi had emphasized the non-racialism of UNITA and the simple fact of wanting majority rule.¹⁸³ Yet in his 1982 speech on the anniversary of UNITA, Savimbi emphasized that although mestiços are undoubtedly Angolans also, “we will continue to frontally attack the disproportionate manner by which the mulatos control the power in the heart of the MPLA.” In such statements he elides mestiço and mulato and race (he speaks of “Angolans of all races”). The division, for Savimbi, was not about ethnic affiliation, but about race, and racial proportionality, because, he argued, UNITA was not against mestiços per se.

But the real vitriol about ‘creole elites’ came as UNITA sought some other mobilizing rhetoric in the wake of its defeat in the first round of the 1992 elections and as US Cold War-driven support

¹⁸² See U.S. Congress, Subcommittee on Africa, Hearing on Regional Destabilization in Southern Africa, 97th Cong., 2nd sess., 8 December 1982, 51-55.

¹⁸³ Savimbi et al (1979: 56-7).

was withdrawn. Days after the election and the violence in Luanda, UNITA broadcast loaded statements on its radio station:

Angola has been the victim of genocide since 1975 when troops of the defunct Warsaw Pact imposed a totalitarian, fascist and oligarchic government against the will of the people, using its blue-eyed MPLA-PT boys ... We are Angolans, and we do not subscribe to the policy of an eye for an eye. We do not want the fatherland to be completely blind in order to give in to the anti-Angolan maneuvers of Eduardo dos Santos – a creole and filibuster ...¹⁸⁴

Over the subsequent months also there were increasing numbers of statements on UNITA radio lambasting ‘the creoles.’ Notable was Savimbi’s lengthy radio address after capturing Huambo in March 1993:

No one is saying that Creoles should not have their own culture, that Creoles should not live the way they live. All we are saying is that we are not Creoles. All we want to say is that we are of Bantu origin and we are Africans. We cannot abdicate and cannot compromise on the defense of these values ... We ought to form a front in order to show Luandalandia that Luanda was the capital chosen by the Portuguese settlers. In view of its [words indistinct] and its population consisting mainly of Creoles, Luanda still has to attract other Angolans so that it may be the real capital of Angola. One cannot live in Luanda today. Luanda has inherited values extraneous to Africa and one cannot [be linked?] to them. Luanda wanted to be the [centre?] where extraneous policies were implemented and of subcultures with no roots in Africa.¹⁸⁵

The portrayal of “Luandalandia” and the MPLA in such statements is one of exaggerated disconnection from the rest of the country, and manipulation by foreign interests. Likewise, radio commentaries from August 1994 referred to the “Luanda regime and its stateless Creoles” and asserted “The MPLA was founded by Creoles who never identified with the genuine sons of Angola whose descendants form part and parcel of UNITA.”¹⁸⁶ Savimbi similarly condemned the support from Brazil and Cuba for such “creolism.”¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ BBC (1992) ‘UNITA commentary accuses government of genocide and ‘shameless fraud,’ SWB Nov 12.

¹⁸⁵ BBC (1993) ‘Savimbi’s Radio address after capture of Huambo,’ SWB March 12. And again a month later, Savimbi argued that to “ignore the Angolan people’s longstanding desire for peace and ask the world for more weapons ... happens purely and simply because a group of Creoles in the Futungo de Belas Palace are blinded by their obsession for power and by the wealth of the Angolan people.” See BBC (1993) ‘UNITA Radio comments on “warmongering” government declaration,’ SWB April 27.

¹⁸⁶ BBC (1994) ‘UNITA radio commentary criticizes US for supporting embargo,’ Aug 22; BBC (1994) ‘UNITA radio commentary criticizes US policy on Angola,’ Aug 25. Broadcasts over the subsequent months continually emphasized the creole character of the MPLA in condemnatory terms – “the bloodthirsty creole chieftains of the MPLA-PT,” for example (BBC (1994) ‘UNITA radio says government forces bombed Jamba, condemns “creole chieftains”,’ Nov 5).

¹⁸⁷ “Specifically, the Brazilians manipulated the votes in favor of the group of creoles that had been forcibly installed in Luanda by the former USSR.” May 14, 1993 ‘UNITA Radio says appointment of new UN representative “not welcome.” See the statements from his 1997 interview: Imbued with a creole ideology from Latin America tinted with Marxism-Leninism, Castroism is less coming to help Africans than rushing to the aid of Angolan creolism ... (34-8), “[T]he Castro regime, as socialist and even communist that it pretended to be, maintained a base of Creolism ...” (73), “Sustained by the total of the Iberio-Latin American world, and benefitting in the circumstance from the support of the great powers, the MPLA leadership wishes for a total victory over UNITA, to impose in Angola an irreversible Lusitanian culture.” (144).

After this heightened rhetoric during the turbulent years of conflict following the 1992 elections, Savimbi – now in a phase heavily reliant on diamond smuggling for weapons and violent coercion of soldiers – provided more detailed comments on the basic issues. In a 1997 interview, he elaborates at length on the issue:

The leadership of the movement [MPLA] has fallen into the hands of a coterie composed of sectarian and opportunist anti-nationalists, who hide behind “progressivism” and “internationalism” the wish to preserve their personal interests at the detriment of the common good ... Whites, Mulatos and assimilated Blacks ... serve the neo-colonial order managed by the MPLA to enrich itself under the shadow of the multinational companies at the expense of the autochthonous blacks. In a deliberate way, the juiciest administrative posts ... fall into the hands of the Whites, the Mulattos, and some assimilated Blacks. Concentrated in the towns, where they pretend to be more civilized than the autochthonous blacks living in the countryside, these groups consider themselves predestined to manage/lead [dirigir] Angola ... In the battle of the Angolan people for their black African identity, it is not surprising that the advocates of crioulism seek to demonize the authentic pan-African nationalists ... The colonialist had inculcated in Mulatos since childhood contempt for the black portion of their nature, and therefore the conviction of their superiority vis-à-vis the blacks ... ¹⁸⁸

In sum, the notion of a clear dichotomy between a creole elite and black masses was reified and repeated by Savimbi and UNITA as part of a deliberate political and propaganda strategy that increased in the specific circumstances of returning to war after losing elections in 1992 and no longer being able to count on the support of the anti-communist Cold Warriors in the United States..

2.5.5 The Mythical Metonym of ‘The Dozen Great Families’

One key plank in the construction of the dichotomy between ‘creole elite’ and ‘black masses’ was the notion of a tightly knit and – appealing to historicist proclivities – long-standing cabal of ‘the dozen great families of Luanda.’ Soares de Oliveira (2015: 19), for example, refers to “a handful of families” and a “discernible clique of ‘great families’.” Corkin (2013: 127) cites a memo to say that one of the most important “loci of power” is “a small number of ‘extended and interrelated creole families (Oxford Analytica 2011: 2).” Messiant’s (1983) analysis mentions “the old great black and mestiço families” (118), and the “great families of Luanda” (319) and Benguela (339). Birmingham (1988: 9) notes that “By 1987 the government was controlled by a network of a dozen families of the old creole military caste that had dominated the black elite in the nineteenth century,” while also mentioning “the great Luanda families,” which he recently

¹⁸⁸ In an extended note posted online in 1999, he engages with “historians and analysts,” mentioning Portugal’s labor policies of the 1930s, colonial distinctions between natives (gentios), assimilated (assimilados), and civilized (civilizados), and the colonial transformation of “Creole culture into a standard culture for every Angolan,” which the MPLA has continued in its role as “the main social force that has promoted inequality and a Creole culture in Angola.” He argued that the conflict’s “root causes are historical and cultural,” that Angolans “do not have a common citizenship,” and that the Angolan state proclaimed by the MPLA is “devoid of any political and institutional legitimacy.” See BBC (1999) ‘Angola: Rebel leader invites ruling party to participate in dialogue,’ *Monitoring Africa*, Sep 1.

updated to “the thirteen ruling family dynasties” (2012: 218). In turn, the meta-metonym of the 12 families is the Van Dunem family, whose clearly foreign name derives from an official who came to Angola during the brief Dutch occupation of Luanda in the early Seventeenth Century. Notably, the Van Dunems were loosely fictionalized in the widely read and cited novel *The Glorious Family* by the internationally renowned Angolan author Pepetela (1998).

But what of the specifics? As soon as one tries to pinpoint who exactly constituted this restricted circle of the dozen great creole families of Luanda, the notion falls apart. Dias (1984: 65) notes that “Their central nucleus was constituted by a miniscule aristocracy of about a dozen strongly implanted families, the most powerful of which, like the Matoso de Andrade, Pinheiro Falcao, Velasco Galiano or Vandunem, had ancestors in the colony ascending in the 17th century.” However, while Dias says “about a dozen,” she mentions only four there, and as soon as one starts keeping track of all the so-called elite families, one quickly reaches beyond a handful into the dozens. Miller (1988: 249) notes that “Names like Machado, Correia Leitao, Matozo de Andrade, Vandunem, and Ornellas reappeared over and over again in local affairs down through the decades.” And Pacheco (1990: 197), who dedicates his book to Mario Antonio Oliveira for his historical research, lists numerous other “euro-africanos” that were “children of the local urban oligarchies.”¹⁸⁹ To the list could also be added others from Wheeler’s (1971: 95) note of such “well known Angolan names as Mattoso da Camara, Salles Almeida, the Van Dunems, Africano Ferreira, José de Fontes Pereira, Arantes Braga, Carlos da Silva, and Arcenio de Carpo.” Freudenthal (2000), drawing also on Lemos (1969), adds Beça, Castro Francina, and Furtado Antas, while Corrado (2008) adds also Amaral Gourgel and Carvalho e Meneses. Moving past dozens, Hodges (2004: 41) writes that “some Angolans” call the “richest stratum,” the “100 families.”

The key point in mentioning such proliferation is that it moves us beyond the myth of a neat set of a dozen aristocratic creole families who have been controlling Angola for centuries. In reality, there is much less tidily stable social cleavage, identities and concentration of significant political and economic action in Angola than this myth portrays. To see a surname of an old slave trader reappear a few times decades later amidst the thousands of other names in archival records is not quite the same as showing empirically the nuanced social reproduction of inequality. While there are plenty of instances of the several dozen prominent names appearing not simply in archives but also in key institutions and literature, there are also other new names that appear in all these without such a known background, and there are numerous instances where names of prominent families do not reappear, or are shown to have lost fortune and/or prestige.¹⁹⁰

This is where there are key contributions by recent biographical histories in the southern Atlantic, which have done recent careful archival research and are able to use detailed life histories and which actually come to emphasize peoples’ multiple, changing and ambiguous

¹⁸⁹ These were “the Galianos, the Pintos de Andrade, the Necessidades Ribeiro Castelbranco, the Vieira Lopes, the Matosos de Andrade, the Regadas, the Fançonis, the Pinheiros de Falcao, the Lemos Simao, the Escórcios, the Vieira Carneiros, the Rangéis, the Nascimento da Mata and, naturally, the Maia Ferreira and many others.”

¹⁹⁰ It is also worth recognizing that the imperfect congruence between family connections and wealth has also been used by some elite to try to deflect criticisms and allegations of illegality in gaining wealth. See, for example, the quote of the President’s daughter, “there’s lots of people with family connections but who are actually nowhere” (Burgis, T. (2013) ‘Lunch with the FT: Isabel dos Santos,’ Financial Times, March 29). However, the fact that elites invoke this sociological point for their own purposes does not invalidate its accuracy (cf. Schubert 2014).

identities, and the changes in their fortunes (and sometimes those of their descendants) in specific circumstances. This contrasts with the celebratory accounts by nostalgic colonial historians focusing only on ‘great families.’ Candido’s (2013) study of Angola’s southern and second largest port of Benguela, for example, points out that rather than the tidy image of a gradual frontier of slaving mediated only by creoles, mestiços or Luso-Africans, the Portuguese moved extensively in the interior as part of ricocheting “waves of violence” (226) that “moved not only eastward but also southward and northward and eventually even rebounded westward toward unprotected populations close to the coast” (197). Moreover, she finds, with regard to the “local elite,” they “profited from the sale of African slaves, yet their economic gains were gone after a few years and did not bring any lasting advantage” (321). She explains further:

Their position as cultural intermediaries brought them profits but *also threatened their security* ... Rulers and merchants in the interior attacked and enslaved Luso-Africans, perhaps as a strategy to avoid debts already acquired. Yet the attacks on Luso-Africans revealed strategies of resistance to the trans-Atlantic slave trade, which in some cases involved seizing its agents and, ironically, enslaving them (234-5, *emph. added*)

Though her insightful analysis might have benefited further from a more explicit conceptualization of space, it nonetheless at times comes off as rather Lefebvrian in emphasizing “overlapping frontiers that were relatively fluid ... some of which corresponded to physical space, whereas others referred to the idea of a person being an insider or an outsider” (235-6). In sum, rather than view creole domination as a constant in Angolan history, her analysis highlights a “broad range of institutions ... seen in a historical perspective not as static, emphasizing change rather than continuity” (16), and likewise that the “reconfiguration of identity was a constant process” (28).¹⁹¹ In contrast to accounts emphasizing only the agency of traders and creoles in mediating *outside* demand and commodities, both Candido and Ferreira are keen to explore the biographical histories of slaves, women, and other subaltern actors. These two authors also emphasize, conversely, how a range of different immigrants to Angola were Africanized in various ways.¹⁹²

Given that Angola is depicted as the ‘extreme of the extreme’ of the broader phenomena of extraversion and neo-patrimonialism purportedly so characteristic of Africa, these careful *post-colonial* studies compellingly call into question much of the foundation of uncritical invocations of ‘path dependent’ ‘extractive African institutions’ combining with booming mineral exploitation and trade to incur the resource curse, arguments which I now analyze in more detail.

¹⁹¹ These findings are more or less corroborated by the Brazilian historian Roquinaldo Ferreira’s research project making careful use of numerous archives in Brazil and Portugal and revisiting anew Angola’s own archives as well. Describing one key administrator of Kassanje, which was one of the main Eighteenth Century markets of West Central Africa, Ferreira (2012) notes “success was fleeting ... Souto was found guilty of illegal enrichment and put in Luanda’s public prison. After two months in jail, he was taken to Lisbon and never returned to Angola” (44-45).

¹⁹² Candido emphasizes that the so-called creole enclave of Benguela was a deeply African town, and Ferreira notes also how Luanda also, for example, “would become filled with quibangas, or shrines, dedicated to African spirits and gods” (181). And, again, based on careful new readings of multiple archives, Ferreira concludes, “concepts and labels such as Atlantic creole, which implies static religious beliefs based on Christianity, hardly do justice to the pluralistic social, cultural, and legal fabrics of communities in coastal and parts of internal Angola. In these societies, different cultural, religious, and legal spheres existed side by side, allowing individuals to tap into resources relevant to momentary circumstances.... Social and cultural identities were in constant construction, with salient ambiguity and ambivalence toward race and social status” (248).

2.6 Neo-Patrimonialism: Extractive Institutions, the Resource Curse, and Spatiality

Recent literature on the resource curse has come to emphasize spatial processes in conceptual explanation, yet continues to rely on notions of African institutions that are based on crude metaphors and conceptions of space. Lowi (2013: 593) emphasizes how recent studies have tried to overcome the pitfalls of “commodity determinism” in earlier research on the resource curse by using examining “variations in features, processes, and outcomes” through the use of “‘conditional theories’ about how institutional quality mediates the relationship between mineral wealth and outcomes.”¹⁹³ While this attention to variety and specific processes is welcome, with regard to Africa such approaches still often take as given the “neo-patrimonial” or “extractive” character of institutions in Africa, neglecting serious spatial analysis.

For example, in their widely debated book *Why Nations Fail*, Acemoglu and Robinson (2012) cite Angola (along with several other African countries) as an example of the how the inertia of the ‘extractive institutions’ set in place by the ‘critical junctures’ of the slave trade and colonialism continued as a ‘vicious cycle’: “it is no surprise that the extractive institutions that many African countries inherited from the colonial powers sowed the seeds of power struggles and civil wars. These struggles ... [were] to capture power and enrich one group at the expense of the rest.” In earlier work, on this point they cite Miller’s (1988) book on Angola as illustrating how “Europeans running the Atlantic slave trade, despite their small numbers, also appear to have had a fundamental effect on the evolution of institutions in Africa” (Acemoglu et al. 2002: 1264-5).¹⁹⁴ The actual historical spatial dynamics of the slave trade, colonialism, and the years since (including, not least, war and liberalization) are largely neglected in lieu of abstract institutional inertia/vicious cycle.¹⁹⁵

Likewise, the debate between Jeffrey Sachs and Acemoglu and Robinson largely turns on trying to deduce from regressions how many and which “factors” are best for their models of comparative development, rather than actually looking at particular conjunctures to see which processes were at work.¹⁹⁶ And for Angola specifically, Soares do Oliveira (2015) substitutes

¹⁹³ Among these studies, she mentions Dunning (2008), Lowi (2009), Smith (2007), Luong and Weinthal (2010).

¹⁹⁴ See also their slightly different formulation in the earlier iteration (Acemoglu et al. 2001: 15). Recently, Amundsen (2014) exemplifies such conventional perspectives in applying these ideas to Angola, emphasizing that “Angola’s state institutions were severely under-developed prior to the source boom” (186), and consequently “institutions of extraction are vital for the regime” (184) and “the poor quality of Angola’s institutions of redistribution is the main reason for the fact that the oil boom has been a “curse” for the country” (173).

¹⁹⁵ It is worth recalling here also Gramsci’s conception of hegemony as continually produced, for which Hall (1980) emphasizes: “[Hegemony] represents the product of a certain mastery of the class struggle, certainly, but it is still subject to the class struggle and the ‘relations of social forces’ in society, of which its ‘unstable equilibrium’ is only one, provisional, outcome or result. Hegemony is a state of play in the class struggle which has, therefore, to be continually worked on and reconstructed in order to be maintained, and which remains a contradictory conjuncture.”

¹⁹⁶ Acemoglu and Robinson write: “We think, and perhaps Sachs disagrees, a framework that says there are 17 factors, each of them hugely important is no framework at all. The power of a framework comes from its ability to focus on the most important elements at the exclusion of the rest and in so doing in providing a way of thinking about these elements, how they function, how they have come about, and how they change. For us those elements were related to institutions and politics, and we have focused on them.” Sachs replies, “This is a useful summary of our differences. I believe that several things matter for the diverse patterns of economic development, while they believe that one big thing is the key: political institutions.” See Sachs, J. (2012) ‘Reply to Acemoglu and Robinson’s Response to My Book Review,’ Dec 3, <http://jeffsachs.org/2012/12/reply-to-acemoglu-and-robinsons-response-to-my-book-review/>.

spatial metaphors of “critical junctures” and the “initial conditions” shaping “institutional trajectories” for actual serious spatial analysis of centuries of colonialism and decades of civil war.¹⁹⁷

The notion of critical junctures relies on a spatial metaphors for understanding history, rather than understanding geo-history. If history is inertial in the sense that institutions once created continue automatically, then history is like a path on which there are certain ‘junctures’ to switch to other ‘paths,’ that is, to other inertial or self-reinforcing institutional arrangements and their corresponding history. One illustration of such tendency towards spatial metaphor is that none other than Robert Frost and his diverging roads in the woods appear as the epigraph of the theoretical framing chapter of Collier and Collier’s (1991: 27) monumental work transforming the term ‘critical juncture’ from Lipset and Rokkan’s (1967) Parsonian/Weberian analysis into a conceptual apparatus.¹⁹⁸ Thelen (2003: 212-3) notes the tendency for “an overly contingent view of the ‘choice points’ and a rather deterministic view of institutional reproduction ... There are few hints or insights here into the question of how institutions themselves change and evolve in more subtle and sometimes more interesting ways over time.”

In contrast, other research has explicitly focused on space by analyzing the inter-connected aspects of colonialism, capitalism, and the international oil industry.¹⁹⁹ Indeed, as noted in the synthetic summation by a *doyen* of resource curse studies, Michael Ross, the decisive factor with oil economies in general has been “the miserable years between 1974 and 1989” (Ross 2012: 196). Rather than look only for common institutional effects and corrosion in separate discrete nation-states, we have to understand how the production and price of oil during these “miserable years” was used internationally as a geopolitical and corporate weapon. Yergin (1991) terms this episode of flooding the markets to wash out competitors, “a good sweating,” borrowing the phrase from Rockefeller who used the same strategy decades earlier (42).²⁰⁰

Closely related, much analysis and increasingly critical discussion has addressed how scholars of African politics draw on ideas of African institutions as neo-patrimonial, a perspective rooted ultimately in Weberian concepts (Olivier de Sardan 2014). Pitcher et al. (2009) makes the point

¹⁹⁷ Indeed, what Angola illustrates clearly is the political use of such rhetoric of spatial metaphors – choosing between different routes, voting for the MPLA as “the sure road,” for example (see Chapter 4).

¹⁹⁸ Cf. the subsequent social tumult and sociological debates (Bottomore 1975; Calhoun 2007).

¹⁹⁹ Watts (2012b); Appel (2012a); Sawyer (2004).

²⁰⁰ More precisely, the phrase was from Flagler, Rockefeller’s strategic corporate manager. See also Laban (2008). What Yergin shows is the changes in the international bargaining power of oil producers. The US became a net importer of oil it and the Euro-American oil companies became more vulnerable to exactions by nationalized oil companies in not wholly friendly countries. In response, the US and Europe governments and companies sought to increase their own production through heavy investments in new unutilized off-shore oil reserves, which began to boost production in the 1980s – in the summer of 1985 the North Sea was producing more than Saudi Arabia! Saudi Arabia, also losing ground to other OPEC producers, fought back, promising refineries all the oil they wished at any price that would guarantee a two dollar per barrel profit. It notified other producers in OPEC, who after meeting in December 1985 issued essentially a declaration of price war, with their objective to “secure and defend for OPEC a fair share in the world market.” Within months oil prices dropped to less than a third, from \$31 to \$10. But Saudi Arabia, as the largest producer, had both the financial reserves from the boom era to carry it through years of low prices, and the production capacity to keep prices low. Yergin quotes Yamani from 1986 “We want to see a correction in the trends in the market. Once we regain control of the market by increasing our share, we will be able to act accordingly. We want to regain our market power” (759). OPEC producers also fought amongst themselves as Saudi Arabia also sought to increase its share. Also important is the political issue of Saudi Arabia using the glut to put pressure on Iran amidst the Iran-Iraq war.

that much of this literature has not actually drawn on directly on a serious engagement with Weber's work and precise arguments. Likewise, much discussion has questioned applying general categories in vastly different 'cases' (Bach and Gazibo 2013).

The key argument that I want to make in the next three sub-sections with regard to both of these points is that we also need to understand some fundamental ways that *geographical* claims, assumptions, and methodologies shape Weber's work and in particular the key concepts of patrimonialism and capitalism that are invoked in discussions of African political economy. We need to understand the ways that spatiality works in Weber's analysis and invocations of it. And such a critical scrutiny of spatiality in Weber's work must go beyond just the sense of geography in a large research agenda that includes comparative analysis, agrarian studies, the city, Orientalism, and whether his abstract concepts can be applied *across* differing locales or to different scales of social units (though these are all interesting nonetheless).²⁰¹

Rather, the three sub-sections below emphasize three specific geographical aspects of Weber's work and its subsequent use. First is the importance of connections between industrial forms of capitalism and other forms of capitalisms, rather than analytically distinguishing them, as Weber did, in terms of a series of dichotomies based on the notion of industrial fixed capital. Secondly, and closely related to this first point, is to also connect Western industrial capitalism with racism and colonialism, which were more part of Weber's lived experiences than his scholarly analysis. Thirdly, and methodologically, Weber uses a problematic gendered metaphor of the household to underpin a voluntarism at the heart of his definition of patrimonialism. By positing patrimonialism as Dad-the-Decider writ large, Weber occludes what most needs studying: how multiple social processes conjoin to determine any particular action or condition. In that way, claims about patrimonial rule in Africa inherently work to decontextualize. The following paragraphs examine these three points.

2.6.1 Weber and Space I: Industrial vs/and Commercial Capitalism

Pitcher et al. (2009: 141), drawing on Callaghy (1988: 86), rightly point out Weber's emphasis on "patrimonial capitalism" – in contrast to views of patrimonialism as antithetical to capitalism – as well as Weber's emphasis on the limitations to capitalist development incurred by a lack of predictability and calculability. However, what is crucial is that, for Weber, such predictability and calculability are key to industrial capitalism *because of the key role of fixed capital in industrial capitalism*.²⁰² Capitalist investors must be able to plan their costly investments in fixed capital wisely to ensure profits sufficient to recoup investments.

The key passage is this one from the section on patrimonialism in *Economy and Society* (p. 1095, *emph. added*), in which Weber has just discussed the relationship patrimonialism and trade by

²⁰¹ On these other issues, see Allen (2014), Radkau (2013), Camic et al. (2005), Honigsheim (1949), Munters (1972).

²⁰² While Pitcher et al. (2009) mention the importance of predictability and calculability for accumulation and investment, they don't specify that it is accumulation and investment in *fixed capital*. They do also cite a passage in Weber mentioning fixed capital, but don't draw out its crucial role analytically in Weber's distinction between patrimonial capitalism and the predictability and calculability in industrial capitalism.

using examples of the relationship between “ground rent” and trade profits in Angola roughly around Malanje (what he refers to as the area “between the Congo and Zambesi rivers”):

As a rule, the negative aspect of this arbitrariness is dominant, because – and this is the major point – the patrimonial state lacks the political and procedural predictability, indispensable for capitalist development, which is provided by the rational rules of modern bureaucratic administration ...

It is different with industrial capitalism. If it is to become the typical form of the industrial enterprise, it requires an organization of labor that aims at a mass market and depends upon the possibility of correct calculations. *This is true the more capital-intensive industrial capitalism is, and especially the more saturated it is with fixed capital. Industrial capitalism must be able to count on the continuity, trustworthiness and objectivity of the legal order, and on the rational, predictable functioning of legal and administrative agencies.* (emph. added)

Weber’s emphasis here on fixed capital makes sense in light of his own personal experience. Weber was closely involved with the intellectual and political circles of his father, a prominent public figure in Berlin, who, as head of public construction for the city of Berlin, was directly involved in discussions about fixed capital in the rapidly growing metropolis (he also was a member of the budget committee of the Reichstag and Prussian Diet).²⁰³ Perhaps most importantly, during Weber’s agrarian field research in early 1890s Prussia and his other activities, Weber saw Germany’s great stock of fixed capital in the form of railroads be usurped from 1880 to 1889 by the arbitrary actions of Chancellor Bismarck, with freight prices then subject to all sorts of debate and distortion to protect Bismarck’s allies the feudal agrarian Prussian Junkers.²⁰⁴

But, in contrast to Weber’s emphasis on predictability for individual capitalist’s investments, Marxist geographers have emphasized the importance of the creation of entirely new markets, instability, over-accumulation, crises, and concentration in the long-term dynamics of capitalism.²⁰⁵ Geographical scholarship moves beyond Weber by *connecting* trade and production, connecting fixed capital with flows of capital. This contrasts with Weber’s schema in which fixed capital serves to distinguish analytic dichotomies:

²⁰³ Roth (2000: 119-22). In addition, Weber’s relatives were also Ministers of Trade and of Agriculture.

²⁰⁴ Indeed, as Roth (2000) notes, “Weber resigned from the Pan German League because it had capitulated to the Junkers” (126). See also Mitchell (2000) and Fremdling (1980). Indeed, he had seen such uncertainty drive into bankruptcy the American transcontinental railroad of his father’s friend. In Radakau’s (2009) psychological interpretation, this perhaps triggered Weber’s childhood trauma of a railroad accident when he was four years old – writing in 1903, Weber noted, “What was shattering for me about it was not everything that happened but the sight of a locomotive, such an awe-inspiring thing for a child, lying like a drunkard in a ditch – my first experience of the transitoriness of the great and beautiful on this earth.”

²⁰⁵ Indeed, as discussed in section 2.5.2 above, the very creation in the early Twentieth Century of what are now often taken as timeless patrimonial ethnic networks in Angola occurred as part of colonial efforts to mobilize labor in order to secure returns on fixed capital designed to supply commodities for industrial production (as well as simultaneously extend military and administrative control).

Patrimonial Capitalism

variable capital
trade
arbitrariness
traditional constraint
unequal competition

Industrial Capitalism

fixed capital
production
predictability & calculability
legal-rational constraint
fair competition

A focus on fixed capital in this distinction also highlights the crux of the problem with the arbitrariness of discretion in patrimonialism. Weber's notion of arbitrary discretion, in turn, as I discuss in the section after next, is underpinned by a voluntarism based on a household metaphor in which the patriarch has the discretion to make arbitrary decisions (within the bounds of tradition).

2.6.2 Weber and Space II: Industrial Capitalism and Racial Colonialism

The analytic distinctions mentioned above lead scholars to analyze patrimonialism in Africa based on a distinction between industrial capitalist Europe and traditional Africa. Instead, scholars should be examining the recursive constitution between multiple places and not privilege the Europe versus Africa dichotomy. This point is illustrated by going beyond Weber's analytic schema in the abstract and instead also recognizing Weber's actual political views and context of German Imperialism.

Although Weber commented in various places on colonialism, his involvement with colonialism during his time was more in terms of his own broader experiences than conceptual work. Weber's brief approach to colonialism has to be understood in relation to his assessment of German politics as under Bismarck as too inconsistent, arbitrary, and beholden to special interests.²⁰⁶ In other words, Weber was critical of German colonialism as not being sufficiently rational.²⁰⁷ Zimmerman (2006) pulls no punches in beginning his article: "Max Weber was an imperialist, a racist, and a Social Darwinistic nationalist, and these political positions fundamentally shaped his social scientific work" (53). He goes on, moreover, to clarify that "Weber did not merely absorb the imperialism, racism, and nationalism of his era: he

²⁰⁶ Von Strandmann (2011: 199-200) explains, "Bismarck, in fulfilling national expectations and reacting to an atmosphere of pressure, regarded himself as an economic pragmatist, but he was without a consistent plan. He granted the state's protection wherever the applicant could demonstrate it made economic sense. Thus, economic activities provided the rationale for expansionist politics. The result was a haphazard collection of the colonial territories ... For Weber, chance seemed to be the underlying feature of the motley collection of German acquisitions in Africa and the Far East ... There was no equivalent to the dream of a Cape to Cairo link. There was nothing similar to the strategic safeguarding of the route to India; however, there was talk of aiming for a German Mittelafrika before the First World War, and Mittelafrika became part of the war aims program later. There was an agreement with Britain concerning the future of the Portuguese colonies should Portugal ever want to sell them. The reason Germany wanted to acquire parts of Angola was economic and linked to German business activities in Angola."

²⁰⁷ As Allen (2004) notes: "Weber linked an imperialist foreign policy with the need to promote industry above agriculture ... Any attempt to restrict industrial expansion would lead to a stagnant form of capitalism based on 'lazy rentiers and a dull traditional mass'" (20).

consistently found himself a lone voice at the right of many of the organizations to which he belonged.”²⁰⁸

But German colonialism still had an important effect on the course of colonial development in Angola. Rather than see Weber’s framework as a transcendental scientific concept from nowhere to be applied in Africa, we can situate it strongly within a framework of German imperialism that had quite direct implications for the colonial state presence throughout Angola. De Matos had fought off German-supported rebellions in the south of Angola around 1915. Not long after Weber had bemoaned Germany’s “accidental single business enterprises in West Africa and individually gathered lands through accidental pioneering deeds in East Africa,” de Matos returned from fighting the Germans in France back to Angola to try to recoup the war expenses by taxing Angolans, conducting the census, and classifying indigenous groups.²⁰⁹ Portuguese colonial expansion in Angola occurred in direct relation to German imperialism – Portugal ceded Namibia to Germany in exchange for Germany’s agreement to let Portugal try to connect Angola and Mozambique. But Germany was also plotting behind the scenes with Britain to seize the Portuguese colonies of Portugal defaulted on international loans.²¹⁰

Recognizing such connections helps move us beyond the West vs Rest division as the fundamental, definitive, and only axis of distinction, and beyond notions of space as consisting of large discrete and bounded areas that are mediated. Instead, we can understand the multiplicity of spatial processes operating a different historical and geographical scales that shape African political economy, rather than view it solely through the lens of extraversion, of ‘gatekeeping’ some point dividing the inside of Africa and the outside world.

For example, as mentioned, Weber discusses the key hinterlands of Central Africa “between the Congo and Zambesi rivers,” encompassing parts of Angola. Yet, here, as elsewhere, Weber does not connect the political economy of these areas with that of industrial capitalism in Europe – despite the fact that the wax extracted from this area was then going to the industrial factories of Europe, and despite the fact that his cousin was a key importer of Congolese and Angolan rubber to Antwerp to produce industrial commodities and roll them out to consumers.²¹¹ In fact,

²⁰⁸ In addition to Weber’s pejorative views of Polish immigrants, Weber noted of African Americans, for example, “the negroes long ago showed themselves unsuitable for factory work and the operation of machines; they have not seldom sunk into a cataleptic sleep. Here is one case in economic history where tangible racial distinctions are present.” (Weber 1961: 275). See Allen (2004: 22): “Prussia was the heartland of German nationalism and the influx of Polish workers into this region could only weaken the wider state. He referred to the Polish workers as ‘animals’ and attacked ‘a Slavic invasion which would mean a cultural regression of major proportions.’”

²⁰⁹ Quoted in Von Strandmann (2011: 199).

²¹⁰ Clarence Smith (1985). The point is not about convoluted indirect connections – one could, for example, point to the Angolan influence in the US in the roots of African Americans in the south and the Angolan presence in New York. But for the most part, Weber seemed uninterested in contemporary colonialism. And the point is to emphasize that Weber – amidst intense global connections – only explicitly considered spatial relations in a very partial and limited way in his analysis. Moreover, that work of his has in turn also then subsequently been read and disseminated – again, through specific geographical connections – in yet more limited and partial ways.

²¹¹ Roth (2000). To take another example, Weber also did not analytically connect colonialism and capitalism, despite the fact that he was perfectly aware of the importance of German shipping in the colonial trade. Shortly after Germany had seized further territory for Tanzania, Weber noted in a 1896 speech on national unemployment in Germany, for example, that, “A dozen ships on the East African Coast are at certain moments of more value than a dozen trade agreements which can be terminated” (Allen 2004: 20). Indeed, colonial ships were at the center of German-Portuguese conflict during World War I – it was Portugal’s seizure in late 1915 of 65 or more German ships in Portuguese ports (at the behest of England, to whom Portugal was indebted) that prompted Germany’s declaration

Weber's focus on the analytic distinctions between ideal types partly leads him to explicitly deny that the slave trade and colonialism in the development of the particular forms of industrial capitalism in the West.²¹² This is precisely where the new Atlantic history helps overturn the analytic dis-connections that Weber is making. Inikori (2002) provides just some of the clearest examples from a range of expanding scholarship when he shows precisely how cloth for slave trade shaped spatial patterns of economic organization in Europe. Santos' (2014) brilliant work on 18th Century mapping in Angola shows that rather than Portuguese presence in and knowledge of Angola only arising only in the late Nineteenth Century as conventional accounts have it, there was much greater and earlier imagination and mapping of "a united and well-delimited Angolan territory" due to recursive relationships between Portugal, Brazil and Angola – "the imperial-scale circulation of geographical and historiographical knowledge" (156). This was because, rather than the slave trade creating "extractive institutions" of "wealth in people" in diametric contrast to productive institutions concerned with territorial control, she concludes from careful review of early sources that "it was the slave trade itself that needed a policy of territorialization" (159).

2.6.3 Weber and Space III: Gender, Arbitrariness and Discretion

Much academic and policy thinking about corrupt African patrimonial institutions that facilitate the resource curse rely ultimately on Weber's key distinction between officials in rational bureaucracies who formal legal-bureaucratic rules in their actions, versus situations in which "the power of patrimonial officials is, in essence, limited only by tradition" (1094).²¹³ For Weber, there are three types of legitimate rule, rational, charismatic, and traditional. In the latter can be patriarchalism, with one form of that being patrimonialism, which in turn can be subdivided into different classifications and different types based on the level of discretion of the ruler:

of war against Portugal in March 1916. The Portuguese offensive against Germany in Europe was led by the governor of Angola, Norton de Matos, who had returned from fighting against the Germans on the southern border with Namibia. See also Cleveland (2000).

²¹² He writes, "The acquisition of colonies by the European states led to a gigantic acquisition of wealth in Europe for all of them. The means of this accumulation was the monopolizing of colonial products, and also of the markets of the colonies ... This accumulation was secured by force ... Two main types of exploitation are met with: the feudal type in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, the capitalistic in the Dutch and English ... This accumulation of wealth brought about through colonial trade has been of little significance for the development of modern capitalism ... It is true that the colonial trade made possible the accumulation of wealth to an enormous extent, but this did not further the specifically occidental form of the organization of labor, since colonial trade itself rested on the principle of exploitation and not that of securing an income through market operations In the period from the 16th to the 18th century, slavery signified as little for the economic organization of Europe as it did much for the accumulation of wealth in Europe. It produced a large number of annuitants, but contributed in very small degree toward bringing about the development of the capitalistic organization of industry and of economic life." (223, 224).

²¹³ Discretion and arbitrariness are sometimes elided. Cf. also Gupta (2012) on arbitrariness, and the review forum at <http://societyandspace.com/2013/08/28/review-forum-on-akhil-guptas-red-tape/>.

Figure 2.5: Weber's Continuum of Personal Discretion in Patrimonial Rule



The influence of such an emphasis on discretion in understandings of corruption in influential contemporary development policy is illustrated by Klitgaard's (1988) widely used 'corruption formula': $C = M + D - A$, that is, Corruption = Monopoly + Discretion – Accountability (which of course all also entail spatial activities). Weber clearly reiterates the point:

the personal discretion and the favor or disfavor of the ruler are decisive as a matter of principle and not just as a matter of fact, as of course it does happen everywhere. This also applies to the relation between the ruled and the officials ...

[Patrimonial officials are] permitted to do whatever is compatible with the power of tradition and the rulers' interest in the preservation of the subjects' compliance and economic capacity to support him. Absent are the binding norms and regulations of bureaucratic administration (1030)

Yet Angola also illustrates how the question of patriarchal discretion can also be fundamentally linked with questions of race and ethnicity, and this also is illustrative of the limits of Weber's analysis and concepts. The patriarch, for Weber, is an abstract man, operating in a society without racial divisions. His decisions are made based on rules defined by tradition, and his own discretion. However, explicitly considering race helps us to recognize that the rules were by no means clear, fixed, and followed, and there were a range of different situations that had to be considered and navigated by different people.

Such discretion is simultaneously gendered: "Under patriarchal domination ... The master wields *his* power without restraint at his own discretion and, above all, unencumbered by rules" (1006-7, *emph. added*). The reference to households and familial relations is explicit: "Patrimonial domination is thus a special, case of patriarchal domination – domestic authority decentralized through assignment of land and sometimes of equipment to sons of the house or other dependents" (1011).²¹⁴ Likewise, Adams (2005: 239) notes "the patriarchal core of Weber's definition tends to drop out of these appropriations. That lapse, if it is a lapse, can in part be laid at Weber's door. Patriarchy tended to be naturalized in *Economy and Society*."²¹⁵

²¹⁴ See also "The patrimonial office lades above all the bureaucratic separation of the "private" and the "official" sphere. For the political administration, too, is treated as a purely personal affair of the ruler, and political power is considered part of his personal property, which can be exploited by means of contributions and fees. His exercise of power is therefore entirely discretionary, at least insofar as it is not more or less limited, by the ubiquitous intervention of sacred traditions" (1028-9).

²¹⁵ She continues, "In one throwaway line, for example, Weber asserts that "[t]he woman is dependent because of the normal superiority of the physical and intellectual energies of the male..."¹² This is especially interesting

In sum, at the root of discussion of patrimonialism is a problematic notion of discretion operating on very limited notion of spatiality because it rests on gendered household metaphor. Throughout the dissertation, in contrast to interpreting corruption by narrowly focusing on people's discrete choices 'out of bounds' of the law, I instead try to also understand the various geo-historical processes that have provided the conditions for such corruption, which is certainly not to excuse it and rather to try to more fully understand it (with some ultimate goal of thereby somehow contributing to better being able to effectively change it). In conventional analyses of Angola, the Weberian notion of patrimonialism fits in an imperfect triad with the concept of creole elite examined above and notion of Dutch Disease that I now turn consider.

2.7 The So-Called 'Dutch Disease': Oil and Neo-Liberal Projects

A recent 16-page paid glossy insert on Angola in the US newspaper *USA Today* under the headline of 'Oil and gas fuel economic diversification' features an article on Kapanda as one illustration of the ways that "Angola is working to combat the [resource] curse." The resource curse, they article notes, has been documented by "Well-known economists such as Jeffrey Sachs and Joseph Stiglitz," and "is the result of 'Dutch Disease,' which is where an inflow of foreign aid or increased revenues from natural resources leads the national currency to appreciate, making the country's exports more expensive and, therefore, less competitive." This recent public relations appropriation of key concepts is indicative of their by now widespread circulation. Spurred not least by a bevy of consultants and close familiarity with the turmoil of other oil producers, the Angolan government has been espousing rhetoric about economic diversification for decades.

However, to properly understand the trajectory of reconstruction and agrarian change in Angola requires not only dispensing with prevalent problematic approaches focused on the notion of Dutch Disease, but also requires overcoming the deeper problematic aspatial assumptions about a 'national economy' that are widely propagated and reinforced by such Dutch Disease models. The term, more precisely, originally referred to the purported negative exchange-rate and spending effects of the 1960s and 1970s natural gas boom in the Netherlands on its manufactured export sector.

Despite analysts' quick recognition of the ambivalent analytic outcomes of abstract and empirical modelling of Dutch Disease (see the review in Karl 1997: 5-6), in the 37 years since the term was effectively launched in 1977, there have been well over 600 articles, chapters, reports, and books explicitly focused on Dutch Disease. And yet there are surprisingly few critical reflections on the origins, development and contexts of deployment of Dutch Disease as a term, concept, model, and/or discourse. Instead, the term has generally been analyzed in three

because Weber produced an array of nonnaturalized reasons for the relative position of other categories of patriarchal dependents, like grown children and servants. ... As Weber's naturalized arguments have fallen by the wayside, however, so has his insight that patriarchy, father-rule, is somehow fundamental to patrimonial politics" (239); "Weber went on to link the irrational with the signifier of the feminine— and a whole series of signifiers he took to be associated with the trope of femininity, such as the premodern, the family, the non-Western, the primitive, the sexual— and was therefore flummoxed when what was for him the "irrational" kept surfacing in the core of his neatly opposed categories of rationality, as it was wont to do" (254); "The problem is rather that Weber persistently elides gender and biological sex as concepts, reducing the former to the latter, and this hampers his analysis of patrimonial politics" (256).

main ways. First, it is most often used casually to refer to the effects of an export boom on other productive sectors (Ross 2012). Second, it is engaged via quantitative abstract economic models (e.g. van der Ploeg and Venables 2013). And third, it is discussed in relation to quantitative country evidence (e.g. Kyle 2010).²¹⁶

As part of such uncritical analysis, numerous important contemporary post-war analyses of Angola refer in passing to the country's purported Dutch Disease.²¹⁷ And Dutch Disease also features sometimes in public discourse in Angola; the Portuguese translation is 'doença holandesa.'²¹⁸ The fact that Dutch Disease is used in international, domestic, public and academic discourse in Angola reinforce the need to critically scrutinize the notion and the work done with its problematic assumptions. It is perhaps ironic that the term 'Dutch Disease' really only comes to be seriously applied to explain Angola's agricultural woes after several decades of *war* have destroyed the non-oil economy. The notion of 'Dutch Disease' is worth a serious critical interrogation here in relation to understanding agriculture in Angola because Dutch Disease is often said in much wider literature to be one key mechanism – an 'economic' mechanism – by which natural resource wealth becomes a 'curse.'²¹⁹

²¹⁶ There are also many restatements about Dutch Disease not applying, or being ambiguous or reversed in certain conditions. See also Saad-Filho and Weeks (2013).

²¹⁷ A 2003 World Bank consultant's report notes "Angola is a classic victim of the Dutch Disease." Collier (2006: 8) alludes to Nigeria's experience with Dutch Disease in recommending that Angola's government "help agriculture to adjust to Dutch disease." Angola's oil, Collier predicted, was "going to appreciate the exchange rate and squeeze out those agricultural products that are easily imported." Dutch Disease forms one section of the World Bank's (2006) Angola Country Economic Memorandum, and the World Bank's (2008) plan for its Market Oriented Smallholder Agriculture Project notes "there is a real concern that non-oil exports, especially in the agricultural sector, will lose their competitiveness under the so-called Dutch disease" (p. 19). Dutch Disease features in documents on US strategy for Angola and US Senate hearings on extractive industries in Africa. IMF reports in 2003 through 2005 note that "the economy has, particularly in the last ten years, been plagued by the perverse effects of the Dutch disease." Chabal (2008: 8) likewise says Dutch Disease is "entirely relevant to Angola," while Shaxon (2007: 4) writes "high cost of living was an example of the oil-fed Dutch disease." Hodges (2008: 183) notes the government's exchange rate made "commercial agriculture ... uncompetitive." See Blakeley (2003), also cited in Ferguson (2006: 198); Andre (2010: 5). See Mai et al. (2007: 17-8), and 'Resource curse or blessing? Africa's management of its extractive industries: hearing before the Subcommittee on African Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations,' United States Senate, 110th Congress, 2nd Session, September 24, 2008, Vol. 4, pp. 4, 10. See also the IMF's (2003) 'Article IV Consultation,' Country Report 03/291; also mentioned several times in Richmond et al. (2013) and IMF (2014) Angola - Selected Issues Paper, p. 23. Also, in 2005, citing Hodges (2001: 134), Fandrych (2005: 93) states "Angola has become extremely dependent on this single commodity with the typical – and some specific – symptoms of the "Dutch Disease". "

²¹⁸ A 2008 article on '10 Reasons to Vote for UNITA' features a headline quote "Urban Angola is in this moment, suffering what certain economists identify as Dutch disease." The bi-weekly business magazine 'Economy and Markets' featured a commentary on Dutch Disease. The prominent economist and public intellectual Alves Da Rocha mentions it in an opinion piece on 'Sustainable growth and rent-seeking.' The MPLA's free newspaper used the term Dutch Disease to criticize UNITA proposals before the 2012 election. The head of Angola's Foreign Private Investment Agency also publically engaged the discussion, as did the former Minister of Petroleum. And so on. See: Jamba, Sousa (2008) '10 razoes para votar na UNITA,' Semanario Angolense 9-16 Aug, p. 21; Matos, J.G. (2014) 'Âncora cambial, doença holandesa e competitividade,' Economia e Mercado, Jan, p. 46.; Expansao, Oct 11, 2013, pp. 8-9; Macula, António (2012) 'Seria uma catástrofe orçamental,' Jornal Popular, Aug 13, p.5; (2009) 'Entrevista: Aguinaldo Jaime, da ANIP,' Novo Jornal, Nov 6, p.8; 'Entrevista: Albina Assis,' Novo Jornal, Sep 6, p. 7; (2013) 'Análise: A paradoxia de abundancia,' Novo Jornal, July 26, p.2.

²¹⁹ E.g. Gelb (1988); Hausmann and Rigobon (2003).

Before analyzing the ways in which formalized Dutch Disease models do not reflect Angola's experience, this section contends that part of the reason Dutch Disease models do not adequately address important geo-historical processes is because the term and model themselves arose largely as part of broader neo-liberal political economic projects.

2.7.1 Political Economic Origins of the Dutch Disease Term and Model

What is key about how Dutch Disease has been used in interpretations of agricultural development in Angola are the spatial assumptions about the economy – namely that markets for all mobile factors exist and function well, that there are clear divisions between tradable and non-tradable goods. The model makes little consideration of the way that agricultural markets are shaped by social dynamics, inequality, and a host of bureaucratic and administrative practices.

Most importantly, by emphasizing these assumptions about agricultural markets and the importance of spending and exchange rate effects, analysts lose sight of the importance of war-related destruction of the economy and infrastructure, as well as the importance of the fragmented and hierarchical agrarian structure and the ways militarism has shaped social power and hence the practice and regulation of agricultural marketing. Dutch disease models, arguably, are indicative of a neo-liberal fantasy world and as a narrative serve to read out the destructive legacies of the immense violence waged to impose such neoliberal visions in Angola. It is worth recalling, for example, that it was during the same time period that Roemer (1983) was extending the abstract model to developing countries, and that the US and South African backed UNITA was bombing bridges and shooting food truckers in Angola in the name of bringing democracy and free markets to Angola.

The basic conclusion of the Dutch Disease model was that spending the revenues from economic booms on social services would be destructive – by raising purchases of domestic goods, the exchange rate would appreciate, and the key manufacturing export industries would suffer. The model then was a disciplinary one – to help argue for neoliberal use of oil revenues, rather than social spending.

The same year in which Corden (1983) wrote his key review article on Dutch Disease saw conservative United Kingdom Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher inaugurate by remote control BP's gigantic Magnus offshore oil platform in the North Sea (protests by the postal union notwithstanding), indicative of the peak of a boom in UK's North Sea oil that had prompted heated political debates in the UK about what to do with the oil revenues in relation to the changing global position of the UK's manufacturing sector.²²⁰ Should these new oil revenues be spent on social services and public sector wages, or should they be invested, used to pay down debt, and spent on tax breaks and business incentives? It was through these debates that attention came to focus on experience of the Netherlands' natural gas boom and manufacturing decline.

²²⁰ Discovered in 1974, Thatcher inaugurated the Magnus field production by remote control, despite efforts of the Post Office Engineering Union who refused to cooperate and were suspended. MacDonald, George (1983) 'Attempt to disrupt opening of oilfield,' Glasgow Herald, Sep 15. Invoking bodily metaphors, Thatcher remarked, "Let us never forget that our economy is a constantly changing, various and vital, force. As one industry ebbs, so another surges ahead; within an industry one firm falters and another gathers pace." See, Speech at the Inauguration of BP's Magnus Oilfield, Sep 14, 1983, <http://www.margarethatcher.org/document/105432>

The term ‘Dutch Disease’ took hold amidst major contested political and economic shifts in the world system in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The standard ‘origin myth’ of the term Dutch Disease that traces it back to a prescient November 1977 piece by *The Economist* is not quite right. The term was in use before this, and it is only by understanding the context and aims of the *Economist* article that we can understand how the term came to such prominence. A month earlier, for example, a wry commentary in the *Financial Times* noted that “the Dutch Disease” in the U.K., “it is said ... would thus lead to de-industrialisation, mass unemployment and a siege of Downing Street by the mob.”²²¹ And indeed two years thereafter, during the so-called 1978-79 Winter of Discontent whose backlash helped bring Thatcher into office in May 1979, transport drivers (including those in the oil sector) struck for their share of the oil boom in the form of higher wages, prompting some one million workers to be temporarily laid off and the Cabinet to prepare ‘Operation Drumstick’ plans for a declaration of a State of Emergency that would allow the army to intervene by driving the trucks themselves.²²² It is worth foreshadowing here that it was at this turbulent time in the UK that the soon influential young economists Alan Gelb and Paul Collier were just finishing their doctorates at Oxford under the supervision of the prominent Australian economist W. Max Corden who would, during 1980 to 1982, pen *the* landmark academic expositions of the Dutch Disease model.²²³

Dutch Disease drew on a longer set of discussions about resources and economic development, but was articulated as a specific political critique of economic policies. Concerns by conservative, neo-classical economics about inflation and the competitiveness of exports began to substitute the previous concerns about natural resource exploitation by Marxist, Dependency, and Structural economics (linkages, cooptation, inequities, social disruption, and the environment). *The Economist* issue that launched the term ‘Dutch Disease’ carried a joint article on Britain and North Sea oil, remarking, in language combining the metaphor of bodily pathology and Marx,

This contrast – between external health and internal ailments – is the symptom of “the Dutch disease”. Since it is widely believed to derive from Holland’s gas reserves, its spectre is beginning to haunt Britain ... The fear is that the North Sea windfall will be abused: that it may serve only to mask the malignancy of the better known British disease ...²²⁴

The Dutch Disease, for the liberal *Economist*, was only in part about external causes, namely hydrocarbons. In addition, a large part of Holland’s sickness was about excessive industrial costs brought about by minimum wage legislation, social security payments, and environmental and employment standards. And so the article concluded with the warning posed as a question, “Will Britain catch the Dutch Disease?”

The precise timing of *The Economist*’s article had to do with *the conjuncture* of politics and policy in the UK and political stalemate in The Netherlands. *The Economist*’s article on Britain warned of the nightmare of offshore oil and gas furthering ‘de-industrialisation.’ It warned that the answer laid in needing to maintain profitability and “not to raise industrial costs.” And it did

²²¹ Brittan, Samuel (1977) ‘Sterling and the Dutch Disease,’ *Financial Times*, Oct 11.

²²² See Shepherd (2013); Smith (2001).

²²³ Gelb (1975); Collier (1976); See Corden (1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1983, 1984), though the paper was written and presented prior to 1982; see also Corden (1997) and Coleman (2006).

²²⁴ *The Economist* (1977) ‘The Dutch Disease,’ Nov 26, p. 82.

so with reference to the Trade Union Congress-Labour Party's liaison committee's meeting that week to discuss six options for using the oil surplus, being negotiated by none other than then Energy Minister Tony Benn, who favored investing in public services, social infrastructure, and manufacturing, while the Treasury and Chancellor Healey favored overseas investment and paying foreign debt, and Healey also pushed tax reductions.

The skill of *The Economist* was to take the pathologizing epithet increasingly common amongst bankers and conservative politicians and outline in pithy terms the key dynamics. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s there had been previous tropes about Britain's "sickness." The UK was called the "sick man of Europe" due to industrial conflict and declining economic growth.²²⁵ A 1973 *Financial Times* article, commenting on political stalemate of almost a year, had said that inflation "is not only a Dutch Disease."²²⁶ Six months before *The Economist* article, Samuel Brittan contributed a viewpoint article to the *Financial Times* entitled "Sterling and the Dutch Disease."²²⁷

For several weeks before *The Economist's* article, the *Financial Times* had been publishing pieces about "Dutch Disease" in relation to debates about the UK's monetary, fiscal and trade policies as revenues from North Sea oil increased.²²⁸ Proponents of restricted social spending and depreciation invoked the term "Dutch Disease." The *Financial Times* published a special edition on the Netherlands in November 15th 1977, with political paralysis portrayed as one of the 'symptoms' of the Dutch Disease.²²⁹ Over the next few years, *The Economist* and the *Financial Times* would mention the term "Dutch Disease," referring to Norway and Britain over a hundred times, and the term caught on with the press internationally.²³⁰

The concept of Dutch Disease, then, was ideologically part of a broader neoliberal project, for which in fact North Sea oil was a crucial means of sustenance. Oil rose as a percentage of UK

²²⁵ Invoking the phrase "sick man of Europe," apparently from Russia's Tsar Nicholas the First in reference to the Ottoman Empire. The label has been applied to Spain, Ireland, Russia, Germany, France, Italy and Portugal.

²²⁶ Endt, Frisd (1973) 'The Netherlands: A Tale of Two Generations,' *Financial Times*, May 4, p.7

²²⁷ Brittan, Samuel (1977) 'Sterling and the Dutch Disease,' *Financial Times*, April 28, p. 23.

²²⁸ Riddell, Peter (1977) 'The North Sea Oil Factor,' *Financial Times*, Sep 20, p. 20. He mentions "About the only common point is that the U.K. should not waste the opportunity and suffer the so-called "Dutch disease" of allowing many of the benefits to be swallowed up in higher consumption."

²²⁹ A stalemate in the recently elected parliament seemed to be plaguing the Netherlands at that moment, with coalition talks breaking down in early November around issues of taxing profits (as well as land reform and abortion), and an upcoming round of wage negotiations. The Netherlands had held elections in May 1977, but took roughly 28 weeks to form a government, recalling the 23 weeks it previously took to form a government in 1973.

²³⁰ The Economist's article was followed a few days later by one in *The Wall Street Journal*, beginning "The British call it 'the Dutch Disease' and are determined not to catch it themselves." After several months, the *New York Times* caught on and ran an article on the front page of its business section. It described how C.J. Ort – who recently left as Treasurer General at the Dutch Finance Ministry to become VP at the Netherlands' largest commercial bank, ABN – had invoked the "Dutch Disease" in his address to the American Chamber of Commerce meeting in Rotterdam: "It's symptoms are a general euphoria that slowly turns sour, destroying the corpus economicus." These were followed by *The American Banker* and various other media outlets. The Associated Press described in 1980 the "English/Danish/Dutch disease" characterized by "high inflation, high taxation, frightening deficits in the budget and balance of payments, loss of competitiveness, mounting public expenditure." See, e.g. Riddell, Peter (1978) 'Avoiding the Dutch Disease,' *Financial Times*, Nov 24, p. 16; Revzin, P. (1977) 'The Dutch Disease', *Wall Street Journal*, 5 Dec, Kandell, Jonathan. (1978) 'Gas Poisoning' Afflicts Dutch Economy,' *New York Times*, 13 March, D1; (1979) 'Norway finds North Sea oil surplus slippery to grasp,' *Financial Times*, 4 June. Mendelsohn, M.S. (1979) 'Amsterdam attracts intl. investors,' *The American Banker*, Aug 17. See also Os, Michael Van (1977) "Spending of Dutch Gas Revenue Criticised," *Financial Times*, Nov 21, p. 6.

exports from 3% in 1973 to 22% in 1983, and, contends Harvie (1994: 358), Thatcher was “stopped short of party suicide because of the positive balance of payments donated by the oil.”²³¹ Yet conservative perspectives used the notion of Dutch Disease to invert the logic: “the ‘Dutch disease’ of too much welfare and not enough manufacture was the malady to which Thatcherism had announced itself as the cure” (Harvie 1994: 290).²³²

The academic formalization by economists of the notion of Dutch Disease occurred in connection with these highly political and policy-based public debates about oil, industrial strategy, and the future of the European welfare state.²³³ The landmark contribution is often said to be the 1982 paper by Irish economist J. Peter Neary and Australian economist W. Max Corden.²³⁴ In addition to the influence of standard neo-classical procedures, partly because this

²³¹ Thatcher had been involved in the development of the UK’s oil industry (through her husband’s shares of Burmah oil company), including visits to North Sea rigs in 1975, and Galveston in 1977, and hence was well-aware of the coming oil boom. None other than the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Denis Healy, recognized the strategic role of North Sea oil in sustaining the British neoliberal project amidst economic and social crises. According to Healy (1990: 401), cited in Harvey (1994: 289), “It would have been impossible for Britain to have survived these disasters without North Sea oil ... During Mrs Thatcher’s first nine years it brought the Treasury £6.2 billion in revenue, while its contribution to the balance of payments was nearly £10.0 billion. Without it, she would never have won even her second term; Britain would have been bankrupt by 1983.” One of the best accounts of the political economy of North Sea oil is this 1994 book *Fool’s Gold* by journalist Christopher Harvie, which draws on his access to the archives of Tony Benn, who was energy minister from 1975-9. In 1975, Tony Benn had founded the British National Oil Corporation, but it was later privatized under Thatcher.

²³² For example, a writer in the *Financial Times* contended “By electing Mrs Thatcher just as the oil began to flow, we avoided the Dutch mistake of using these temporary finances to support a large and permanent rise in the individual level of welfare support, which has undermined work incentives in Holland and left the Dutch government with intractable budget problems.” See Harris, Anthony (1986) ‘How natural wealth can be a curse,’ *Financial Times*, April 12.

²³³ There was earlier discussion of de-industrialization in the UK, Corden and Neary cited Blackaby (1978). Corden’s (1982a) paper was written at Australian National University and at The City University’s Center for Banking and International Finance. Corden was explicitly engaging what he called “advocates of Friedmanite contractionary policy.” Bruno and Sach’s (1982) working paper “was presented at the Conference on Unemployment, Newnham College, Cambridge, July 1981, under the original title “Input Price Shocks and the Slowdown in Economic Growth, Part II.”

²³⁴ W. Max Corden was an economist in Australia, who had originally fled Germany in 1939 when he was 12 years old. He obtained a PhD from LSE in 1956 and spent much of the subsequent 20 years at Oxford focusing on trade protection. Also at Oxford in the late 1970s was a young DPhil student, J Peter Neary. He left for Australia in 1978. Australia responded to the Depression by boosting tariffs in 1929, and strong protection remained through the 1950s. Trade minister McEwen – of the Country Party – sought to reduce tariffs and hence promote exporting farmers. He fought for this until he stepped down in 1971 (McCarthy 2000). See Coleman (2006). Responding to these debates, R.G. Gregory presented a paper entitled ‘Some Empirical Issues Related to Changing the Structure of Industry Assistance’ at the February 1976 20th Annual Conference of the Australian Agricultural Economics Society at the University of New England essentially making a ‘Dutch Disease’ sort of argument about Australian mineral exports (Gregory 1976). He argued that these effects far outweighed the tariff reductions that had been made. In this sense, the ‘Dutch Disease’ literature originated not in the Netherlands nor with oil, but in Australian minerals. Neary had been interested in trade theory, capital specificity, and factor mobility in work over the preceding years. Corden admittedly was not a fan of equations, but liked diagrams. Neary, on the other hand, Neary completed his PhD in Economics at Nuffield College, Oxford, in 1978 at the height of the start of both the quantitative and neoliberal counterrevolutions, and began his career with publications applying the latest in regression analysis to international trade, and likewise engaged in key debates about trade theory. Neary (1978: 672) wrote, “a major object of this paper is to show that all these paradoxes are theoretical curiosa which will “almost never” be observed in real world economies” (emph. original). Subsequently, in 1986, Corden went to work at the IMF, just at the time it was beginning to engage with Angola to start leverage liberalization reforms amidst condemnations of Angola’s

set of (largely Oxford-based) economists working on Dutch Disease were engaging with the UK as the implicit model of an economy, their models assumed the existence of a proletarianized work force, taxation, capital markets, and a floating exchange rate. The importance of tradability in Corden's analysis is illustrated by the basic equation of Dutch Disease as a "tradables squeeze." Part of the reason why the model gained so much attention was that it was so schematic and analysts could alter various parameters. It began with a relatively simple model, in which a number of different assumptions could be modified (relaxed), variations considered (short-term vs long-term), and complications introduced. This provided the basic abstract, analytic grist for 'hard-core' elite economists to prove their chops with, and thereby lent legitimacy to the concept. It could then be invoked in more casual analyses that applied it willy nilly to countries across the world. Roemer (1983) applied the model to developing countries, and the World Bank began major research programs, not least by Corden's former student, Paul Collier, involving also Van Wijnbergen, Auty, and Gelb.

However, the research results have been decidedly mixed, which has not stopped the term from being invoked by more popular accounts as in its original 1970s incarnation as politicized epithet. As Ross (1999: 305-6) notes "Journalists sometimes use the term 'Dutch Disease' to refer to all economic hardships associated with resource exports." However, he noted, drawing on Gelb (1988), it "may be less common in developing states and more easily counteracted by governments than initially thought." And he points to the model's assumptions, of fixed and fully employed capital and labor supplies, for example. Collier (2007: 40) also notes "by the 1980s Dutch disease did not seem a sufficient explanation for the problems of resource-rich countries."

2.7.2 How has the Dutch Disease Model been Invoked for Angola?

The concept continues to circulate partly because its application to Angola has not been critically scrutinized. Beyond passing references, actual academic considerations of Dutch Disease in Angola are few and far between. Instead, in academic literature, often Dutch Disease is invoked generally or implicitly in a syllogism: Dutch Disease is a mechanism of the resource curse, Angola has a weak agricultural sector and is a case of the resource curse, therefore it must have been Dutch Disease that wrecked Angola's agricultural economy. Glib references to Dutch Disease in Angola abound here and there (see the introduction to this section). Rather than this being a matter of un-rigorous application of a pristine economic model, the actual origin and impetus of the concept of Dutch Disease is in such casual pathologization, which has helped keep the term circulating for decades.

The following paragraphs show the small and ambivalent emergence of the concept in relation to liberalization and aid programs, and then a fairly loose and ambivalent discussion of the term generally and with regard to Angola. The term, having thus gained momentum through rather loose application, then gets applied more by the 2000s, as illustrated in the quotes above. Thus, the term's relevance is only when oil production is booming *after* years of war destruction, and after the term has been questioned and stretched.

exchange rate and Dutch Disease; "A lovely job! A gorgeous job. One of the best jobs I've ever had ...," Corden recounted (Quoted in Coleman (2006: 392)).

The first actual empirical consideration of Dutch Disease in Angola was the very brief calculations of some dubious aggregate statistics in Kyle's (2005a) working paper, followed by some more specific calculations in 2010, which I will discuss below. But it was some 16 years earlier that the first significant application of the term Dutch Disease to Angola begins with the World Bank mission in 1989, after Gelb had published his study, after that major research project at the World Bank.²³⁵

Closely related to the World Bank's involvement with Angola in the 1990s, the concept was deployed again in 1994 in the work of Cornell agricultural economist Steven Kyle. A Harvard-trained economist who had worked early on with Jeffrey Sachs, Kyle had a long standing interest in exchange rates and agricultural development, and, after working for the World Bank in Brazil, he turned to Angola in the 1990s as a consultant in relation to the new liberalized land tenure law and the World Bank's efforts to develop an agricultural project in Angola, as well as working on USAID and World Bank country strategies in the 2000s.²³⁶

But in late 1980s and early 1990s, the relevance of the term for Angola was still seen as rather uncertain. The World Bank's (1989) assessment had only brief ambivalence: "the 'Dutch disease' effect of the oil windfalls might have been even more pronounced if military spending had not absorbed a considerable share of the export revenues from oil" (v1, 35).²³⁷ Likewise, Kyle (1994), after mentioning Gelb's (1988) studies, speculated that *in the future* "Angola has an even greater *potential* for Dutch Disease related problems than do these other oil countries" (emph. added). Kyle would write in another paper four years later noting that the spending effect was marginal. So although Kyle (1998) paper notes that "The massive inflow of oil receipts (amounting to more than half of GDP) has caused distortions typical of oil exporting economies, and commonly known as "Dutch Disease"" (2), he also acknowledges the only partial effects of the Dutch Disease "While there is some apparent tendency toward the normal" Dutch Disease pattern of high levels of expenditures on labor services, this is not primarily a product of bloated government wage bills as is the case in some other countries" (23).²³⁸

Coincident with notions of the resource curse and creole elite as the economy deteriorated with renewed war, Dutch Disease came to be invoked increasingly by commentators in the late 1990s.²³⁹ Hodges (2001: 135) however recognizes that Dutch Disease in Angola has technically

²³⁵ Likewise, Augilar and Zejan (1991: 11) were very familiar with the World Bank/UNDP study and argued "The overvaluation of the kwanza led to a distorted allocation of resources favoring imports and against non-oil exports. This probably explains why Angola has become a food importer in the last few years."

²³⁶ See Kyle (1989, 1991, 1992, 1994); World Bank (2006); and see <http://www.kyle.dyson.cornell.edu/SKCV%20-8%20-%202013.doc>.

²³⁷ The report also refers elsewhere to the early 1970s. "It is clear that the extraordinary improvement in the terms of trade may make Angola in the early seventies another example of the so-called Dutch disease, observed in many developing countries, whereby manufacturing is discouraged and loses competitiveness due to the export of mineral resources." (v2: 188, emph. added).

²³⁸ Hence the recommendation "Maintenance of an appropriately valued exchange rate is paramount. As argued above, this will depend to a great extent on the ability to control inflation which in turn depends on fiscal control." (26).

²³⁹ Kyle wrote again in 1998, followed by Tvedten and Nordås (2000). In a section entitled "Can the Dutch Disease be cured?," Tvedten and Nordås (2000) write, "Angola suffers from all aspects of the so-called "resource curse" ... The Dutch disease describes a situation where large inflows of foreign exchange to a country cause the exchange rate to appreciate, rendering industries subject to foreign competition less competitive. Consequently, capital and labour are reallocated towards industries producing for the home market only, e.g. the service sectors and often government provided services. If and when foreign exchange inflows level off and decline, a financial crisis is often

been different because of Angola's fixed exchange rate. Instead, he expands the concept, in essence expands the pathologization, and says Dutch Disease has to do more with "the vision and attitudes of a country's rulers" and in particular their "complacency about the dismal state of the rest of the economy." Likewise, Cramer (2006: 120) writes that there is a "political strain" of Dutch Disease that is "more vague and is said to work through different mechanisms."²⁴⁰

Implicit in my discussion above is my contention that a rigorous test of technical Dutch Disease models is not worth the bother (which would in any case require full-fledged research project and manuscript of its own). But it is worth noting also that the first actual empirical consideration of Dutch Disease would only be relatively late, by Kyle (2005a). And the strongest analysis of the exchange rate competitive imports aspects of the Dutch Disease model in Angola is Kyle's (2010) working paper, and this shows distinctly mixed results that depend on different assumptions about prices, exchange rates, and costs. The paper uses a mix of prices from different years.

Empirically, the basic outcomes of Dutch Disease don't hold as well as they do for countries like Nigeria. Briefly, oil production and agriculture rose simultaneously during the late colonial period, it was war not oil economy effects that wrecked the agrarian sector from 1975-2002, and in the post-war period agriculture has grown during the period of oil boom.²⁴¹ The counter-factual could always be imagined – perhaps agriculture would have grown *more* without oil, but that is speculation.

In sum the concept of Dutch Disease was applied to Angola initially in small and ambiguous ways in connection to liberalization and aid programs, but has since then a fairly appeared in loose and ambivalent discussions. The term, having thus gained momentum through rather loose application, then gets applied more by the 2000s, at which point it merges also with notions of creole-elite and neo-patrimonial rentier petro-state.

2.8 Conclusion

Particular problematic spatial interpretations of Angolan history really crystallized in the late 1990s and early 2000s. I've critiqued such interpretations of overlapping dichotomies, and argued instead for the importance of understanding how specific dynamics in Angola result from conjunctures of colonialism, war, and liberalization.

the result ... The country has a vastly overvalued exchange rate, the public sector deficit and the current account deficit have both hovered around 20 percent of GDP during the 1990s, and the country suffers from high inflation and a huge foreign debt. This chaotic macroeconomic state of affairs is not uncommon among oil-exporting countries in the developing world, but it is not a necessary outcome of oil-led growth ... Angola already has experienced Dutch disease-related problems ... The experience of Angola, Botswana and Mozambique suggest that the Dutch disease is inevitable in the face of large foreign currency inflows ... They recommend reducing the budget deficit, preventing exchange rate appreciation, and productive reinvestment of mineral revenues. They do note however that "oil revenue has largely been spent on the war," and that "Angola suffers from worse ills than the Dutch disease" (13), but these are minor qualifications in an otherwise extended several pages of pathologization.

²⁴⁰ And Standing (2007: 4) points to the "political or psychological form of what is known as the Dutch disease syndrome."

²⁴¹ Soares de Oliveira (2006: 76) also notes, "In the case of Angola, the decline of the non-oil economy owed to civil war at independence and not to Dutch Disease."

This chapter then carefully and critically chronicled three concepts that together form the core of such problematic conventional interpretations of agrarian political economy in Angola, namely that a narrow creole elite with Mbundu influence continues its historic wealth and control through the capture of rents from external trade, distributing some wealth through select patronage networks, but to the neglect and detriment of the mass of poor and weak smallholder farmers. A quite astonishing finding is that the history of Angola as an extreme example of the extroversion of Angola is predicated upon a colonial historiography emphasizing the agency of Portuguese and local intermediaries, a history that – partly for historical reasons of late colonialism and war precluding archival access – is only now beginning to be critically empirically scrutinized and supplanted.

I have tried to show the specific conditions under which these three concepts – creole elite, neo-patrimonialism, and Dutch Disease – have arisen, as well as some of their general analytic and empirical limitations, specifically with regard to spatiality. In sum, the notion of a creole elite collapses a wide range of identities that were much more pervasive throughout Angola, emphasizes on the arbitrary discretion in patrimonial institutions reads out attention to capitalism, colonialism and a contextual understanding of corruption, and Dutch Disease models of the economic effects of oil on the agriculture sector are better seen in terms of their assumptions, ambiguous conclusions, and as part of broader pathologizing neoliberal projects. Having addressed these prevalent interpretations and their flaws, the rest of the dissertation works through an alternative explanation of contemporary agrarian development in Angola by viewing rural reconstruction as a conjuncture of geo-historical processes associated with settler colonialism, protracted war, and leveraged liberalization, beginning with a careful spatial re-assessment of the nature of settler colonialism in the next chapter's re-examination of the origins of the 1961 revolt in the Baixa de Kassanje.

Chapter 3 : Rethinking the 1961 Baixa de Kassanje Revolt: Towards a Relational Geo-History of Angola

Through a geographic and relational reinterpretation of the start of armed nationalist struggle in Angola, I help critique and move beyond common interpretations of Angola (and Africa more generally) as characterized by long-standing socio-spatial divisions between enclaves of coastal creole elite and the impoverished hinterlands that they purportedly dominate through combinations of force, patronage, and/or neglect.

Contrary to most prevalent histories of Angola – academic, official, and colonial – Angola’s armed nationalist struggle was not first launched by cosmopolitan urbanites in the famed prison attack in Luanda on February 4th, 1961. Instead, I re-examine a key related revolt in northern Malanje Province that began more than a month earlier, and which is conventionally portrayed as a colonial massacre of farmers protesting particular economic abuses by a foreign company operating a concession in a purported enclave of the Kassanje lowlands (*‘baixa’*) where it had the state-delegated exclusive right of purchasing of farmers’ cotton. Although there were attempts to enforce certain enclavist provisions, in practice these and other activities involved much more dynamic and layered geographies of connection. The so-called ‘cotton revolt’ was actually also a polysemic, and often explicitly nationalist mobilization forged through multiple connections spanning urban and rural areas, Malanje and Luanda, and Angola and the newly independent Congo. The revolt happened at Malanje’s crossroads of an underground Luanda-Malanje political network of churches, contracted laborers and administrative personnel that intersected with Congo-based provincial political mobilization organized through trans-border social ties. These combined nationalist networks articulated primarily but not exclusively with discontented peasants who faced joint state-corporate attempts to use intensified labor to overcome stagnating cotton production in Malanje.

This relational account provides an important corrective to Luanda-centric accounts of nationalism, and interpretations of the revolt that focus on parochial, economic, millenarian, enclavist aspects and therefore occlude not only the processes and connections that were the proximate triggers of the nationalist revolt in Malanje, but also the sedimented longer-term spatial processes that produced the structural conditions of interlinked agrarian intensification and nationalist networking. I conclude by briefly arguing that such a relational account also helps to comprehend how, since the end of war in 2002, contemporary socio-spatial patterns oil-windfall spending and governance throughout Angola have been profoundly shaped not simply by coastal elites’ patronage and exploitation of hinterlands and interior enclaves, but also by some important geographic legacies of subsequent dynamics following the 1961 revolt and start of armed nationalist struggle – namely, mechanization, counter-insurgency logistics, and regional development initiatives.

It was during fieldwork – when an elderly soba (chief) offhandedly mentioned to me, between bites of fresh sweet cassava while we took a break from weeding his intercropped rows in the Kota area, that he too had been arrested after the 1961 revolt – that I began to really appreciate that the dynamics of the revolt were not restricted, as commonly perceived, to the lowlands (the *‘Baixa’*) in the east. Later, when I heard on the nightly news of the provincial radio station that the author of a recent book about the revolt would be speaking at Malanje’s agricultural college

at Quessua near the old American Methodist mission and school, I set out early on my motorcycle, and headed to the amphitheater at Quessua built by Cubans and reconstructed by Chinese. The author, Moises Kamabaya, recounted to the audience of students and guests a lively version of events, more fascinating than his dense book on the revolt, which he'd composed during years in Arizona, and which I had yet to read closely. This book – the first participant's extended account of the revolt – delicately but insistently showed the distinctly nationalist character of the mobilization and revolt, and I have tried to carefully assess, situate and build upon this otherwise yet unappreciated work.

Since much of the revolt's basic aspects and chronology have been described by other authors (who sometimes draw selectively on each other), I will not rehearse them in detail here (see Marcum 1969; Pélissier 1978; Freudenthal 1999; Kamabaya 2007).²⁴² Instead, I want to first provide a very brief summary in order to be able to then use a discussion of further details to point out the varying ways that different people have interpreted the revolt, and present my own new, geographical interpretation.

Map 3.1: The Baixa de Kassanje in North-Central Angola



NB: In 1961 Malanje Province included the western portion of what is now Lunda Norte

²⁴² As a controversial topic, the revolt has also attracted a scattering of other studies with some new insights but less systematic analysis: Camacho (2002), Keese (2004), Cann (2011, 2012), and Silveira (2013), as well as Mateus (2011). Generally un-sympathetic pieces by Portuguese military officials that discuss Kassanje in relation to the anti-colonial war more generally include Rebocho Vaz (1993), EME (1998), and Nunes (2005).

The Baixa de Kassanje is a lowland area in the eastern Province of Malanje, some 500 km east of the capital Luanda, where black alluvial soils fed by north-flowing tributaries of the Congo River have been used by African farmers to grow cotton for sale since the 1930s in order to pay obligatory colonial taxes. The Portuguese state allocated concessions with the rights to recruit labor and promote, purchase, and process cotton in the area to a company (the Angolan General Cotton Company, known by its Portuguese acronym, Cotonang) held by about a dozen mostly Portuguese and Belgian interests.

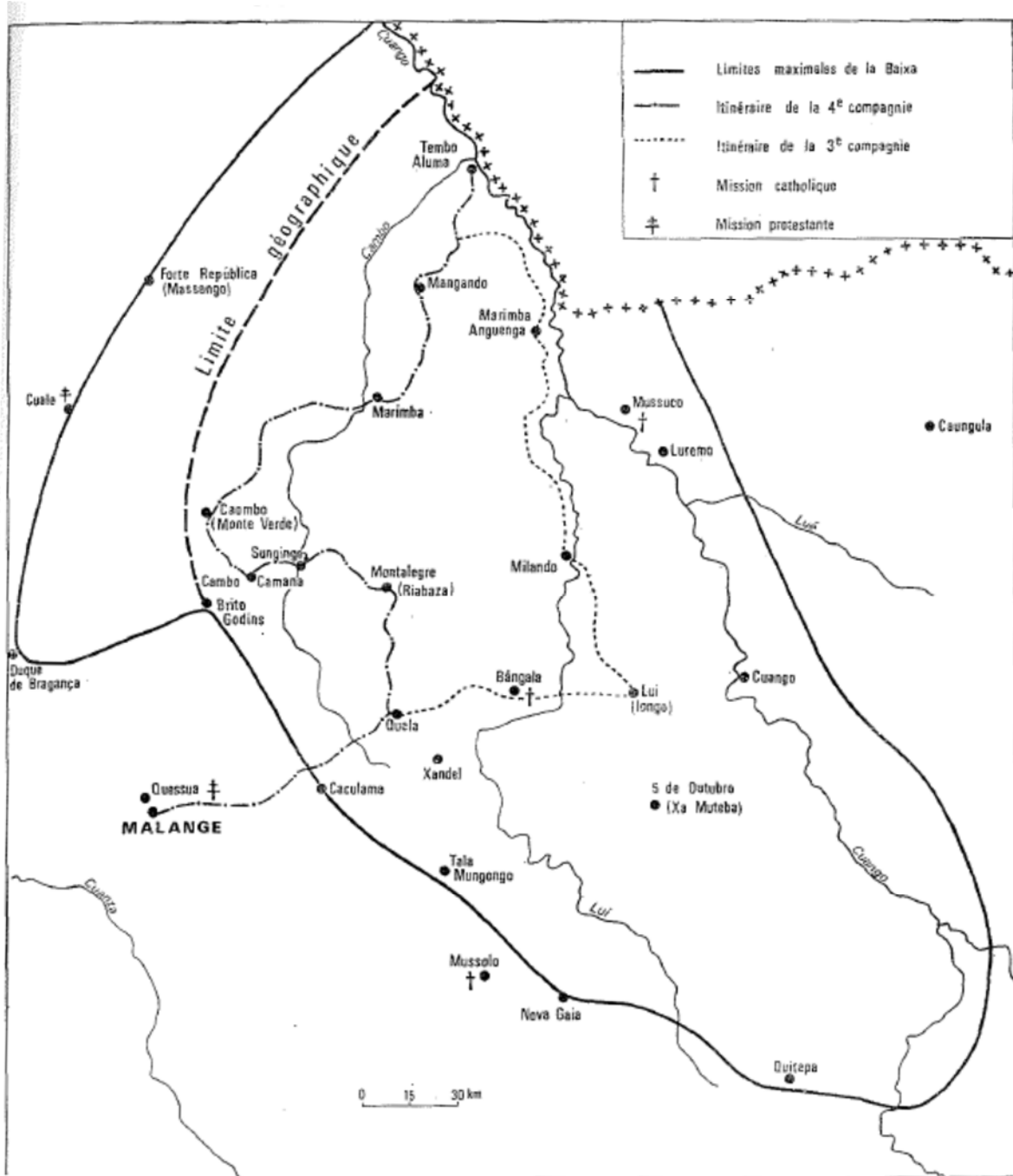
The main period of active revolt ran from January of 1961 through March. January was the beginning of the cotton planting season, and people refused to work in the cotton fields and in the cotton seed nurseries. Farmers and non-farmers also refused to pay taxes, and follow administrative orders. They blocked roads, damaged stores and Cotonang and administrative buildings, and destroyed their identification cards and cotton seeds. The first violent confrontations came in early January in one area (near Milando) when people tied up African functionaries of the police and Cotonang, and threatened to attack anyone who tried to force them to work for the company and the state, and that they would not pay the annual head tax nor obey the local administrator. The colonial government – wary of negative publicity, given the presence of journalists in Luanda covering a hi-jacked sea liner, and impending debates at the United Nations about continued Portuguese colonialism and abusive labor practices – at first deliberately attempted peaceful negotiations, but these appeared to have only emboldened the people revolting. Official reports show indications of the revolt then occurring quickly across various areas, initially around the center of the Baixa near Milando and the Lui River, and then near the Congo border and Kwango river around Tembo Aluma, with later indications of thousands of people mobilized across a large area of approximately 150 km by 200 km, involving dozens of towns and villages.

Violent Portuguese military repression of the revolt lasted from early February through March, and consisted of two units from the Portuguese army, as well as air force surveillance and bombing raids. After a high-level meeting was held in Luanda on January 18th, and further monitoring and negotiations were held, an army unit was sent from Luanda to Malanje on February 4th. Another army unit had left from the provincial capital, and encountered armed resistance, with bombing raids reported on February 5th. The precise total number of people killed during the revolt is disputed and unclear, but official Portuguese reports acknowledge 243 deaths on the ground and an indeterminate number from the bombing raids (reportedly of approximately 17 villages), with various estimates of deaths ranging from 5,000 up to a less likely 30,000.²⁴³ Thousands more people fled across the border to the Congo or were arrested or injured by the time the area had been re-secured by the colonial government, at which point major nationalist armed revolts had also occurred in Luanda (February 4th) and in the coffee areas to the north and west of Malanje (March 15th).

Though the revolt occurred over 50 years ago, it is extremely relevant today, for three main reasons. The revolt informs popular debates about history and present problems in Angola, it sits at the center of academic and policy interpretations of political economy in Angola and Africa, and it suggests a rethink of some conceptually foundational work in African studies.

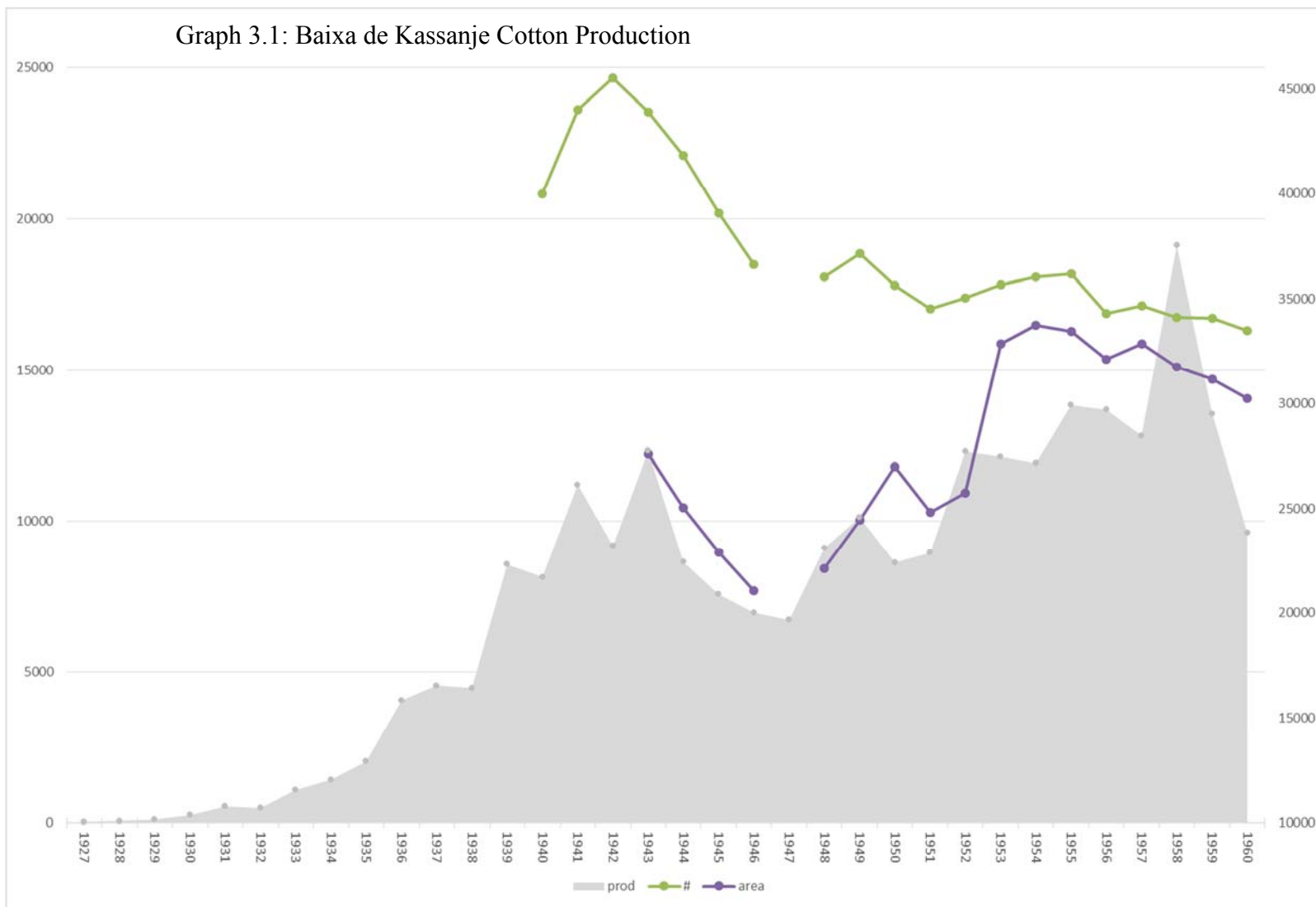
²⁴³ See the Portuguese unit veterans' website, '4.^a Companhia de Caçadores Especiais,' <http://4cce.org/index.html>.

Map 3.2: Main Towns and Roads of the Baixa de Kassanje



Source: Pélissier (1978)

Graph 3.1: Baixa de Kassinje Cotton Production



nb: grey shaded = production (left axis, kg), purple = area (left axis, ha), green = number of producers (right axis)

Sources: Cotonang reports, Anuário Estatístico, & Agricultural Services Bulletin. The 1955-60 figures include Camaxilo, which was transferred from Malanje to Lunda in 1955. The 1940-2 producer numbers are estimates from Cotonang reports.

3.1 Kassanje in Debates and Problems in Angola

Over recent years, prevailing discourses in Angola about the Baixa de Kassanje revolt have begun to be revised, including by some state officials, to move away from prior depictions of the revolt as simply a massacre by brutal colonial Portuguese rulers of parochial peasants protesting about their particular economic grievances – a disconnected prelude to the start of the nationalist struggle in Luanda on February 4th. The three problematic elements of this view are (1) the massacre was of more significance than the revolt, (2) the revolt was by isolated peasants or rural workers, and (3) the revolt was concerned only with particular economic grievances related to obligatory cotton cultivation in the Baixa de Kassanje. Some of the main tenor of this interpretation, which still often prevails, is illustrated well in the statement issued by the MPLA on the 50th anniversary of the revolt:

... The response of the colonial system to the desire of the humble peasants of the Baixa de Kassanje to have a more dignified life, based in better working conditions, resulted in an indiscriminate massacre by its Air Force, through dropping of “napalm” bombs.

That hideous act, from the mentors of the colonial system, provoked a deepening of the consciousness of everyone who was already fighting for the conquest of our liberty and motivated a greater cohesion in the midst of the nationalist resistance groups, defrauding the willingness of the faithful servants of the colonial system and transforming the Baixa de Kassanje uprising into a seed from which would sprout the first organized action, with political-military characteristics, led by the heroic combatants of February 4th 1961 ...²⁴⁴

As Fanon and others have noted, part of the issue with post-colonial states emerging out of liberation movements is the practice of steering, directing or limiting the potent significance of liberation rhetoric, histories, and claims. However, as the war years recede in Angola and public discussions increase, exclusive claims to nationalist origins have weakened in favor of recognizing various contributions made to the anti-colonial struggle, including by Kassanje peasants. In addition, the emphasis on colonial and foreign brutality has also given way to more of an appreciation of the complex social transformations in Malanje.²⁴⁵ The rural concerns and family backgrounds of leading nationalist state officials have also gained publicity, particularly as the state grapples with trying to use oil revenues to boost agricultural development in order to reduce poverty and growing urban concentrations and to diversify the economy. In this respect, a nationalist recasting of the Kassanje revolt bolsters claims by current rural residents of the Baixa de Kassanje to a portion of the vast oil wealth, not to mention constituting an implicit critique of inequality.

For several years, plans for spectacular new projects in some areas of the revolt – including a model village, social centers, infrastructure, etc – have been discussed, building on the yet unfulfilled promises made by Angola’s first president on a visit to the area in August 1979.²⁴⁶ Such pronouncements of plans and projects serve as opportunities for publicity about purported

²⁴⁴ ANGOP (2011) ‘Press Release from the Political Bureau Secretariat of the MPLA relating to January 4th,’ Jan 4, http://www.portalangop.co.ao/angola/pt_pt/noticias/politica/2011/0/1/Nota-Imprensa-Secretariado-Bureau-Politico-MPLA,2e0e3061-7580-4e5e-9170-0c05409979ff.html. It is hard here not to be reminded of Fanon (1963: 113, 4).

²⁴⁵ Notable, for example, in the published doctoral dissertation about the growth of the city of Malanje by General Egídio Sousa Santos “Disciplina” (2005), who manages civic education in the armed forces.

²⁴⁶ Reported in *Jornal de Angola*.

commitment to rural development, but also are an ambivalent encounter in which people make implicit (and sometimes explicit) critiques of the government's lack of fulfillment of obligations and prior promises, and even outright immoral enrichment.

For example, in 2013 a historian was cited by the more independent Radio Ecclesia, asserting continuity between the peasants' struggle and current struggles for social justice and redistribution: "It is necessary that we continue to go for social justice, love for one's neighbor, know how to share the riches of the country..."²⁴⁷ Similarly, a spokesman for National Association for the Baixa de Kassanje stated that people there were requesting solutions to many problems, including "potable water, schools, health services, roads, bridges, rehabilitation of infrastructures supporting cotton production that have been inactive for half a century". He noted specifically:

The construction of primary and secondary schools, as well as intermediate institutes, the construction of municipal hospitals and maternity wards, construction of adequate social housing for the community with more than 60 years, the implantation of the program 'water for all' and basic sanitation in the whole region. The registration of survivors of the struggle against colonial repression, January 4th 1961, in the process of integration in the class of veterans for the pension fund.

And the secretary of information for the main opposition party, UNITA, was summarized as saying 'that the commemoration was a homage to all who fought against colonialism and for national independence,'²⁴⁸ and he went on to say, in what could be read as an implicit critique of government inaction, "We now have to have capacity to give dignity to the survivors of this act. In the last few years people have made [this] manifest, asking for greater dignity for the survivors and inhabitants of that region."²⁴⁹

In addition to debates over nature of the revolt, the aftermath of the revolt is also critical to understanding contemporary plans and practices of reconstruction and development. I will come back at the conclusion of this chapter to discuss this, but it is worth noting that there was subsequently a major push by the Portuguese to promote regional development projects to appease grievances and avoid nationalist sympathies, to mechanize cotton production and thereby lessen reliance on indigenous labor, as well as to construct massive amounts of new roads for marketing and counter-insurgency military logistics. These extensive development plans that emerged as a colonial response to this revolt, the others, and the general launch of armed liberation struggle have been picked up by the post-colonial government since the end of the war in 2002 as influential guides for funneling billions of dollars of oil revenue into reconstruction and rural development. Such plans, including schemes for a massive new regional growth pole centered around the new Kapanda hydroelectric dam in Malanje, were the post-colonial training grounds for numerous state officials, including Manuel Vicente, the former

²⁴⁷ Even he, though, limits their grievances to "precarious life conditions." E.g. (2013) 'Sobreviventes dos massacres da Baixa de Kassanje querem melhoria das condições de vida,' Radio Ecclesia, Jan 4, http://www.radioecclesia.org/index.php?option=com_flexicontent&view=items&cid=198:sociedade&id=11809:sobreviventes-dos-massacres-da-baixa-de-kassanje-querem-melhoria-das-condicoes-de-vida&Itemid=716#.UxPIkoWKiFc; Soares, Isaías (2011) 'Há descontentamento na Baixa de Kassanje,' Voice of America, Jan 5, <http://www.voaportugues.com/content/article-01-04-2010-baixadokassange-voanews-112882484/1259240.html>; (2011) 'Projecto Piloto Não Vingou,' O Pais, Aug 22.

²⁴⁸ ANGOP (2007) '04 de Janeiro de 1961 catapultou os nacionalistas para o movimento libertador,' Jan 3.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

head of the powerful state oil company, and now the Vice President, often seen as a possible future President.²⁵⁰

In sum, the discussion over the character of the revolt is also a proxy for other debates, including about moral claims to a dignity and a share in national development. The revolt's aftermath shaped current plans for reconstruction and development, which are also occasions for these continued debates.

3.1.1 Academic and Policy interpretations of Political Economy in Angola and Africa

Many academic analyses have continued with similar narrow interpretation of the Baixa de Kassanje and the revolt, which I will situate within a broader framework of thinking about space in Angola and Africa. Moorman's (2008) otherwise excellent social history, for example, says that Malanje cotton producers "rebelled against the system of forced cotton production" (81) but says nothing of their nationalist aims. A popular tourist guide to Angola notes that the revolt was by "workers" who "protested violently against appalling working conditions and forced labour" (295). The pastor Malcom McVeigh (1961), seeking to garner sympathy for purportedly innocent and humble peasants, explicitly denied political overtones: "It is a mistake to consider these [MPLA and UPA] foreign or Communist movements ... It was a spontaneous demonstration against abusive practices by the Cottonag [sic] Company ..."²⁵¹ For many years one of the best textbooks on Angolan history was that of Wheeler and Pélissier (1971), which notes in passing the possibility of political, religious, and Congolese influence, but the book generally portrayed the revolt simply as "an active of defiance against the system of obligatory cotton cultivation for which Cotonang, a monopolist company, had the concession in the region east of Malanje ... This was a rebellion of poverty; it failed because the rebels lacked arms and leaders and support from neighbouring tribes." Newitt (1981: 228-9) cites Pélissier (1978) to dismiss the revolt as a "peasant jacquerie" that was done by "local groups," was "almost totally unorganized," and "took the nationalist leaders as well as the authorities unawares."²⁵² One of the most esteemed detailed analyses of the conditions leading up to 1961, Christine Messiant's 1983 doctoral thesis likewise inaccurately describes,

degraded by misery, traditional society there was preserved, and this preservation, given the specter of famine, can explain why the revolt extended, at the beginning of 1961, to the whole region. *Without local cadres, without connections* with the movements that

²⁵⁰ Vicente was reportedly Head of Engineering at SONEFE (Sociedade Nacional de Estudo e Financiamento de Empreendimentos Ultramarinos) from 1981-1987. See 'Manuel Domingos Vicente,' http://www.sonangol.co.ao/corp/president_en.shtml; and 'Biografia do Vice-Presidente da Republica de Angola,' http://www.portalangop.co.ao/angola/pt_pt/noticias/politica/2012/8/39/Biografia-vice-presidente-Republica-Angola,0d03a6ee-a64a-472e-9ec5-c71c9f970d50.html, both accessed July 19, 2014.

²⁵¹ UPA is União das Populações de Angola, a group amongst others that emerged in northern Angola, Luanda, and the Congo, and would become the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola), led by Holden Roberto (Marcum 1969).

²⁵² He writes "nationalist leaders were entirely taken by surprise when urban guerrillas began action in Luanda and when a peasant jacquerie broke out in the Baixa de Cassange cotton growing region in 1961. To this day no one really knows which group, if any, had a hand in organising these risings. However the exiled nationalist leaders hastened to claim credit for the action, to claim their responsibility and to try to use the events to their advantage. But it was all very much being wise after the event."

developed at the time in the Congo and Luanda, the revolt would be crushed ... [T]he Baixa ... [was] an enclave of pure exploitation where only a revolt without hope or escape was possible. (Messiant 1983: 263, *emph. added*)²⁵³

And Marcum's (1969) otherwise brilliant and extensive chronicle calls the uprising "spontaneous and localized" (126).²⁵⁴

The nuances of contemporary Angolan debates discussed in the previous section about the meaning of the revolt in relation to current projects are not sufficiently appreciated in most academic and policy interpretations of Angola's political economy. Perhaps this is partly because of a lack of sensitive on-the-ground study in Angola outside of Luanda.²⁵⁵

Perhaps more important though is the problematic framework used to understand political economy in Angola, which is then often depicted as a particularly extreme or clear example of dynamics that are characteristic of Africa more broadly. As discussed in the previous chapter, the essential dynamic is usually perceived as one of a neopatrimonial-rentier-gatekeeper state, in which a configuration of cosmopolitan state, party, and business elites in the coastal capital cities profit by controlling trade and the proceeds of allocating valuable enclaves to foreign companies, and retain power by using such wealth to buy off political support through selective patronage, repression where needed, and otherwise neglect of the mass of low-productivity farmers. In this sense, the delimited foreign cotton concession covering the Baixa de Kassanje, would be understood as a prototypical enclave. An indicative account for Angola that builds on many of the above approaches and specifically cites the Kassanje cotton area is given by Soares de Oliveira (2013: 168):

the Portuguese systematically resorted to the 'discharge' of state responsibilities ... The Portuguese also gave concessions to private corporations that became *de facto* sovereigns within their domains of extraction ... the administrative and financial means to replace them did not exist. Three companies stood out: CCFB, which ran the Benguela railway, Cotonang, the cotton firm in Malange [*sic*] district; and above all, Diamang, the multinational mining consortium in Lunda district.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ Messiant cites Pelissier (1978: 409-424) what she says is "isolation from nationalist organizations, by which it was certainly not organized, although there has been, through men including a messianic leader, Congolese influences."

²⁵⁴ Birmingham (1992: 35) mentions only rural "anti-colonial despair." He moreover erroneously puts Kassanje in the east of Angola, and says the revolt had been contained by the police in January (but it was the army who did the repression, and they actually only arrived in February).

²⁵⁵ Ferguson (2005: 381) notes, "The highly simplified sketch I present here has its uses (I hope), but it cannot stand in for the detailed ethnographic accounts that, one hopes, will soon help to give us a more fleshed-out picture of the social and political life of African mineral-extraction enclaves."

²⁵⁶ Likewise, Cooper (2002) makes no mention of Kassanje. And Reno's (2011) history of warfare discusses Angola (pp. 64-67), but ignores Kassanje and otherwise confuses much of the basic facts and chronology of the 1961 revolts.

3.2 Reconsidering Angola's Baixa de Kassanje and 1961 Revolt: A Crossroads in Transformation

Malanje's role as a transforming crossroads gave rise to the revolt as the beginning of armed nationalist struggle. Three points stand out. Firstly, the revolt was shaped by complex, intensive, long-standing socio-political relations with the Congo (which achieved independence six months prior, in June 1960), but accounts of the Baixa de Kassanje revolt have downplayed these relations, ignored them, or depicted them as simply 'outside agitation.' Secondly, connections between Malanje and Luanda were also key to the revolt, and though sometimes recognized, the extent and nature of these relations have also been unappreciated. Thirdly, and closely related to the prior two points, the revolt was also shaped by profound transformations in Malanje and the Baixa de Kassanje, which have not yet been closely analyzed. The argument therefore contributes to several different discussions – about the origins of nationalist struggle in Angola, about space in African political economy, and about the contributions and character of relational geographies.

To briefly illustrate how my explanation of the revolt differs, we can use the example of Luanda-Malanje relations, described in the fourth section below. In order to elucidate the broader world historical relations out of which the Kassanje revolt emerged as a motley sort of nationalist movement, I want to tell a particular story of certain relevant relations between Luanda and Malanje. In looking at some specific influential Luanda-Malanje relations, I highlight different *sorts* of relations (distinct but inter-connected) and also then situate these different sorts of relations in a broader historical trajectory by identifying certain inflections or *turning points* in some key processes. The relations between Luanda and Malanje on which I focus include material-economic ones (slaving, coffee, sugar, cotton, wax, rubber, migrant labor, infrastructure), socio-cultural (churches, civil service, linguistic, racial) and political-military. The turning points are firstly, a contested shift during the period of the early 1900s to the early 1920s from light administrative-military presence and reliance on portage to intensive control and mechanized transport – a shift effected through militarily mobilized labor to construct infrastructure. The second turning point, in the decade after World War II, is from one of gradually increasing commercial production and trade to an outright commodity boom out of which nationalist sentiments re-emerged due to interconnections between exacerbated labor exploitation, heightened labor mobility, and urban restructuring.

So, I am not talking of just relations between the cities of Luanda and Malanje as two discrete points. When I speak of relations between Luanda and Malanje, and Malanje and Congo, I hope to analyze these *places* using an expansive notion of place, and so not as clearly circumscribed points connected linearly somehow through an ether, but rather to understand the grounded sets of geographies that constitute and connect each region. Although I focus on Luanda and Malanje as significant concentrations of people, wealth, and power, I hope to jointly analyze both the changing geographies of these places themselves (i.e. urban and regional restructuring) as well as the dynamics of the relations between them, and I see these latter connective relations as realized through sets of other geographies and places – for example, heading inland east from Luanda, the cotton area of Catete, the sugar plantations in Caxito, racialized coffee hills of Dembos, the Dondo market center, the American mission at Quessua, the fort and mines at Pungo Andongo, etc. I emphasize the multiple connective places through which the concentrations in Luanda, Malanje and Congo are related. I then hope to identify some of the key turning points in

transformations of the processes by which Luanda and Malanje have related to one another through these spaces.

3.3 Malanje-Congo Relations

Before turning to Malanje-Luanda relations, I want to emphasize various sorts of relations between the regions of Malanje and southern Congo. Like the above critique of discrete notions of Malanje and Luanda as circumscribed cities, my analysis of Congo-Malanje relations is also partly a critique of notions of discrete socio-spatial distinctions between what has been called a relatively homogenous Kimbundu-speaking ‘Mbundu complex,’ contrasted with a BaKongo society to the north west, a Lunda-Chokwe society to the north east, and an Ovimbundu society to the south. As above, I am not conceptualizing a distinct Mbundu society that interacts with other societies. Rather, I’m examining specific relations through which shifting groupings of people are (re-)formed and contested. As above, I analyze the relations of two places – Kinshasa (which the Belgians called Leopoldville) and Malanje – through analysis of processes producing other geographies, including those of smaller towns such as Kikwit, Tembo Aluma, and Marimba, and shifting ethnic-political formations (Bapende, Maholo, Mussuco, Jinga, Bondo, Imbangala, etc). The relations between Kinshasa and Malanje that I emphasize are labor migration, political and social dynamics (pre-colonial formations, churches, political parties, etc), and commodity trade (rubber, palm oil, cotton, consumer goods, etc).

I will use several turning-points as a way to analytically comprehend these smattering of different processes producing the sorts of geographical relations just mentioned. The first of these turning points was in the late 1920s and early 1930s when there was a shift from turn of the century battles over trade routes and colonial occupation (‘pacification’) towards more extensive colonial presence and labor and tax exactions. The second turning point came after a decades of these exactions as World War II and associated market disruption preoccupied colonial governments and finance, and large numbers of people left the Angolan areas of cotton intensification for the Congo, whilst others in the Congo sought refuge in Angola or in Kinshasa from Belgian exactions (in addition, others went to Angolan cities). The final key turning point came with the Congo’s transition to independence in 1959-1960 and the related rise of Angolan nationalism, in which the deep and wide regional relations of labor migration and socio-political ties took on a distinct character of active, coordinated political mobilization.

The connections between Malanje and the Congo were interpreted in particular, delicate ways by both nationalist forces and the Portuguese colonial regime. The colonial regime sought to portray the revolt as easily swayed tribes duped by outside communist agitators from the Congo, thereby playing upon Cold War fears and tropes of peasant passivity and naïveté, whilst careful to not hint at too great a weakness of territorial control by the colonial state. Nationalists in exile sought to also portray their shadow administrations as coherent and informed, whilst emphasizing the victimization of the peasants by the brutal colonial regime in order to mobilize international action and support for their nascent government in exile.

For their part, sobas and leaders of the revolt expressed in unequivocal terms – at least as recounted in colonial reports – that they were in touch with “Pessa,” that is, P.S.A., or the Parti Solidaire Africain, a Congolese political party that had boomed in the southern Congolese districts bordering on Malanje Province during the run-up to Congo’s independence in June

1960. Portuguese colonial reports of the Kassanje revolt mention fighters with PSA calendars and the distinctive serpent and tree emblem. This coordination was recorded as receiving orders from PSA and Kasavubu, though this may have simply been a deft strategy by African respondents to formally feign obedience and shift responsibility to some other amorphous force.²⁵⁷

The role of PSA however has gone relatively un-examined in accounts of Kassanje, despite a remarkable 1967 book by Herbert Weiss who used extensive travels and close cooperation to describe in detail the party's rise. The PSA was fundamentally a product of popular discontent with rural Belgian colonial administration and, after riots in 1959 in the capital Leopoldville (Kinshasa), the forcible re-location of politicized urban youth back to their villages. Weiss is at pains to point out that the PSA, led by the leftist Antoine Gizenga and Maoist Pierre Mulele (who would go on to lead widespread rural rebellions in 1964), was at first somewhat elitist and tentative, but the level of popular discontent exceeded the ability of the party leaders to conservatively channel it – “the leaders' hands were forced by local occurrences” (229). In manners very similar to the subsequent Kassanje revolt, rural people of the Kwango and Kwilu districts in the neighboring Congo embraced PSA and refused to obey Belgian orders, pay taxes, perform obligatory labor, show respect, and so on. Weiss presciently recognized that such “rural radicalism” “clearly runs counter to the received view of the process of decolonization in Asia and Africa” (293), but such insight has thereafter been largely unappreciated by academics. However, some recent revisionist work on Cameroon, for example, draws together newly available archives and has illustrated the extensive deliberately cosmopolitan geographies of nationalist rural mobilization (Terretta 2013). To understand the ways by which the PSA, Kasavubu, Lumumba, and other aspects of Congolese independence came to have such an importance in Malanje requires examining the region's deep historical and geographical connections through kinship, political rule, and trade.

It is worth briefly foreshadowing that Congo-Malanje relations were also shaped by nationalists' networks that stretched both through Malanje to the Congo and from Luanda to the Congo and back down to Malanje. Key here was the figure of Malanje-born Andre Rosário Neto (discussed more in the next sub-section). Rosário Neto was a civil servant in finance and part-time journalist who studied in a church seminary in the Baixa de Kassanje, and then cultivated relationships with nationalists in Luanda during seminary school there, and subsequently joined the Union of People of Angola (UPA) in the Congo in June 1960, where he produced and translated from French into Portuguese and Kimbundu radio programs and printed newspapers and propaganda to reach Malanje and nearby areas (e.g. Figure 3.1).²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ For example, soba Bumba reportedly stated, “All this ‘confusion’ is not ours. We don't want anything to do with you whites, leave us alone to live our lives. Today, we only obey Kasavubu whose orders come to us by emissaries ... If you whites want war don't do anything to us but rather to Pessa, Maria, and Kasavubu who are responsible for everything. You can kill us but we are innocent. This was the order that came to us from Fatim who created the world and all the people white and black. The General Governor of whom you speak should try to reach an understanding with Kasavubu ... We are not the ones inventing anything and we only comply with orders.”

²⁵⁸ The PSA was sympathetic to but also aimed to be broader than Lumumba's MNC. Lumumba authorized weekly UPA broadcasts on Radio Leopoldville starting August 3, 1960, which emphasized unity, and distinguished between the Portuguese government and settlers (Marcum 1969: 80). Cleveland (2008: 209-10) also mentions that diamond workers in the north-east would listen to Congolese and liberation movement radio broadcasts from the Congo (more so in the 1960s).

The point of the below excerpt reprinted from this newspaper is to illustrate how what was supposedly a parochial Mbundu cotton worker revolt involved figures such as Neto who had links to the Congo and worked with people of different ethnicities and were keenly tuned in to broader global anti-colonial movements and consciousness.

Figure 3.1: Transnational news in Kimbundu in *La Nation Angolaise*



Source: *La Nation Angolaise* (Kinshasa), 30-04-1962, p.13

Central to the cross-border aspect of the Kassanje revolt is the role of a motley group of people called Suku. A critical examination of their reification helps illuminate the complex socio-spatial regional geographies that both resulted from and facilitated decades of movement and relations, and eventually enabled the cross-border anti-colonial mobilization. One group of Suku resided predominantly north of the Angola-Congo border, and another straddled the frontier. Both groups traced their lineage back to the old Seventeenth Century Congo Kingdom to the west. The southern Suku came to be governed by a queen (the Ngudi a Nkama), following the military victory over Lunda groups to the east by the sister of the king of the northern Suku.²⁵⁹ The subsequent descendent Queen of the southern Suku is mentioned in the 1961 colonial reports as a key agitator of the Kassanje revolt. However, according to these reports, although the revolt began near Milando, dozens of kilometers south west of her village, she, after having returned recently from the Congo, and received baptism at the nearby old Catholic Mussuco mission, was reported to be mobilizing people to mass just outside of the cotton zone, further to the south east, across the Kwango River, in Cassule Cuenda.²⁶⁰ Understanding the roles of the Suku in trans-border trans-ethnic nationalist mobilization is thus key, and also sheds light on the real

²⁵⁹ See esp. Lamal (1965), and also Thissen (1965); Redinha (1971b).

²⁶⁰ See also the sources in Freudenthal (1999).

limitations of the approach of Kopytoff, who conducted his dissertation fieldwork on lineage and religion amongst the northern Suku.

The important role of Suku also must be understood in relation to the complex shifting ethnic makeup of the region. The major ethnic group singled out by the Portuguese and Cotonang as agitators of the Kassanje revolt was actually the Holo, who trace their lineage not to the Congo kingdom to the east, but rather to the Kimbundu-speaking groups to the south. Despite persistent colonial efforts at ethnic codification and mapping in order to facilitate forced labor, both Suku and Holo, however, have generatively combined and merged linguistic, cultural and socio-political aspects from broader Kimbundu- and KiKongo-speaking social groups.²⁶¹ There are, moreover, other related smaller groups, such as Kadi, Paka, Koxi, as well as larger bordering Ngola, Jinga, Xinji, and Lunda. Various maps over the Twentieth Century show these groups in shifting patchworks, including both neighboring villages and mixed ethnic villages (Denis 1962; Thissen 1960; Diniz 1918; Redinha 1971a; Salazar 1968). This stands in stark contrast to now crude-looking portrayals by the commentators mentioned above that map the liberation movement parties MPLA and UPA/FNLA onto discrete, fixed ethnic blocs of “the Kimbundu” or “the BaKongo.”

At work behind this shifting, layered mix of relations between people that facilitated trans-national political mobilization were a series of longer-standing social, economic, cultural and political processes that I will now briefly mention.²⁶² The area’s dynamics took shape in particular as a key slaving hinterland from the 17th through the 19th Centuries.²⁶³ However, at the end of the Nineteenth Century, as the Portuguese sought to establish ‘effective occupation’ following the Berlin Conference, it was with the Suku queen Ngudi a Nkama that state-sanctioned missionaries established relations (Thissen 1960). There followed extensive rubber trade until the market collapsed around 1909 and then large-scale (but by no means complete) migration and displacement related to colonial military campaigns of occupation that sought to establish political-administrative control in order to allow a census of the population that would facilitate collection of taxes and mobilization of labor for infrastructure and construction projects and agricultural production, which are discussed more in the next sub-section.²⁶⁴ What is key in all this is that rather than migration constituting an “exit option” to some other comparable abstract unit of land (a la Kopytoff 1987), migration instead entailed a shifting relationship to both fixed resources and sets of social relations, and this would eventually facilitate anti-colonial organizing and the Kassanje revolt.

²⁶¹ See also Vellut (1972, 2006); Vieira-Martinez (2006); Atkins (1955).

²⁶² These processes are largely excluded from the static structural-functionalist approach that Kopytoff deployed. Indeed, Kopytoff’s thesis, reliant on close collaboration with colonial authorities, only includes a single footnote noting famines in the late 1930s and early 1940s due to obligatory labor p. 52. Cf. Holeman (1954). Likewise, Kopytoff’s (1965) subsequent profile of the Suku devotes a few pages to colonialism and change, but mostly to dismiss the effects of migrant labor on the structure of the local economy and society.

²⁶³ Holo were able to break off from the southern Kassanje formations in the late Seventeenth Century in order to control Kwango river crossings, and grew powerful from 1730s to the 1760s by diverting early slave trade from the east southwards, as well as mediating trade for French goods through the Congo port until trade shifted back southwards to Luanda as the French became pre-occupied with the Napoleonic wars (Miller 1988).

²⁶⁴ See von Oppen (1993); see Osório Junior, Vaz (1921) ‘Relatório da coluna de operações a “Uamba até Tembo Aluma”,’ AHM 2/2/59/40.

The turbulence of colonial conquest also was interpreted metaphysically with specific ritual practices that would be resuscitated during the 1961 revolt.²⁶⁵ The Kifumbe figure, for example, is reported in some Nineteenth Century accounts with ritual sacrifice of human hearts, but its meaning shifted closely in relation to the forced labor associated with colonial spatial-economic transformation.²⁶⁶ Kifumbe haunted the rural paths hidden in tall grasses and would capture people to use the oils of brains, in varying accounts, for the engines of trains, diamond machinery, or plantation equipment (Esteves 2008). The Kifumbe illustrate metaphysically some of the long-term and extensive transformations and responses that shaped the region and lead to the particular form of the revolt, rather than a simple reflex to the economic conditions of cotton work.

In contrast to the notion that the Baixa was simply delegated to management by a foreign company, there was intensive government presence following Portuguese military-administrative occupation, and an associated history of protest against such presence.²⁶⁷ This growing government presence operated in *increasingly* close collaboration with Cotonang – detailed in section 3.5 below – to such an extent that the many of the practices of revolt were explicitly addressed not simply at cotton company practices but also at administrative measures. For example, although a compulsory national census (with stiff fines for non-compliance) was supposed to be carried out in January of 1961 (preparatory surveys had already covered the country), at that time the Queen Ngudi a Nkama sought to substitute for this authoritative colonial practice of censusing by ordering people to not obey, and to instead gather and be counted for her (presumably for propaganda and enlistment in the revolt).²⁶⁸ This continued

²⁶⁵ Around Mussuco in 1915-1923, there was hunger due to a disease outbreak amongst livestock (Costa 1970: 136). In 1916, in Mussuco there was a rumor of a strange person, Mafulu, that had come from the Congo and had only one eye, one arm, and one leg, and would appear in the rivers and order the sacrifice of white cattle, sheep and chickens; one would then drink a potion to suppress spells and give immortality to honest people (Gabriel 1982: 160). So, the new livestock and trade patterns brought new diseases, which were interpreted in relation to the military campaigns and millenarian visions; these practices were then resuscitated in 1961 in different form. This appears to be related to the spread of Kimbanguism, and a Mafulu revolt in 1918. Mafulu was also a term for a missionary. In 1928 in Sanza Pombo and Damba, there were similar notions of the apparition of a (white) person Mafulu from the river waters and killing of white livestock were present in revolts in Damba and Sanza Pombo Dos Santos (1972: 307)

²⁶⁶ The spelling varies: quifumbe, quifombo, kifumbi, etc. Ribas (1969: 307) gives the root as kufumba (to damage), and describes it as a rural brigand or highwayman (bandoleiro), that would decapitate. See Sousa (1921). Kifumbe and Mafulu appear to share the same root ‘fu,’ but I can’t specifically confirm a connection. Neves (1854) and Livingston (1856: 170-1) mention kifumbe as practicing ritual sacrifice of human hearts (one male, one female) to gods/spirit, perhaps eaten. Amado (1861: 9) reports some sobas would make more sacrifices, for which walking on the paths until finding victims is necessary or common. Santos’ (1981: 42) story mentions Kifumbes selling heads from the sugar factories. Esteves (2008: 112) notes versions in Kikongo (kifumba), Umbundu (katokhōla), chokwe (thalyanga), and mentions the danger of high grasses April-June before burnings, so people should not walk alone. See also Luandino Veira ‘O usuku, Kifumbe,’ in *Lavra and Oficina*. The figure of such a monster preying on flesh and humans was reported in the 1920s in northern Malanje and elsewhere, in the notion of Kifumbe, which was still a common vivid notion when I conducted fieldwork.

²⁶⁷ Government presence included, for example, a study expedition in 1925, plans for a train line, inventories of peasant holdings, phytosanitary measures against locusts, etc. See also Bebiano, Jose Bacelar (1926) ‘Observações geológicas e apontamentos sobre a flora, fauna e etnologia da fronteira nordeste de Angola,’ BGU 11, pp. 34-59. See also (1954) BGU n353-4, p. 265; (1934) BGU n103; (1934) BGU n122-3, p.123. One can also chart the detailed administrative presence in the number of papers in the archives (which do vary over the years), as well as the increase in the administrative divisions, from 70 concelhos and circunscriçoes and 237 postos in 1948, to 75 and 250, respectively, in 1954, to 91 and 400 in 1962, and 157 and 487 by 1978 (see Graph 3.4).

²⁶⁸ Informação 765, reproduction of Apontamento by Jose Torres Palma, Catholic mission at Mussuco. “Movimento Religioso-Politico Na Margem Esquerda do Cuango, Posto de Milando,” January 1961. See also DSEEG (1967)

decades of revolts, passive resistance and migration against censusing for tax and labor ever since military occupation in the 1920s.²⁶⁹

Similar processes were likewise unfolding unevenly across the border in the Belgian Congo (Denis 1962). By the 1930s these state-corporate exactions in parts of the Congo region had reached such an extent that they provoked a rebellion in areas with Pende, where some 500 people were killed by the Belgian army, and many others brought stories of the events as they subsequently crossed over to Angola where relatives lived (Vanderstaeten 2001). These processes also lead to migration from border areas of the Congo to urban centers such as Kinshasa and Matadi, as well as colonial projects and plantations, and sometimes to Angola also, where some labor contracts were more favorable, but there was also movement of farmers from the Angola to the Congo also.²⁷⁰ With the increasing commercialization of the countryside (see sections below), the northern border town of Tembo Aluma became a commercial center in the 1950s for people from both Angola and Congo, with Portuguese merchants also trading goods from Kinshasa (Denis 1962). These sorts of linkages would be critical to facilitating the PSA political mobilization when area youth then living in Kinshasa were forcibly returned home in 1959. The independence of the Congo was widely publicized and experienced in Malanje (and in the front pages of Luanda newspapers), not least given the significant numbers of white settlers and traders that fled into Angola, including some 500 to Malanje.²⁷¹ Tembo Aluma would be one of the earliest major areas of the Kassanje revolt.

Having painted some of the broad conditions of connection between Malanje and Congo, I want to hone in more specifically on some of the other organizers of the Kassanje revolt (drawing on Kamabaya (2007) and Marcum (1969)), and for this we must also understand the connections also to Luanda and the transformations in the cotton and broader economy and landscape of Malanje and Kassanje. In mid-1960, activists from Malanje and Luanda increasingly moved their operations to spend more time in the Congo, particularly following a sweep in Luanda by the colonial police in which 50 key activists were arrested, and dozens of protesting villagers were killed in Catete, the reputed birthplace of Angola's first President Agostinho Neto, and a cotton town outside of Luanda.

A key organizer of the Kassanje revolt, Antonio Mariano, made trips back and forth from Malanje to the Congo. He was born in the suburbs of Malanje, just across from the neighborhood that had been transformed by the growth of the cotton industry with massive new Cotonang warehouses, processing facilities, and segregated white housing complexes. Mariano worked as a Catholic catechist in the Baixa de Kassanje, and there both saw the deplorable conditions and organized clandestinely with other church members, with peasants, and sympathetic traditional authorities, in addition to underground nationalist political activists in Malanje and the Congo, fusing syncretically Christian, African, and nationalist iconography in the form of holy water, incense, and incantations to Maria and Lumumba. Working as driver in the cotton zone, he also drove his Chevrolet up on through to Kinshasa.

²⁶⁹ See various AHM and AHA reports.

²⁷⁰ Vicente's (1959) internal Cotonang report notes that the area around Tembo Aluma saw 270 farmers flee in 1955, but then an increase of 455 farmers in 1956-9, AHU MU/GM/GNP/052/Cx.3.

²⁷¹ See coverage in the Malanje newspaper Angola Norte: (1960) 'Os Acontecimentos no Congo,' July 16, p.1; (1960) 'Os Refugiados do Congo Belga que passaram pela nossa Cidade,' Aug 6.

Another activist born in Malanje, João Cesar Correia ('Makuiza'), had studied in the mid-1940s at the American Methodist college at Quessua, studied in Benguela, and, after meeting clandestinely in Luanda with inspectors from the International Labor Organization in 1959, also made the trek through the Baixa to the Congo in 1960, meeting along the way with Mariano and sobas, and returning in 1961 as a military commander of the revolt.²⁷² Another activist, Joao Bernardo Domingos Kioza, a cousin of Rosário Neto, spent more time Luanda, helping found the short-lived Movement for the National Independence of Angola around 1957. In order to avoid arrest by the secret police, he fled around 1960 to the Congo by passing through the clandestine political network of the Movement for National Liberation operating with the assistance of sympathetic Methodist priests in Quessua in Malanje. He brought with him copies of the "Manifesto de Kasanji" for Rosário Neto. This Manifesto, authored by a ranged of nationalist figures in Malanje and Luanda, analyzed conditions in the Baixa, denounced forced labor, and argued for total and complete independence, as in the Congo.²⁷³

3.4 Malanje-Luanda Connections

Relations between Malanje and Luanda go back arguably half a millennia or more, so what I will try to focus on is a particular set shaping the Kassanje revolt. The next few sub-sections deal with contracted labor, transport, landholdings, and church networks.

3.4.1 Contracted Labor

Contracted labor was a key aspect of the Malanje economy, and connected people from diverse areas of the province, rural and urban, and connected people from Malanje with other places and peoples. Surprisingly, the extensive social relations of widespread contracting of labor throughout Angola have received little detailed scholarly analysis. The great historical importance of Angolan laborers has been widely recognized, and numerous studies discuss or mention slavery, forced labor, and contracted labor. However, despite this widespread recognition and attention, almost no studies have actually looked systematically at detailed empirical evidence of labor contracting to understand the patterns of this labor, which is crucial in understanding the structure of the economy and the formation of socio-spatial relations throughout Angola. For example, the very interesting social history dissertations on contract labor to particular sugar and diamond complexes by Ball (2003) and Cleavland (2008) provide many insights based on archival and interview data, but neither situates these in relation to the broader trends of contracted labor. Messiant (1983) describes totals and different types of labor, but what of regional patterns?

²⁷² Kamabaya (2007: 106-7).

²⁷³ A range of other nationalist pamphlets, which made a point of emphasizing agrarian issues, had been printed, and circulated in Luanda, Malanje and elsewhere, particularly after activists with connections to Angolan sailors via the African Maritime Club in Lisbon were able to smuggle a lithograph machine aboard a ship to the southern Angolan port town of Lobito. Angolan and other nationalist organizers were able to use for their own purposes of political mobilization the changing transport and communications that were part of the exploitative agrarian and labor economy against which they protested. On the Clube Marítimo, see also Chase (2012: 102); Zau (2005); Rocha (1998).

Recruitment from the central highlands going to the northern coffee lands was the most important pattern of labor contracting, and that which is often mentioned. However, no in-depth study of that regime has been conducted, as far as I know. Moreover, no study has examined the significance of the patterns of the massive amount of other labor contracting. In 1958, for example, about two-thirds of the total contract labor in Angola was from areas *outside* the southern highlands of Huambo, Benguela, and Bie that fed the coffee plantations in the north.²⁷⁴ Earlier statistics show from 1948 show Malanje supplying a quarter of the total contractees. Analysis of a sample of labor contracts illustrates widespread recruitment from across Malanje province, with some prominent plantations and a mine, but more general use by small and medium size plantations.²⁷⁵

Table 3.1: Contract Laborers in Malanje and Angola, 1948-59

<i>Year</i>	<i>Malanje</i>	<i>Angola Total</i>
1948	25,528	109,879
1949	16,159	101,994
1950	30,495	111,614
1951	30,334	155,725
1952	36,884	116,382
1953	16,609	92,365
1954-5	26,433	160,000 (c.)
1956	12,316	160,410
1957	18,865	330,053
1958	19,170	321,846
1959	20,031	339,014

Source: Anuário Estatístico²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ One could compare the number of contractees given the population in the respective areas (particularly the population of working-age men), but it is also not clear that workers were in their villages of origin when the census was conducted. The census did include some numbers migrants living in other areas.

²⁷⁵ The Agência da Curadoria records for 1952 in the AHA give a sample of 471 contracts by 245 different “patrons” of sets of contract laborers. The number of workers in each contract varies between 1 and 58 (with one contract for 106, discussed later). The receipts for 1952 that I examined mention a total of 5,316 laborers from Malanje, which is only 15% of the total contractees from Malanje mentioned in the official statistics for that year. It’s not clear why the figures differ, and why the records do not include all the workers. It’s doubtful that the rest refers to cotton workers, given the variance over the years. Perhaps it has to do with the administrative delineation that included Lunda? The 1952 receipts actually lack receipts numbers 399-513, or about 20% of the total records. Adjusting the number of laborers commensurately would give 6352 laborers, or about 17% of the total listed for Malanje in the Anuário. The salaries vary between about 51 and 450. I hope to provide an analysis of also of the distribution of number of workers contracted and salaries. The largest employers were the Manganese mines (966), followed by the old large plantation company A. Santos Pinto & Brothers (814), and the Angolan Sugar Company in Caxito, at Fazenda Tentativa (314). About two-thirds of the patrons contracting labor contracted a total of less than 10 laborers.

²⁷⁶ It is not clear to what extent contract labor from Diamang in Lunda is also included in the category ‘Malanje’ also, since the contract monitoring agency may have grouped them together administratively. I hope to analyze further the Anuário statistics on provincial patterns of contracting over time, if my own time allows. The difference in the totals between years 1956 and 1957 is related to the classification and counting of contract laborers. Whereas in 1956 the classification distinguished between those contracted with and without intervention (of the state?), with

The pool of possible contract labor in Malanje was reduced by Cotonang's monopsony on recruiting labor in the cotton areas, stirring controversy, or at least that was the sentiment felt in internal Cotonang reports.²⁷⁷ There was competition over labor, colored though with variations of elitist and/or white nationalist business' critiques of foreign businesses. Exposés and reports at the time mention the extensive use of contracted labor, and there was an elaboration of various administrative bureaucracies for managing this labor. The state Agência de Curadoria monitored labor. Licenses were given to labor contractors. Wages and conditions were regulated. Identity cards for taxation and control of movement were designed, distributed, monitored and enforced. But the administration of these contracts also appears to have been rife with patronage, as fees were paid by contractors to government officials regulating contracting.²⁷⁸ So, it was not simply the harsh economic exactions that were felt and resentment, but also the loss of freedom of movement and autonomy, as well as the arbitrary deprivations by the expanding bureaucracy.

3.4.2 Transport: Road and Rail Construction and Use

Much of the early forced and contract labor described briefly in the preceding chapter went to constructing the Luanda-Malanje railway in the early 1900s, which was revamped in the 1930s, as well as a huge system of roads in the 1910s and 1920s, which were also repaired and maintained through ongoing manual labor in the 1930s to the 1950s.²⁷⁹ This investment of labor in turn allowed Portuguese administrative occupation and movement, and enabled the censusing, taxing, and mobilization of even more labor for other construction projects and for agricultural production. The rail, for example, was key to bringing heavy supplies and rations from Luanda for military expeditions to occupy Malanje and the diamond-rich Lunda Province in the Northh East from the 1900s through the 1920s (Machado 1913; Péliissier 1986). Again, when the revolt broke out in Malanje in 1961, the railroad was used to quickly bring army units to Malanje (see Table 3.2).

Because the huge contributions of such forced labor was not quantified with a monetary value and thereby included in official colonial financial statistics, this effectively gigantic "payment" of taxes through labor has been grossly ignored by analysts emphasizing the 'gatekeeping' aspects of states in Africa and the limited administrative reach. Indeed, the actual extent – quantified or not – of forced labor was often *deliberately* hidden or obfuscated because of the ongoing international publicity, heated debate, and scandals surround the heinous and often illegal and/or informal abuses and conditions.²⁸⁰ Simply because such forced labor was not given

³/₄ of total involving intervention, for 1957 the classification was changed to distinguish between those with and without contract (and for those with contracts, whether for public or private purposes), and the new category of estimated non-contracted laborers was large. This may be related to the Indigenato law.

²⁷⁷ In describing a recent monitoring visit to Malanje, Cotonang's administrative director Jayme Ferreira (1948) tried to emphasize that the general situation was one in which "our organization, in Angola, continues to merit the praises of all well intentioned people," contributing value to the national economy. But he noted, this was despite detractors, and "the war made by some enemies (those with interests, directly or indirectly, in the recruitment of indigenous work force in the zones where we work)." The report goes on at length dismissing the "use of intrigue and lies to create a bad environment, by businesses that employ large a large volume of laborers." He went on to dismiss critics in the "Luanda press" and emphasize these businesses' "friendship with official elements."

²⁷⁸ See Ferreira (1948: 4-5).

²⁷⁹ Alves (1936), Ross (1925), de Matos (1944), CGC (1939), Santos (1927).

²⁸⁰ See Cooper (1996) and Higgs (2012).

a financial value by colonial administrations in their accounting books does not mean that such forced labor did not occur! Indeed it is impossible to understand the subsequent shift to mechanization and the contemporary emphasis on mechanization in construction and agriculture in Angola without really documenting and appreciating the extensive painful histories of forced labor.

The decades of labor abuses incurred in building and maintaining the roads generated widespread resentment. Some such abuses in Malanje were documented in a published report transmitted in June 1925 by a dozen figures (including Joseph Chamberlain) to the League of Nations' Slavery Commission about the continuing labor abuses in Portuguese Africa, in turn contributing to the League's passage in September 1926 of the Slavery Convention.²⁸¹ The Report and Convention came after international outrage several decades earlier about forced labor from Angola being used on cocoa plantations in São Tomé – and which in turn spurred some minor changes as well as Angola's new labor code a few years later. The report had been composed by the Wisconsin Sociology Professor Edward Ross, who traveled through Malanje, including down the then main road linking Amaral through Matete to the rail line, and documented some of the labor abuses along the way, including those at the Lombe Bridge described in the next Chapter:

Case 6.—Beginning with June, 1923, this village was required to furnish men and women for Government work. They go for two weeks at a time, some of them on the Government grange near Malange, others on the Malange-Bie highway. Both men and women are requisitioned and they must provide their own food. (8)

Where a highway crosses the swamp I count ninety-nine persons, nearly all women and girls, carrying earth in baskets on their heads about three hundred yards to make a huge fill. There are thirteen babies on backs and twelve of the gang are too young to be mothers. A mile further on I find twenty-nine women carrying earth, of whom fourteen have babies on their backs. Five men are on their job, one a foreman. Some have been three months on the job alternating with a member of their family. The foreman says he is under orders not to beat those who do not appear regularly. Those who run off and hide in the bush he reports to the Chief of the Post. The regular force is fifty, but twenty-one are sick, mostly of influenza. (14)

Likewise, the Norwegian anthropologist Amandous Johnson had also traveled to Malanje around the same time, and documented similarly outrageous abuses in labor used for constructing roads leading east from Malanje city towards the Baixa:

Early one morning I was awakened by mumbling sounds that seemed to come from a thousand voices ... On the large open space in front of the station stood about 300 women in the damp cold with only a loin cloth, stiff with dirt on it. All had baskets on their heads and many a child on her back. Afterwards I found out that they had been ordered out to repair the roads. Approximately twenty of them stood separate from the others. After a few minutes a negro soldier swung a whip. After having commanded the one who was lucky to hold out their hand, he gave out six or eight lashes on his palm. The women took against beaten without making a sound, shook from punishment on the hands, held them under their hipdress and stepped to the side, as if it were an everyday

²⁸¹ See also Cooper (1996: 28-31).

event occurring. But the kids, who did not understand it all, screamed mercilessly. The poor victims had probably sought to deceive the government on a few hours of work by staying at home or hide in the woods, or maybe they were ill and unable to work. (Johnson 1929: 207)

An end result of such stark and widely resented and remembered abuses however was greater fixed capital in the form of roads that facilitated circulation of forced labor to plantations and other works. Transport facilitated such contracted labor, and hence also a growing commercial economy, which entailed the significant movement within Malanje and to other provinces, as illustrated by the traffic figures for the smaller train stations in the year 1960. From small towns that were not even municipal capitals, thousands of people rode the train.

Table 3.2: Malanje Rail Passengers in 1960

Station	#
Cambunze	3,703
Cacuso	8,647
Matete	1,870
Aldeia Formosa	1,451
Cacolo	399
Lombe	1,943
KM 417	1,542
Malange	15,211
Total	34,766



Sources: BdA (1962); CCCE²⁸²

Passenger traffic on trains was gradually facing competition by growing networks of bus services. The state allocated particular private companies with specific routes.²⁸³ In 1957, for example, there were 45 of these regular bus and trucking routes throughout nearly 10,000 km of the country. By the late 1950s transport from Luanda eastward through Malanje picked up, particularly for the heavy machinery needed to power, process and support the increasingly mechanized diamond extraction that was spreading west from the dwindling initial alluvial finds towards the Kwango River on Baixa's eastern edge (some 600 diamond workers here would revolt together with cotton farmers and others in 1961).²⁸⁴

Beyond the railroad terminus, the road network in the Baixa de Kassanje was improved partly through financing from cotton sales. Under a 1936 law, two and a half percent of the total amount that Cotonang paid in purchasing cotton from farmers was allocated to a special

²⁸² See 'Malange: Baixa de Cassange,' '4ª Companhia de Caçadores Especiais: Angola, 1960-1962,' http://4cce.org/photos/thumbnails/092-chegadacomboio-vindo-malange-19-3-61_small.jpg

²⁸³ The routes were outlined in the Anuário.

²⁸⁴ See Anuário Estatístico, p. 215; Cleveland (2008); Anonymous (1953) 'Pontes na Província de Malange,' Angola Norte, Dec 19, p. 1; (1956) 'A Companhia de Diamantes de Angola,' Angola Norte, Sept 8, p.1.

government fund for purposes of road building and conservation. So, while this could be interpreted as colonial delegation to a private concessionaire of state functions of tax collection, in reality that was only a relatively small task, as the funds were still managed and spent by state authorities, who had to find and mobilize labor for the road works. The situation was one of increasing state-private collaboration, rather than any one-off delegation. The result, after ten years, was an extensive network of 865 km of roads in the cotton zones, which more than doubled in the next ten years to 1,711 kms.²⁸⁵ By 1961 Kassanje peasants would protest these state exactions of labor for road works – not just cotton prices – and aim to turn the road network to their advantage militarily by setting up roadblocks and ambushes, destroying bridges, and refusing to obey state officials' orders.

3.4.3 Rural and Urban Land and the Settler Economy

The great extent of land claims, land inequality, and general 'rural reordering' in Malanje and Angola before and after 1961 appears to have been significantly underestimated by most analysts, as documented in detail in Chapter 7. These dynamics went well beyond the purported enclaves of cash and export crop that are usually mentioned.

The land inequality in the agrarian economy combined with not only contract labor and various infrastructures, but also the economic, social and political dynamics of urban restructuring and trade. The nationalist networks and organizing that went on spanning Malanje, Congo and Luanda were informed and motivated by this broader pattern of growing segregation and inequality in the booming settler economy. The numbers of white Portuguese in Malanje city jumped, and white traders increasingly set up shop in smaller municipal capitals and towns (see Table 3.3 and Map 3.3 below). Much of the massive post-World War II urban restructuring of Luanda was driven by the booming coffee plantation economy (see Graph 3.2 below), until the coffee price crises of the mid-late 1950s (Paige 1975), as demonstrated spatially by the landmark studies by the white Angolan geographer Ilídio de Amaral (1960, 1968).

The settler coffee boom-driven urban restructuring must have been apparent to the many subsequent elite in government and politics, such as Agostinho Neto, who attended the Liceu Salvador Correia in the quickly changing Ingombotas neighborhood (Correia 2009). Ingombotas was established much earlier from dislocations ('Ingombotas' means unfavourables), and low level informal housing remained after the train tracks were removed from its modest incline and shifted up the coast. By the coffee boom however, African residents in Ingombotas were being displaced by apartments for white settlers (Amaral 1960, 1968).

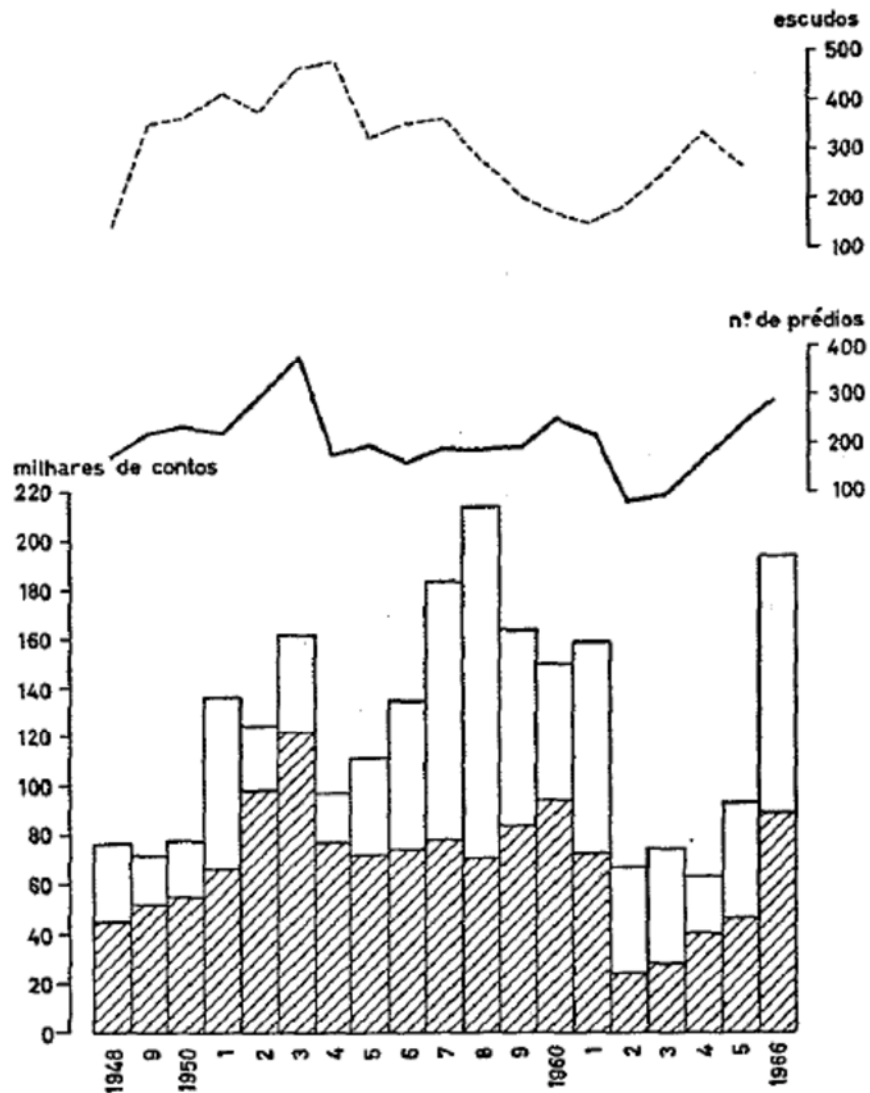
²⁸⁵ See Diploma Legislativo 859, BO 47 of 1936. See GDM (1954: 33).

Table 3.3: Angola and Luanda and Malanje Cities' Population by Colonial Racial Classification, 1930-70

	Luanda				Malanje				Angola			
	Black	White	Mestiço	Total	Black	White	Mestiço	Total	Black	White	Mestiço	Total
1930	39,001	6,008	5,557	50,566	3,235	499	593	4,326				
1934		8771								58,098	19,872	
1940	45,884	8,944 9,404	6,175	61,003	3,595	823	865	5,283	3,665,558	44,083	28,035	3,737,739
1943	111,112	20,710	9,755	141,577		701	1,117					
1944						737	1,175					
1945						773	1,233					
1946						810	1,290					
1947						847	1,340					
1950	111,112	21,018	9,932	141,647	7,190	691	1,592	9,473	4,036,687	78,826	29,648	4,145,266
1955	143,700	34,250	11,550	189,500	10,020	674	2,121	12,815				
1960	155,325	55,567	13,593	224,540	19,400	<2,222	>4,478		4,604,362	172,529	53,392	4,830,449
1963	273,732	58,256	14,719	346,707	29,706	3,840	5,265	38,811				
1970	314,879	126,233	39,255	484,223		<2,269	<4,725		5,250,174	280,101	89,337	5,646,166
1972					~50,000	~6,275	~6,628	~63,000				

Sources: Santos (2005); cf. Dilolowa (1978): BdA (1956; 1960: 7, which gives a city combined 'civilized population' of 6,700); Amaral (1968); Note: The large jump between 1955-63 is notable, but may be due to war. The 1960 Census gives figures for Malanje Concelho of 5,794 white, 2,222 mestiço, and 114,382 black; 1970 is based on the census results; 1972 is based on Ponte et al. (1973: 39), for which I've used Fregusias of Assunção, Maxinde, and Coração de Jesus for whites and mestiços, which are more concentrated than the black population— however these figures seem to contradict the 1970 census results for the Concelho of Malanje; see also Mourao 1995: 217

Graph 3.2: Evolution of Luanda's Urban Construction and of Coffee Exports, 1948-66



Source: Amaral (1968: 106). Note: shaded columns are residential building values.

Socio-spatial connections and political consciousness were also stoked by processes of urban restructuring underway in provincial capitals and smaller towns throughout Angola. A series of colonial city planning and urbanization plans and projects were undertaken. These built on, exacerbated, and entrenched the still visible segregated spatial structures in dozens of municipal capitals and small towns across the Malanje countryside. This quotidian segregation has received much less scholarly attention than Luanda, but was perhaps more pervasive.

Table 3.4: Area and Value of Building Construction in Malanje City and Urban Areas, 1946-60

Year	#		Area (m ²)		Value (contos)	
	City	Province	City	Province	City	Province
1946	25		4,547		2,598	
1947	20		3,746		2,465	
1948	15		2,659		1,777	
1949	17		3,765		4,971	
1950	21		4,342		4,357	
1951	23		5,077		4,679	
1952	27		6,015		5,810	
1953	36		8,341		9,483	
1954	45		11,729		14,853	
1955	38		8,240		11,435	
1956	25		6,427		8,459	
1957	33		12,597		22,163	
1958	40	56	8,166	12,009	10,037	12,801
1959	34	56	5,220	12,296	7,572	12,205
1960	52	62	10,658	13,046	22,912	14,520

Source: Anuário Estatístico; nb: the current Malanje Province was then called a District

During his year in Malanje in 1945, for example, Agostinho Neto, as he walked up the city's main road, passed by visible buildings embodying this new order (see Table 3.4).²⁸⁶ He passed the bustling trading stores, the car and agriculture suppliers, the end of the train line, with its hulking Cotonang warehouses, and, as he reaching his work at the medical office, he would have seen the construction work on Cotonang's new segregated residential neighborhood nearby.²⁸⁷ It was in the burgeoning forced-labor cotton-plantation hub city of Malanje that he is reported to have experienced life-altering racial discrimination when he was refused entrance by a low tier hotel for whites only. Ten years later, Amílcar Cabral, too, after meeting with Neto in Lisbon, would walk these streets past Cotonang on his way up to do research tests at silos quickly filling with plantation settlers' maize crop from that season's first harvest. From Cabral's impressions and the statistics from his agronomic research in Malanje and elsewhere in Angola, he would several years later in 1960 pen his polemic *The Facts about Portugal's African Colonies*, decrying humiliating segregation, land expropriation, and forced labor in cotton and coffee in Angola, noting how some of such agricultural wealth ended up in ownership of "blocks of flats in Lisbon."²⁸⁸

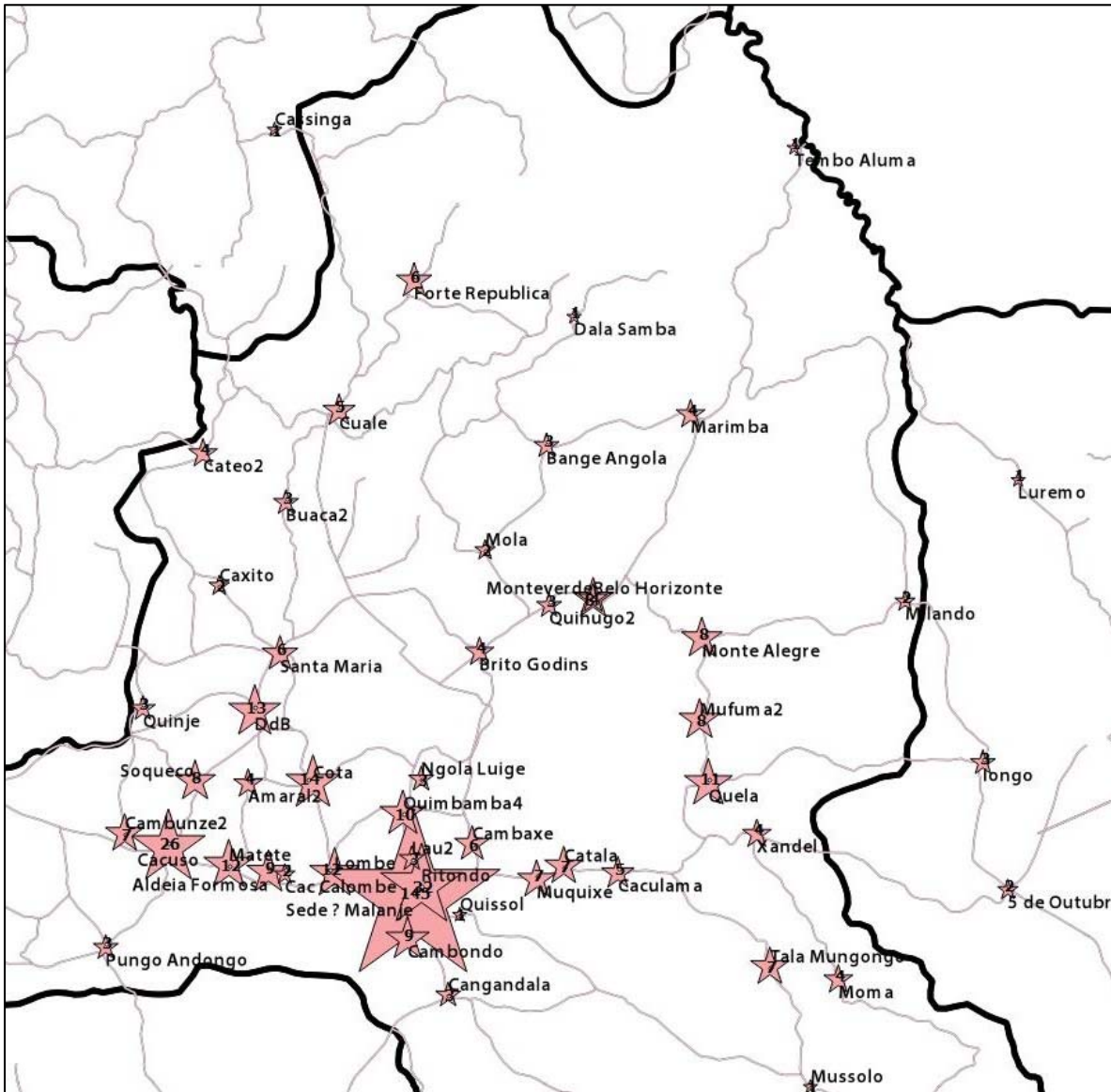
²⁸⁶ See also the colonial urban development plans for Duque de Bragança (Kalandula) and Malanje.

²⁸⁷ See (1948) Angola Norte, May 29; (1958) Angola Norte, Dec 6.

²⁸⁸ Cabral and Fonseca (1956); Vicente (2011: 55); IICT and INEP (1988); Cabral (1980). The presence of agrarian capital in urban buildings can also be gleaned for Malanje by some of the confiscations in DdR Despacho Conjunto 47-Y of August 28 1992, such as those of A. Santos Pinto, SIPP, Vitorino Sampaio Magalhães, Evaristo Machado, Leonel Gomes Pinto, Fazenda de Santa Isabel, etc.

In addition to being invested in real estate and construction, the profits from the expanding contract-labor based plantation economy also often circulated through usurious trading stores that sold imported goods on credit at high interest rates to farmers (Santos 2005). From 1954 to 1958 the number of registered trading stores in Malanje Province increased by a quarter from 362 to 448 (see Map 3.3 below).

Map 3.3: Distribution of Registered Trading Stores in Malanje in 1958



Source: BdA (1958)

3.4.5 Church Networks

Church networks linking Malanje and Luanda and numerous small towns were also key in the facilitating the revolt, through both education and connecting people from disparate areas. The Catholic churches in Malanje expanded from the city in 1890 to the Baixa in 1913 (Bangalas), with another two in the mid-1930s, and four more by 1960. These often involved schools, and a range of indigenous catechists – by 1959, across 13 parishes in Malanje there was a total of nearly 250 staff.²⁸⁹ Rotating positions through the church exposed catechists to diverse and challenging circumstances and communities. One particularly important figure was the Reverend Job Baltazar Diogo, who studied at the old American Methodist college in Quessua established in 1887, but also served in the historic rocky town of Pungo Andongo amidst growing European plantations. During the coffee boom years, he served in the rebellious Dembos coffee district, which saw massive land alienation for European plantations.²⁹⁰ Upon his return to Quessua, he worked on translating the bible into Kimbundu, and coordinated a clandestine cell of the National Liberation Movement at Quessua, as well as joining the UPA. Reverend Diogo's son, Bornito de Sousa, is the current government's chief technocrat, now Minister of Territorial Administration, and presided over commemorations of the Kassanje revolt, together with Boaventura Cardoso, then governor of Malanje, former Minister of Culture, and apparently son of the popular nurse, dentist and underground political activist Sebastião Cardoso, active in Malanje at the time of the Kassanje revolt. These figures, as well as others mentioned above, do not fall neatly into the prevalent (but misconceived) academic categories of ruling coastal creole elite descending from historic slave-trading elite (even as 'new assimilados'), as described in the previous chapter. Other major nationalist figures that were active in the church included Conego Manuel Joaquim Mendes das Neves, who was born in the coffee areas west of Malanje, and was in contact with Diogo and a wide range of other nationalist and church figures, including Father Joaquim Pinto de Andrade. It was under Father Pinto de Andrade that Rosário Neto had studied at the Seminary in Luanda (Kamabaya 2007).

So, rather than view nationalist politics as restricted to a cosmopolitan coastal creole elite, with separate parochial peasant protests in exploited interior enclaves, the political mobilization in the larger Malanje region was part of a larger extensive history and geography of protest that connected issues of land and labor exploitation to demands on the colonial government and the international community for equal rights and independence. As illustrated above in relation to the Congo connections, people protested both in relation to experiences in the past and familiarity with other places, as well as their immediate concerns. Rosário Neto, for example, drew on the experiences of his grandfather Joaquim 'Kanguya' Filipe Cardoso, who had petitioned the League of Nations in 1927, and was subsequently jailed, as part of a broader 'Nativist Movement,' throughout parts of northern Angola, which included various attacks and threatened bombings of the railway.²⁹¹ Earlier, in the 1910s and 1920s, the famed writer Antonio de Assis Junior penned a diatribe against land expropriation in the coffee areas, and others such as

²⁸⁹ Anuário Estatístico.

²⁹⁰ Agostinho Neto, the MPLA leader and Angola's first president, also spent time in Piri in the plantation coffee lands of Dembos, and notably, its massive 48,000 ha concession of Jose and Eduardo Anapaz (Anapaz & Irmao) in Piri, which was also the birth place of Nito Alves, an MPLA figure and leader of a repressed 'protest' / 'coup' in 1977 (Vicente 2011; GGA 1944).

²⁹¹ See Marcum (1969: 47), AHM various. Marcum reports that Kanguya's son (Rosário's father or uncle) also organized "Baha" protests and secret cells in the 1950s.

Kimamuenho worked tirelessly defending peasants against dubious settler expropriation of their land (Ferreira 1989; Corrado 2008; Assis Júnior 1917). And in the 1930s, there were related Garveyist, Kimbanguist, and Jehova's Witness Watchtower/Kitawala activities ideas circulating. Likewise, Marcum, notes "a movement known as Moïse Noir [Black Moses] spread through the countryside. According to its message, American Negroes would come to liberate the African from European oppression" (Marcum 1969: 47).

The Portuguese colonial regime responded to such unrest with a mix of increasing administrative surveillance and policing, particularly through increasing numbers of indigenous police known as *cipaios*. However, there were also token efforts at providing social measures in some of the key and contentious areas, either directly or through church or charitable organizations, in the form of a commission on cotton prices, corporate and labor laws (weak and often unenforced) and social development schemes and projects (such as, water, education/training, health, housing, etc) (e.g. Cunha 1953; CRCCAU 1961).²⁹² So, rather than view the Kassanje revolt as spastic reaction against a purported delegation by the state to a privately run enclave, instead the revolt grew out of expanding contested negotiations between different social groups and state and corporate agents.

In sum, there were multiple, overlapping networks of people connecting the regions of Malanje and Luanda through different sorts of relations – through churches, contract labor, commerce, migration, and activism. The links were not simply arcs between the two main cities, but involved dozens of small towns, villages, plantations, mines, projects, factories, homes, churches, stores, and other sites. These places carried their own sedimented histories of connections, transformations and protests, and it is through these layers of relations that the 1961 revolt emerged. What was also key, however, was not simply Malanje's role as a crossroads, with connections to Luanda and Congo, but major socio-spatial transformations in Malanje and the Baixa de Kassanje region itself, some of which have already been mentioned.

3.5 Transformations in Malanje and Kassanje

The precise timing of the revolt should also be understood in relation to the particular conjuncture of circumstances in 1961. The prior year had seen heavy rains destroy crops, the head tax had increased in 1959, and costs of living and particularly food prices had risen in Malanje Province since 1957.²⁹³ The late 1950s saw declining numbers of people growing cotton due to difficult conditions including mounting pest problems resulting from the concentration of farms distant from peoples' villages, heavy investments in lowland drainage and soil conservation and erosion works (Nunes 1960; Dias dos Santos 1960: 8; Cotonang 1960a, 1960b; Georges 1960). Contradicting notions of a private enclave, in these works, state officials from the Cotton Export Board (Junta de Exportação de Algodão) worked closely with Cotonang

²⁹² See also JEA (1960) 'Algumas Considerações Acerca da Zona Algodoeira da Baixa do Cassange, Delegação de Quela, JEA, November 29. This appears to be by Joao Pereira Neto. The cotton price commission was ordered in September 1, 1960, through Oficio 15/60.

²⁹³ On the impact of the rains on production, see figures in Graph 3.1. Price indexes are in the Banco de Angola reports for Malanje, it is not yet clear to me what the cause of the increase was.

employees, and local administrators who received bonuses from cotton production illegally prevented people from working elsewhere, and forced them to grow cotton.

Contang's actual concession did not begin as a discrete unit, but rather entailed a transformation from the 1926 legislation that allowed sparse ginning factories with rights to the surrounding areas in a maximum 25 km radius (later 60 km). As Cotonang cotton production expanded whilst global markets declined during the 1930s, the state emphasized the need for closer regulation of cotton quality, production, and labor. The Portuguese state wanted to encourage investment, and yet balance concerns about unfavorable monopolistic practices and also national versus foreign capture of economic opportunities (Clarence-Smith 1985). From this period onward, there was increasingly *close* collaboration between Cotonang and the Portuguese administrative apparatus in the Baixa de Kassanje. The multiple fragmented concessions were re-organized in 1940 from scattered factory-radius zones to concessions that matched administrative districts. Then, by 1947, these were united into what was subsequently known as a singular concession covering the Baixa de Kassanje.²⁹⁴

In other words then, the revolt was about the expanding presence of the state in conjunction with the company in the Baixa de Kasanje, and the particular spatial transformations in production, rather than simply low prices – indeed the actual nominal producer prices paid for cotton do not appear to have declined (See Graph 3.3 below).²⁹⁵ Moreover, rather than a confined enclave, Cotonang had a regional and international presence – in the shareholders that had interests in infrastructure, mining, commerce, etc in the region, in the actual facilities in the cities of Malanje and Luanda, and in the network of cotton business experts in neighboring Congo and elsewhere in Africa and the world.

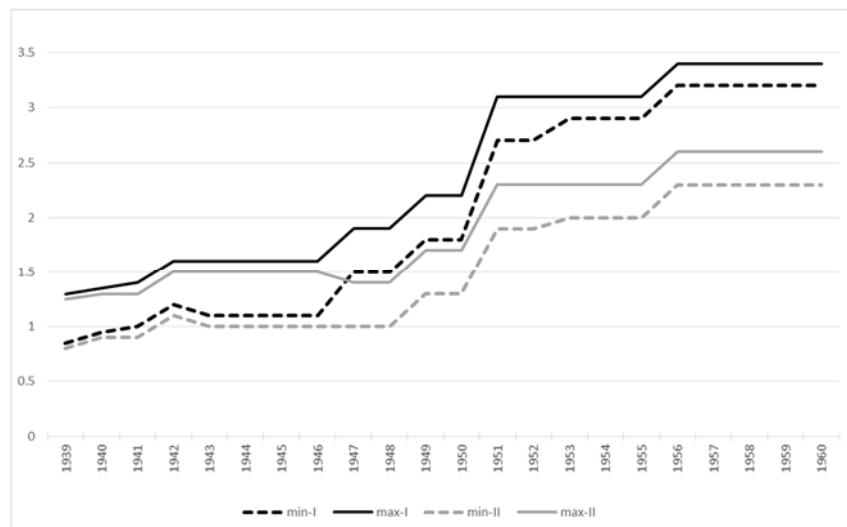
The close collaboration between the state and Cotonang agents at the local level encompassed both formalized legal ways, and in informal social ways. Indeed the revolt by workers was about not abuses by private business alone, but rather about the abuses that arose from both explicit

²⁹⁴ Part of the economics of the concessions was also about the use/control of the de-seeding factories. The cotton would weigh more to be transported if it wasn't de-seeded, and hence it was all the more important for cotton in Malanje to be de-seeded. If a company controlled the de-seeder, it could prevent rival companies from using it, and hence force them to ship heavier cotton and pay more. BGU (108: 190-1) mentions this. Also at issue was the full utilization of land, so that concessionaires would not claim more land than they were using for their factories. See the 1937 Portaria in this respect. How to prevent wasteful competition via redundant factories, and thereby promote guaranteed incentives for investments, without allowing speculation by companies. Investment in processing capacity happened in 1940, after the administrative re-organization. Cotonang reported paying no dividends through 1945 at least, as profits were reinvested in expanding production and processing facilities. Angola (and Congo) used an adapted American variety, Triumph Big Boll. In Angola, international cotton gins and machinery were upgraded and enlarged with new equipment – a 1935 map, for example lists gins from the major American companies of Pratt and Continental, as well as the Belgian Velghe, powered by French and British engines from Lister, Renault, and Robey. Expanding cotton revenues enabled successively upgrades of the ginning capacity, and so even more revenue. Indeed, backward linkages from new textile weaving standards by Porto industrialists may well have also contributed to the revolt, prompting Cotonang and JEA in 1955-6 to force farmers to switch to a new longer-fiber seed variety that was less productive and differed agronomically (Georges 1960). We can perhaps only wonder if it was partly the particular *variety* of cotton seeds that prompted farmers to protest and burn those seeds. On global historical transformations in the cotton industry, see Beckert (2014). See also Riello (2013); Smith and Cothren (1999); Hill-Aiello (2006); Britton (1993); Yafa (2004, 2006); Wrenn (1995); Britton (1992); Hutchinson (1949), Brixhe (1950).

²⁹⁵ Freudenthal (1999: 253) cites Marcum (1969: 124-6) as suggesting cotton prices declined, however it was declines in production that resulted in farmers' declining revenues. Marcum (1969: 126) cites LeMaster's (1962) unsupported statement "Cotton prices had gone down; the workers weren't being paid, and they refused to work."

state-private collaboration and state agents' deliberate ignorance, ambiguity and complicity in illegal practices – what Rebocho Vaz, the commanding military officer in Kassanje and later governor of Angola, described as “a great conspiracy of silence” (Rebocho Vaz 1993: 36). Legally, *state* agents received bonuses based on cotton production, and therefore had personal incentives to boost production by various means.²⁹⁶ The military commanders called in to quell the revolt complained about state agents' conspicuously luxurious lifestyles based on these cotton bonuses. Cotonang was also required by law to collaborate with the JEA and to fulfill a number of social obligations and labor protection requirements. Informally, Cotonang actively and intensely cultivated high-level political relationships in Lisbon and Luanda (particularly given the emphasis on national industries), but also with ground-level administrators in the cotton growing areas. In the city of Malanje, Cotonang was close with the commercial associations, with the provincial newspaper, and emphasized its paternal relations in ‘the Cotonang family.’²⁹⁷

Graph 3.3: Angola Cotton Purchase Prices, 1939-60



Source: d’Eça (1961: 5)

In sum, so far this chapter has emphasized a multiplicity of shifting spatial connections in order to re-interpret and explain the 1961 revolt in Kassanje. Understanding these connections is all the more important because of what happened next. The ways in the colonial government and settlers responded with farm mechanization, infrastructure and regional development as counter-insurgency measures would partly shape the post-independence projects, and, ultimately, also now post-2002 national reconstruction.

²⁹⁶ See Pélissier (1978).

²⁹⁷ Ferreira (1948); Georges (1955, 1960).

3.6 The Roots of Contemporary Reconstruction in Late-Colonial Regional Development as Counter-Insurgency

Understanding the extensive connections that gave rise to the Kassanje revolt is also important to understanding the subsequent late-colonial spatial development programs that have in turn shaped contemporary reconstruction. Many of the plans for Angola's post-2002 reconstruction of infrastructure were outlined in a massive multi-volume 2025 Long Term Development Strategy, which often drew on comparisons with the late colonial era conditions and regional development plans (cf. Power 2011). These contemporary projects draw on Angolan colonial regional development planning which in turn drew on various currents of thinking, some linked through Brazil to classic French theories, as well as the emerging experience with hydroelectric irrigation projects across Africa. But, in particular, it was after the 1961 uprisings on the cotton plantations of eastern Malanje, in urban Luanda, on the coffee plantations in the north that the spatial experiences of and plans for Angola were laid out in great detail.

Regional economic development inventories and plans were compiled in 1962 in a significant two-volume study by the influential Portuguese economist and planner Walter Marques, then working in the office of Angola's top army commander. Marques subsequently became Angola's Minister of Finance and proceeded to push through funding for the planned projects.²⁹⁸ In a systematic fashion his study inventoried the plans for regional poles and linkages in Angolan development (see Map 3.4 and Map 3.5 below). The study and its approaches were key parts of executing a broader counter-insurgency strategy that was geared around a multi-pronged approach implemented primarily by small local mobile units, a point to which I will return.

The direct links with French growth-pole thinking make it pertinent to examine Lefebvre's writings on the issue.²⁹⁹ Explicit post-World War II theorizations of 'growth poles' was done most notably in France by the economist François Perroux during the reconstruction period there in 1940s and 1950s with financing through the Marshall Plan, aiming to emphasize France's eight metropolitan regions to balance out growth with Paris. This approach would arrive in colonial Angola both through Portuguese familiarity with the French analyses and through their international circulation at that time, including a 1961 study, 'Angola: Development poles and perspectives,' which also situated Angola's emerging hydro-electric and irrigation schemes in relation to Africa more broadly.

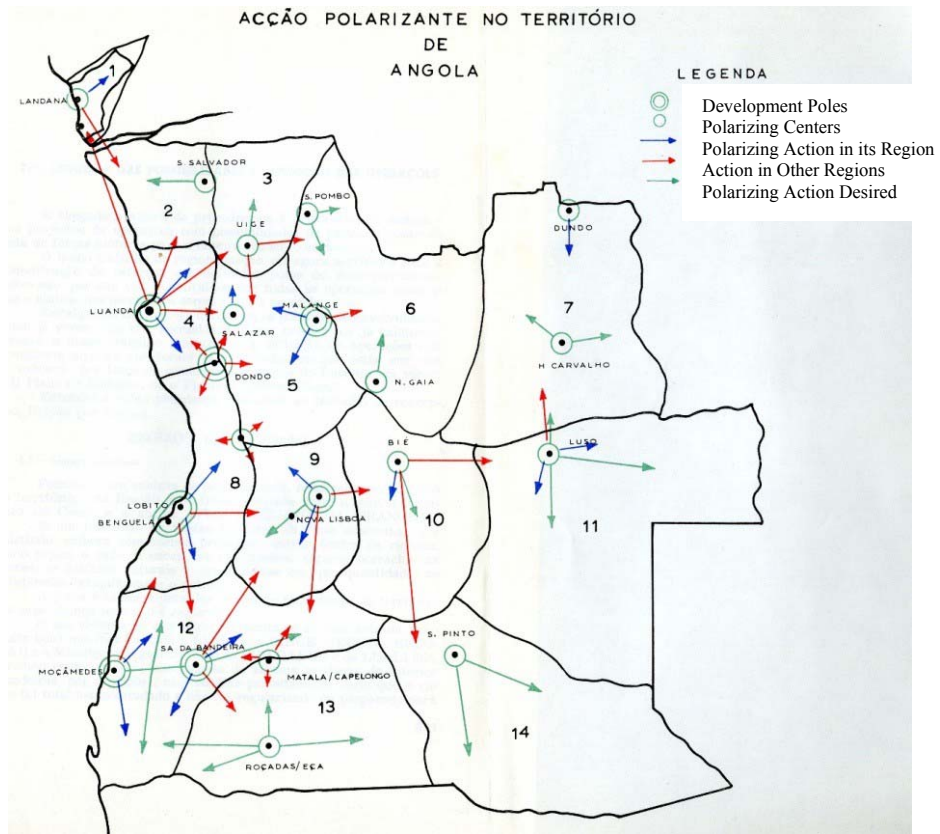
As I analyze in Chapter 5 on the Kapanda growth pole and its links with marketing logistics, such models would also be recirculated and revived in Angola after independence via Brazilian experiences that also drew on Perroux. Hence directly pertinent are Lefebvre's (2009: 248-9) [1977] reflections, from France and elsewhere, on state logistical space in relation to convulsions of colonialism, war and crises, which I return to examine in more detail in sub-section 7.2.4:

we must also recall that the formation of this [logico-political space] space is accompanied by convulsions, crises, and wars – which a fallacious analysis attributes to

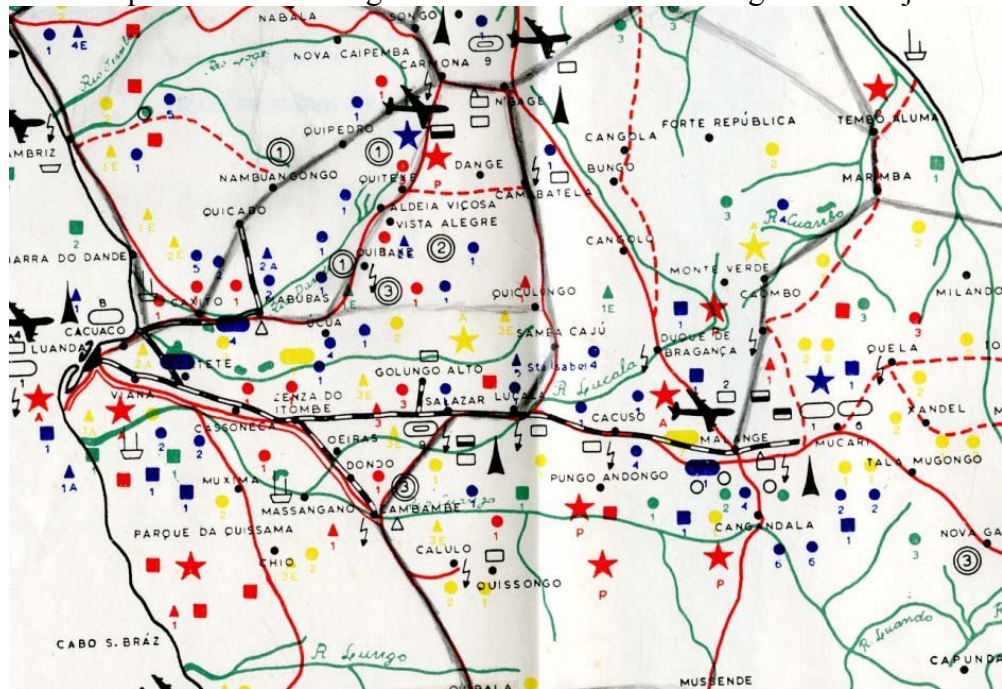
²⁹⁸ The study was published as Marques (1964), but the basic parameters of planning and financing were actually drawn up through a series of 5-year colonial development plans, comprising 1953-58, 1959-64, 1968-74, and 1974-79. These were termed 'Planos de Fomento.'

²⁹⁹ Incidentally, one of Perroux's students was Samir Amin, who critiqued 'extraverted' development – see fn 75.

Map 3.4: Colonial Regional and Development Pole Plans in Angola



Map 3.5: Detailed Regional Infrastructure Planning for Malanje



Source: Marques (1964); see Legend in Appendix G

purely economic or political factors, thus eliminating the spatial dimension The convulsions of the modern world were provoked by the displacements of settlements (colonization) and resources (raw materials) across space. This resulted, following each large war, in a redistribution of space, including its resources, and in changes in how space was settled (the transition from early forms of colonialism to contemporary neocolonialism). Armed with its instrument of logistical space, the State inserts itself between pulverized spaces and spaces that have been reconstructed differentially. The State's pressure prevents both a chaotic pulverization and the formation of a new space produced through a new mode of production.

Development poles were part of a broader colonial state spatial program of regional development for counter-insurgency.³⁰⁰ This program – directly influenced by British and French colonial experience – had as one key plank ‘social development,’ as formally outlined in the guiding document, ‘The Army in Subversive War.’³⁰¹ In addition to psycho-social action involving culture and propaganda, the social plank emphasized four dimensions: (1) education, (2) sanitary assistance, (3) economic development in agriculture and cattle husbandry, and (4) local infrastructure improvements.³⁰² Administrative presence throughout the country was

³⁰⁰ See Pinto and dos Santos (1961), Pinto (1959), dos Santos (1960), specifically mentioned were Matala and Cambambe in Angola, and elsewhere in Africa Cahora Bassa, Kariba, Revuè, Inga, Koulu, Edéa, Volta, Djerzeh, Niger, Konkouré, and Assam. Perroux's student, Jaques Boudeville, lived in Brazil and published a study on growth poles in Minas Gerais. A French geographer, Michel Rochefort, also strengthened pole thinking in Brazil, and the government began to incorporate these ideas in its policies in the 1960s in order to expand development beyond the concentrations in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (Serra 2003; Bunker 1989).

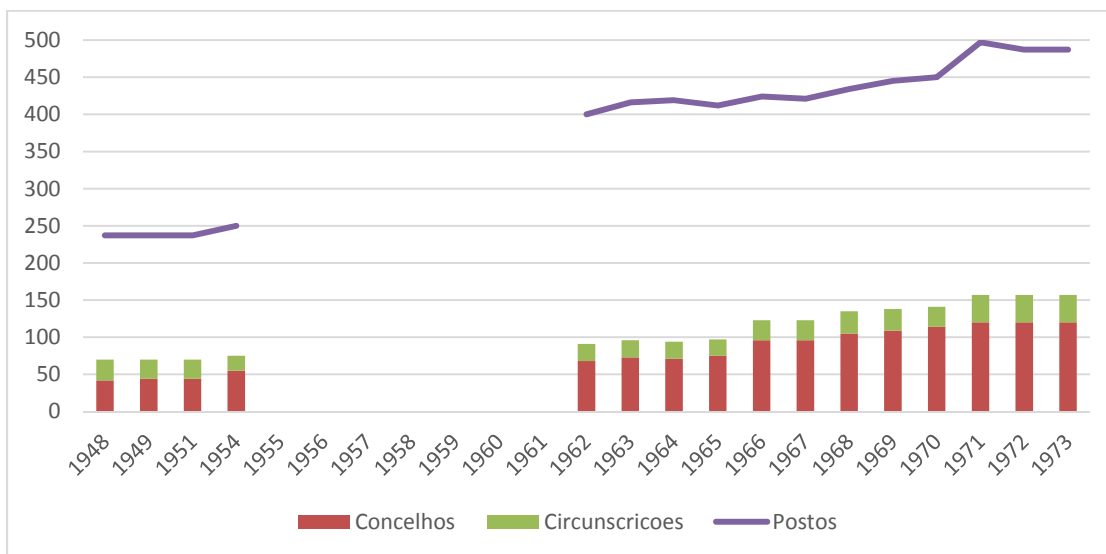
³⁰¹ The key points, according to Cann's (1997) account (rather apologetic), that the Portuguese came to emphasize after studying the issue were “minimum force, civil military cooperation, intelligence coordination, and small-unit operations” (44). Social development was part of all four. The Portuguese drew on French experience by territorial organization, with companies based in particular areas, and having small mobile units. Portugal's approach to counter-insurgency was directly shaped by British experiences in Malaya, Kenya, and Cyprus and French experiences (first in Indochina, and then Algeria). The UK's School of Military Intelligence had trained five Portuguese officers in 1958 and 1959, including sections on subversive warfare. Two of these officers went on to teach at Lisbon's Institute of High Military Studies (IAEM), building on a translated version of their manual from England, *Keeping the Peace (Duties in Support of the Civil Power)*, which focused on communist-inspired insurgencies rather than nationalist movements. Also in 1959, six officers traveled to Algeria for counter-guerilla study and training, and, having been intrigued by psychological operations, returned urging Portuguese preparations. Major strategy documents on counter-subversion were produced in 1962 and 1963, ‘Notes on the Employment of Military Forces in Subversive War,’ and main doctrinal document ‘The Army in Subversive War.’ In addition, an English-Italian MI6 agent working at IAEM from 1956-1974 wrote an influential report red-bating and tribalizing the Angolan war, based partly on his familiarity with Kenya and Mau Mau. The report went to the incoming General Freire who arrived in Angola in June 1961. The agent was Ronald Waring, aka the Duke of Valderano. See Waring (1962), Cann (1997), Valderano (1998), Bierman (2004). The Portuguese and colonial armies had been organizationally combined in 1950, with the IAEM likewise merged in 1937. The latter Institute “had concentrated its efforts prior to 1961 on doctrine for conventional war in accordance with Portugal's role in NATO and the feared conflict in Europe. This traditional focus, however, had not been to the exclusion of insurgency and counterinsurgency warfare” (Cann 1997: 39). Reuver-Cohen (1974) publishes excerpts from some key documents from a range of departments submitted for a 1968 symposium by the newly created General Council on Counter-Subversion.

³⁰² As one Portuguese army official stressed at the time: “National mobilization must not then rely exclusively on the armed forces, but absolutely on a country's every resource: teaching and education, hygiene and health, public works and communications, agronomy and veterinary medicine, industry and mining” (quoted in Cann 1997: 51). With regard seed distribution and tractor services, the latter is discussed in Chapter 7, and tens of thousands of kilograms of corn, bean and groundnut seeds were distributed to smallholders around Kota and Amaral each year from 1961-74, as part of hundreds of tons of seeds distributed to smallholders in the main prioritized zones of

significantly increased through increased numbers of posts, and more numerous smaller administrative districts (see Graph 3.4). As analyzed in the next Chapter, road construction and logistics would be critical to these activities and to the small mobile local army units tasked with facilitating them. Altogether, the development poles, regional social development, and infrastructure construction laid out as part of late-colonial counter-insurgency would influence the post-independence socialist government's plans, be deliberately targeted by UNITA during the war, and then serve as bases to be reconstructed and expanded in the post-war oil-boom era of sub-contracted reconstruction.

The importance of the overlap between military planning and post-1961 regional economic development is also illustrated by the fact that the governor of Angola for the key period 1966-72 was Lieutenant Colonel Camilo Rebocho Vaz, who was promoted to that position after being the on-the-ground commander of the repression of the 1961 revolts in the Baixa de Kassanje and northern coffee areas (and subsequently being the regional administrator of the rebellious Uije northern coffee district from 1961 to 1966).³⁰³

Graph 3.4: Increasing Administrative Divisions and Posts, 1948-73



Source: *Anuário Estatístico*; nb: totals for 1955-61 are not provided in the statistics, but can be calculated for some of those years by counting the listings.

Thus, in contrast to portrayals of Angolan economic development as historically rooted only in oil, diamond or plantation enclaves, the actual development plans were acutely aware of and concerned by enclave development and motivated by the threat of growing popular

Malanje Province. By 1973, for example there were 62 seed distribution points, though only in Cacusó, Malanje, Kalandula and Luquembo (rice), and there were also 40 Agricultural Promotion Centers, in the same municipalities (see Appendix M) (Ponte et al. 1973: 119-20).

³⁰³ See Vaz (1993). He died in Coimbra in 1998 a largely unknown figure, http://ultramar.terraweb.biz/06livros_camilorebochovaz.htm.

insurgency to address it through a vast, dense spread of infrastructure and economic projects (see Map 3.4 and Map 3.5 above). And this longer, meaningful historical geography goes beyond developmentalist immediate concerns about infrastructure projects in terms of managerial efficiency, corruption of democracy, or economic inequality (Søreide 2011).

It was these explicitly spatial regional development efforts that were revived with the 1984 contract for the Kapanda hydro-electric dam (discussed in the next chapter), but effectively shelved during the war until 2002, when they were reworked again. They found expression in the 2003 Private Investment Law, which prioritized seven economic sectors, and divided the country into three different investment zones designed to give incentives for investment in and development of more remote and under-developed areas (see Map 3.6 and Table 3.6 below). In addition to the private investment law, regulations on territorial administration have also categorized different municipalities in to different types, with different structures and different levels of state financing.

Since the late 1990s, nearly a dozen industrial poles have been started,³⁰⁴ together with four tourism poles.³⁰⁵ And, in addition to Kapanda, four other agro-industrial poles were started in 2007, with a sixth in 2010, ranging around \$75-97 million each.³⁰⁶ These are part of a large and growing pattern of post-war public investment projects, for which state expenditure has risen from about \$1 billion in 2004 to \$12 billion in 2013 (see Table 3.5 below).³⁰⁷

Table 3.5: Expenditures on Public Investment Projects, 2004-2013

Year	\$ Billion (current)
2004	0.5
2004	0.8
2006	1.5
2007	6.5
2008	11.9
2009	8.3
2010	7.7
2011	9.0
2012	12.0
2013	11.8

Source: CEIC (2013, 2014)

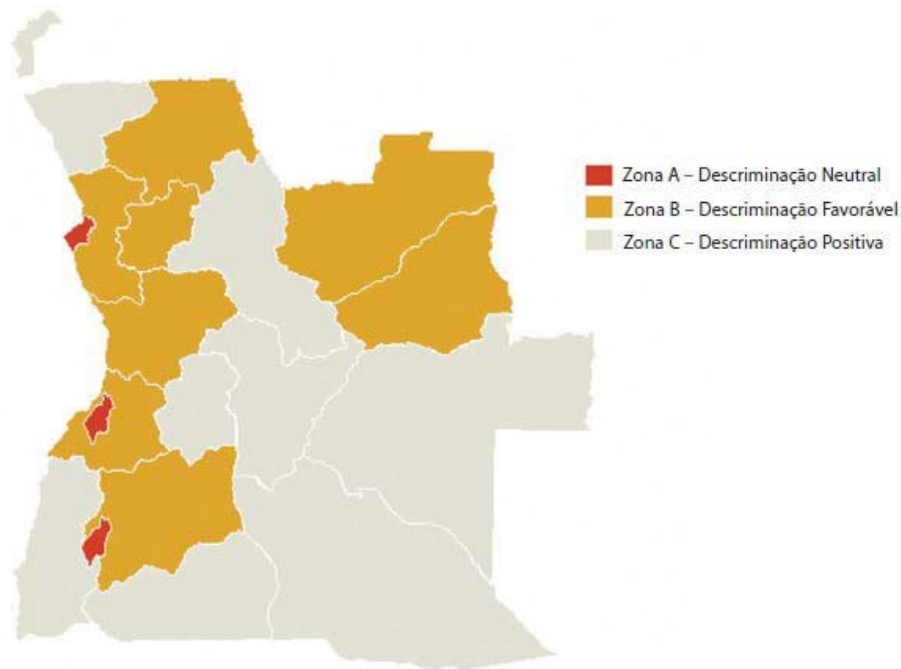
³⁰⁴ Futila (Cabinda) (2006), Negage, Viana (1998), Porto Amboim, Catumbela, Caala, Hyiula, and Lucala (2010).

³⁰⁵ Kalandula, Futungo, Cabo Ledo, and Okavango.

³⁰⁶ Cangandala, Quizenga, Benguela, and Mussende, and Cubal (2010).

³⁰⁷ The 2011 budget expenditures are indicative of the regional structure of spending, with 86% going to the central structure, 2.5% going to Luanda, 1.2% to Benguela, about 1% going to Uige, Huambo, Huila and Cabinda, and about 0.4 to 0.6% going to each of the remaining 12 provinces. Because administration is centralized, much of that central structure budget does find its way back to the provinces through in-line spending by the Ministries (health, education, police, agriculture, etc). But the provincial governments thus have relatively little discretion. In addition, the size of the budget is notable, at a total of 4.17 trillion kwanzas, equivalent to roughly \$44 billion (MinFin 2010).

Map 3.6 Investment Zones in the Private Investment Law³⁰⁸



Source: CESO CI (2005: 31)

Table 3.6: Years of Exemption from Different Taxes by Zone

	Zone A	Zone B	Zone C
Customs	3	6	6
Taxes on profits ³⁰⁹	8	12	15
Exemptions from taxes on capital	5	10	15
Industrial taxes on rehabilitation projects ³¹⁰	5	5	10

Source: Fiscal and Customs Incentives for Private Investment Law, Law No 17/03³¹¹

Some of the largest group of contemporary reconstruction projects came at the end of 2010, when accords were signed for \$1.5 billion in loans to Angola through the Chinese

³⁰⁸ Zone A: Luanda, Municipios sede de Benguela, Huila, Cabinda, Lobito; Zone B: Rest of municípios of Benguela, Cabinda, Huila, Kwanza Sul, Bengo, Uige, Kwanza Norte, Lunda Norte, and Lunda Sul; Zone C: Provinces of Huambo, Bie, Moxico, Cuando Cubango, Cunene, Namibia, Malanje and Zaire. Though Cabinda city should be Zone A, and Cabinda Province Zone B.

³⁰⁹ Also by sub-contractor.

³¹⁰ Also 10-year exemption for any area for investments in agriculture, livestock, or food industry, and investments that create more than 50 jobs for Angolans. And 5-year exemption on any area for investments in industry, housing, specialized services or technology development, or that creates 30 or more jobs for Angolans.

³¹¹ July 2003. However, a new investment law was approved in May 2011 (Law No 20/11), and appears to alter some of the incentives, but keeps the geographical zones identical to the 2003 law).

Development Bank for agricultural projects (plantations, irrigation, and development poles). These accords were signed after a visit by the President of the Republic to China at the end of 2008, and visits by high-level officials from Chinese businesses to Angola in the beginning of 2009 and 2010. Some of these companies, such as CITIC and Sinohydro (irrigation, markets), had already done agricultural projects in Angola, others had not.³¹² In the end, the debate frequently returns to the experiences of Projecto Aldeia Nova – a project designed for former soldiers, budgeted at \$70 million, and implemented by Israelis on the site of a former colonial settlement – and which continues to be the subject of various articles, analyses, and debates about strategy, practices and goals for agrarian development in Angola (see Appendix H).³¹³

There is then, a significant amount of money going in to regional development projects (see Table 3.5), and this provincial circulation of oil rents is one of the keys driving the Malanje economy and influencing farmers' livelihoods.³¹⁴ To read – in functionalist mode – into every act a logic of political patronage and rent seeking is to really miss a great deal of what shapes budget allocations and project design, implementation and impacts, not to mention a great deal of social dynamics beyond projects, as well as the implications these have for alternative modes of engagement by scholars and advocates.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has used a range of new evidence and approaches to re-examine the 1961 revolt in Baixa de Kassanje and re-interpret it as a transforming crossroads of nationalism rather than a reactionary economic enclave. In so doing, I have disrupted conventional narratives about Angolan history that over-emphasize relatively isolated enclaves of wealth extraction, as well as provided an alternative argument that can actually account for the existence and character of post-1961 regional development efforts as part of extensive counter-insurgency programs. This chapter has thus helped lay some of the necessary empirical and conceptual foundations for the next part of the dissertation on understanding how contemporary rural reconstruction projects emerge out of conjunctures of geo-historical processes associated with settler colonialism, protracted war, and leveraged liberalization.

³¹² ANGOP (2009) 'Empresários chineses querem investir em Malanje,' March 16.

³¹³ See Kimhi (2010); Costa (2006); Cerqueira (2010) 'A New Angolan Model,' Foreign Policy, and in the *Jornal de Angola*: Ribeiro, J. (2011) 'O preço da locomotiva,' Jan 30; Pacheco, F. (2011) 'Uma locomotiva demasiado cara,' Feb 10, and 'Tudo sem máscara,' Feb 16; Evale, A. (2011) 'Jogo de máscaras,' Feb 14; and 'Críticas negativas,' Feb 17.

³¹⁴ Cf. Dunning's (2008) notion that large oil riches can be a stabilizing force in economically unequal societies by enabling elite to capture gains for themselves without overly dangerous direct deprivations on society.

PART II

Chapter 4 : Security and Subversion in the Logistical Reconstructions of Angola's Transport Infrastructure

This chapter argues that because contemporary reconstruction of transport infrastructure draws from colonial, military, and corporate influences, such reconstruction has taken on a distinctly logistical approach that is technocratic, and top-down and hence does not resolve, and sometimes, exacerbates, economic, political, social and administrative aspects of agro-food marketing.

The chapter begins by illustrating the military and logistical aspects of the reconstruction of the highway from Luanda to Malanje. I use some specific anecdotes from a road block at a bridge construction project near my field research sites in Western Malanje in order to situate the regulation of transport within much broader historical and geographical plans and practices in transport. The second section mentions the extensive early colonial road building efforts, and then focuses on colonial counter-insurgency that emphasized roads in multiple aspects, as directly useful to military force, but also as essential to fostering integrated regional economic development and enabling 'social development' projects and services designed to win hearts and minds. The next section shows the direct connections in terms of transport planning and institutions from the colonial period through to the post-independence period by examining how infrastructure logistics also featured centrally in the post-independence wars, though then also influenced the Cold War proxy powers. Last is an analysis of the patterns post-2002 reconstruction of the Luanda-Malanje highway. I conclude by describing some creative but limited ways that people in the countryside make use of the proliferation of cheap Chinese motorcycles in order to adapt to current changes in the regional economy and the limits of the logistical emphasis on highways; in other words I look at how people engage with broader global shifts in the transport industry to again subvert the limited and securitized new transport infrastructure that itself has roots in earlier bouts of contestation.

This chapter thus builds on preceding chapter by focusing more specifically on the role of transport in the post-1961 counter-insurgency efforts and how those colonial efforts combined with post-independence militarization and 1990s liberalization to shape the character of contemporary reconstruction. This present chapter also contributes to the following chapters on Kapanda and marketing by highlighting the battles over transport that figure prominently in the as a key factor in disrupting the early statist marketing that was central efforts at socialist transformation of colonial agro-industry and regional development plans. In addition, the present chapter charts the rise of security forces involvement in logistics, and hence sets the stage for the next chapters' discussion of security forces' involvement in logistical agro-food marketing. Finally, the present discussion of transport contributes to Chapter 7 on agrarian configuration by charting the rise of the colonial transport infrastructure that was served the colonial administration and expanded the settler plantation economy, and the consequent post-1961 boom in the tractor sector for overlapping use in replacing forced manual labor in both road building and agricultural plantations.

4.1 Beyond ‘Investing in Investing’: Resources, Infrastructure, and Spatiality

The introductory Chapter 1 briefly laid out some of the main approaches to studying key questions of infrastructure in Africa today. Much of the prescriptive technocratic literature has now come to emphasize better management of public investment of resource revenues in infrastructure, what Paul Collier termed as “investing in investing.”³¹⁵ However, van de Walle, with a tongue-in-cheek critique of the political naiveté in such technocratic approaches (explicit or not, and intentional or not), contends that many such studies “are too polite to acknowledge that the improvements in policy they advocate are highly unlikely to come about so long as the governments that rule these countries continue their practice of using oil wealth to purchase the loyalty and unity of elites.”³¹⁶

The next pages explore the issue of ‘road blocks’ as one way of getting at some of the limits of both of these formulations, as well as much of the sociological and anthropological literature on transport and mobility.³¹⁷ Part of the problem with the technocratic and neopatrimonial perspectives on infrastructure – represented by Collier and van de Walle, respectively – is that they are both rooted in an a-spatial Weberian approach to determination. In the case of road blocks for example, these are seen as clear instances where discretion allows otherwise pervasive *arbitrary* action that leads to corruption (rather than rational-legal, rule-bound action).³¹⁸ For example, a World Bank volume asserts that the specificity of corruption in the transport sector lies in the fact that the “large numbers of tangible goods and services in the transport sector—such as permits and contracts with multiple points of entry at central and local levels—lend themselves to corruption” (Paterson and Chaudhuri 2007: 159). Road construction “is prone to corruption” because “projects are large and complex” and there is “discretionary funding” (World Bank 2009). In ways also contrary to Weber’s problematic emphasis on the necessity of predictability for fixed capital in industrial capitalism (see Chapter 2), it is the very scale of these huge fixed capital construction projects that is conducive to corruption, not least through the numerous contracts used for the enormous works. The Global Infrastructure Anti-Corruption Centre, founded in 2008 in England by the lawyers Catherine and Neill Stansbury, for example,

³¹⁵ Though this phrase was coined earlier, see Collier’s (2011) ‘Building an African infrastructure,’ *Finance & Development* 48(4): 18-21.

³¹⁶ Van de Walle, N. (2013) ‘Review: Oil Wealth in Central Africa: Policies for Inclusive Growth,’ *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec. See also Klitgaard (2006).

³¹⁷ Cf. Fairhead (1993), Grassiani (2013), Pottier (2006), Lombard (2013), Roitman (2005), Haanstad (2008), Gupta (2012), Smith (2010), Spencer (2014). See the 2013 *Africa* special issue on roads (v83, n3), and Dalakoglou and Harvey (2012) and others in a special issue of *Mobilities*.

³¹⁸ On corruption, cf. Blundo et al. (2006); Smith (2010); Koechlin (2013); Chayes (2015); Miguel (2010), Lindberg and Orjuela (2014). In geography, Lawson’s (2007) text does not mention patrimonialism or patronage at all, and mentions corruption only a couple times in passing. Likewise, Grant’s (2014) compelling textbook on African geography gives examples of corruption but does not mention patrimonialism or clientelism. While there is an interesting and growing literature on where corruption happens (Perry 1997; Caiden et al. 2001), which spatial institutions such as ‘the offshore’ facilitate corruption (Shaxson 2011), and criminal networks across space (Glenny 2009; Nordstrom 2007), there have been fewer attempts to use critical geographical theories to re-evaluate liberal approaches to corruption and thereby re-conceptualize what corruption is and how it works (cf. (Brown and Cloke 2011; Blok 1974; Le Billon 2014; Volkov 2002; Watts 2005). Of note are passages in Nordstrom’s (2007) influential text that are somewhat decontextualized commentaries on Angola (only partly related to anonymity). Also worth noting are Weber’s own brief remarks on transport infrastructure construction, caravans, workers, taxation, and corruption (1961: 160, 221; 1978: 147), particularly given his own father’s (parliamentary) links to the railroad industry.

provides a list of 47 different ways corruption can occur in pre-qualification/tender, project execution, and dispute resolution.³¹⁹

In this way, the construction industry bears some similarities with the massive projects of the oil industry.³²⁰ And indeed, the construction industry shares direct links to the oil industry, in addition to the indirect links of oil revenues spurring construction booms from Riyadh to Alberta. Yet, just as Watts (2012b: 438) observes how in much literature on the ‘oil curse’ “The agency of oil corporations, or the oil service industries or financial institutions ... is almost entirely nonexistent,” so too the international construction industry has received insufficient careful critical conceptualization in relation to ‘resources-for-infrastructure’ debates.³²¹ There is little analytic role in the classic Weberian conception of patrimonial discretion for understanding the expanding, pervasive and intrinsic dynamics of corruption in the construction industry, not least in the United Kingdom, but more importantly in the historically new forms emerging from China.³²²

The dynamics behind the rise of the construction industry in China are complex, but have to do partly with central state policy and financing, and partly also with the structure of tax revenues and debt-financed real estate speculation at the local level – the more than 10,000 ‘local government financing vehicles.’³²³ Osnos (2014: 233) reports plans in 2003 to spend some \$250 billion on 12,000 km of railroads (“the world’s most expensive public works project” since the US inter-state highway in the 1950s), shepherded by the then corrupt Minister of Railways Liu “Boss Rail” Zhijun.³²⁴ The rail rush burst with the high-speed rail collision at Wenzhou in 2011, whose subsequent investigations revealed immense ambition, corner-cutting, corruption, kickbacks and lavish greed:

China’s most famous public works project was an ecosystem almost perfectly hospitable to corruption – opaque, unsupervised, and overflowing with cash ... Middlemen expected cuts of between 1 and 6 percent ... One of the most common rackets was illegal subcontracting. A single contract could be divvied up and sold for kickbacks, then sold

³¹⁹ There is also an Anti-Corruption Standing Committee of the World Federation of Engineering Organisations, as well as a recently launched Construction Sector Transparency (CoST) Initiative.

³²⁰ Cf. Le Billon (2014).

³²¹ For the World Bank (2011: 12-113), the problem is reduced to just enough competition, “It is not surprising that cartels are common in the road construction industry in developing countries. Road construction and repair markets tend to be dominated by the same few firms; the “product,” a road, is standardized; prices are relatively insensitive to demand; entry is often difficult, and market conditions are predictable. In addition, would-be competitors often exchange information about both past and future opportunities and develop ties through subcontracting, joint ventures, and membership in trade associations ... The awarding of contracts through public tenders aggravates the tendency toward cartelization in the sector ... Collusion in the bidding for road contracts is a problem for developed countries as well.”

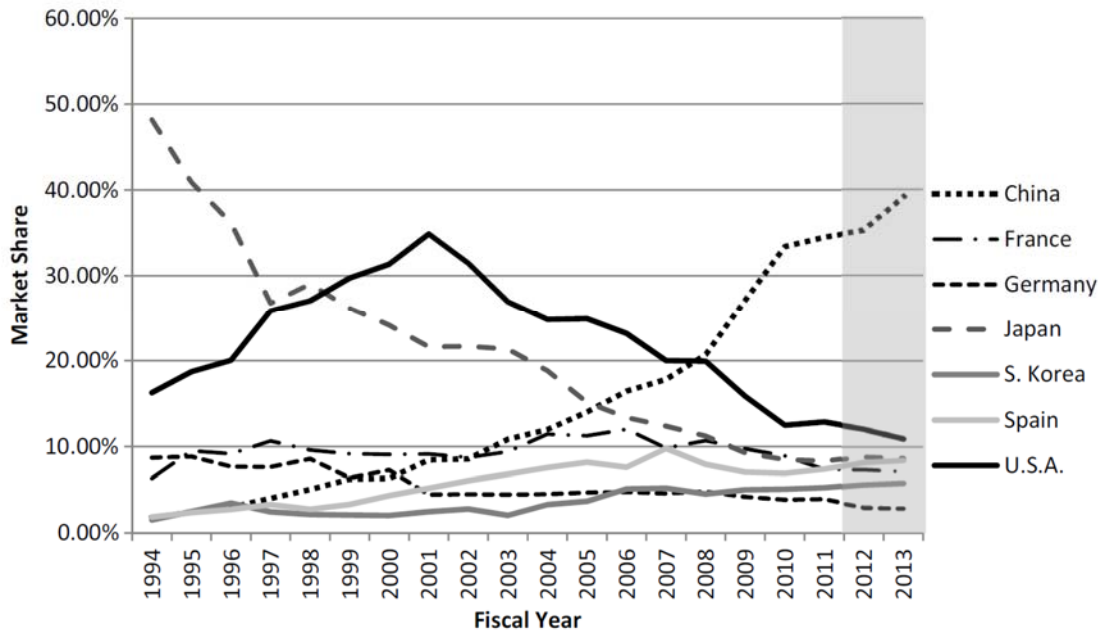
³²² There are few, if any, detailed business histories for contemporary giants such as Sinohydro, China Jiansu, CSCEC, CITIC, and the China Road and Bridge Corporation, for example, not to mention the thousands of smaller companies. Regarding Chinese infrastructure construction, there are some very broad analyses about ‘going out’ and internationalization and some country-specific studies.

³²³ Sanderson and Forsythe (2013).

³²⁴ See The Medium and Long Term Plans for Railway Network, by the State Council in 2004, January 7th, Cited in Bai and Qian, as well as the revisions in State Council of China (SCC), 2007 (Zhongchangqi Tieluwang Guihua). Medium and Long Term Plans for Comprehensive Transportation Network, Passed by the 195th Standing Meeting, October, (Zonghe Jiaotongwang Zhongchangqi Fazhan Guihua).

again and again, until it reached the bottom of a food chain of labor, where the workers were cheap and unskilled. (242).

Figure 4.1: Market Share of Global Construction Industry



Source: Zilke and Taylor (2014)

Angola and indeed Africa, are rather still trivial components of this part of the global construction industry. Transport infrastructure construction in Africa has been relatively insignificant in relation to global infrastructure spending, and it is thus shaped not simply by practice of domestic politics, but in combination with the broader dynamics and practices of the international construction industry in which, specifically, transport infrastructure and Chinese companies have qualitatively shifted in the past decade to become preminent. The particular contemporary conjuncture of African resource-for-infrastructure deals thus have to be situated within a qualitatively unprecedented and different context of international construction.

My approach below argues for both an ethnographic and a geo-historical account of road blocks that sees them as situated, contingent, produced formations. This approach moves beyond approaches to road blocks that only or primarily invoke space as a metaphor in the sense of (1) having ‘room’ for arbitrary discretion, (2) operating horizontally ‘beyond’ or at ‘the edge’ of the state, and (3) acting vertically as low-level functionaries distant from the monitoring and enforcement of ‘superiors.’

The following anecdotes have been selected and framed to help to tell a broader story about the spatial contexts, processes, and connections in which corruption occurs, both the day-to-day variety at road blocks, as well as the larger-scale corruption involved in expensive road construction contracts. The leverage in most day-to-day road block bribes is by police extracting bribes through threatened enforcement of various regulations that are difficult for most people to

fulfil given the compounded and lingering problems and weaknesses in bureaucracy after decades of war, inequality and economic turmoil. In other words, police *use the law* to extract bribes. They are positioned to enforce the formal regulatory aspects of a longer and broader military and economic pattern of concern with controlled logistics.

In contrast, concerns with corruption in the allocation of road construction contracts are about not following stipulated rules on financial propriety, conflicts of interest, tendering, and so on. Here too however, the massive rush to rebuild the country after decades of war has tended to subvert considerations of corruption that is seen as relatively minor in comparison with the massive, urgent and complex necessary task of reconstruction. To put things in perspective, the Angolan state aimed to spend roughly \$5 billion on over a hundred different contracts to rebuild some 12,000 kilometers of highways in a relatively short period of time, and would not or could not be slowed down by hiccups with financing and impropriety here or there, even if they did involve tens of millions of dollars. To say that considerations about *relatively* minor corruption were subordinated to the massive complex, task of coordinating reconstruction is not to excuse such construction. Rather it is – through the use of grounded, in-depth investigation of specific projects in their context – to take a step back and see the reconstruction projects, including corrupt ones, not just solely in terms of the discretion exercised by elite people involved, but in the broader spatial context, connections, and histories in which the projects have actually occurred. Essential to that understanding is an appreciation of the conjunctures of multiple geo-historical processes associated with settler colonialism, protracted war, and leveraged liberalization.

4.1.1 The Bridge on the River Lombe: Roadblocks, Logistical Construction and Corruption

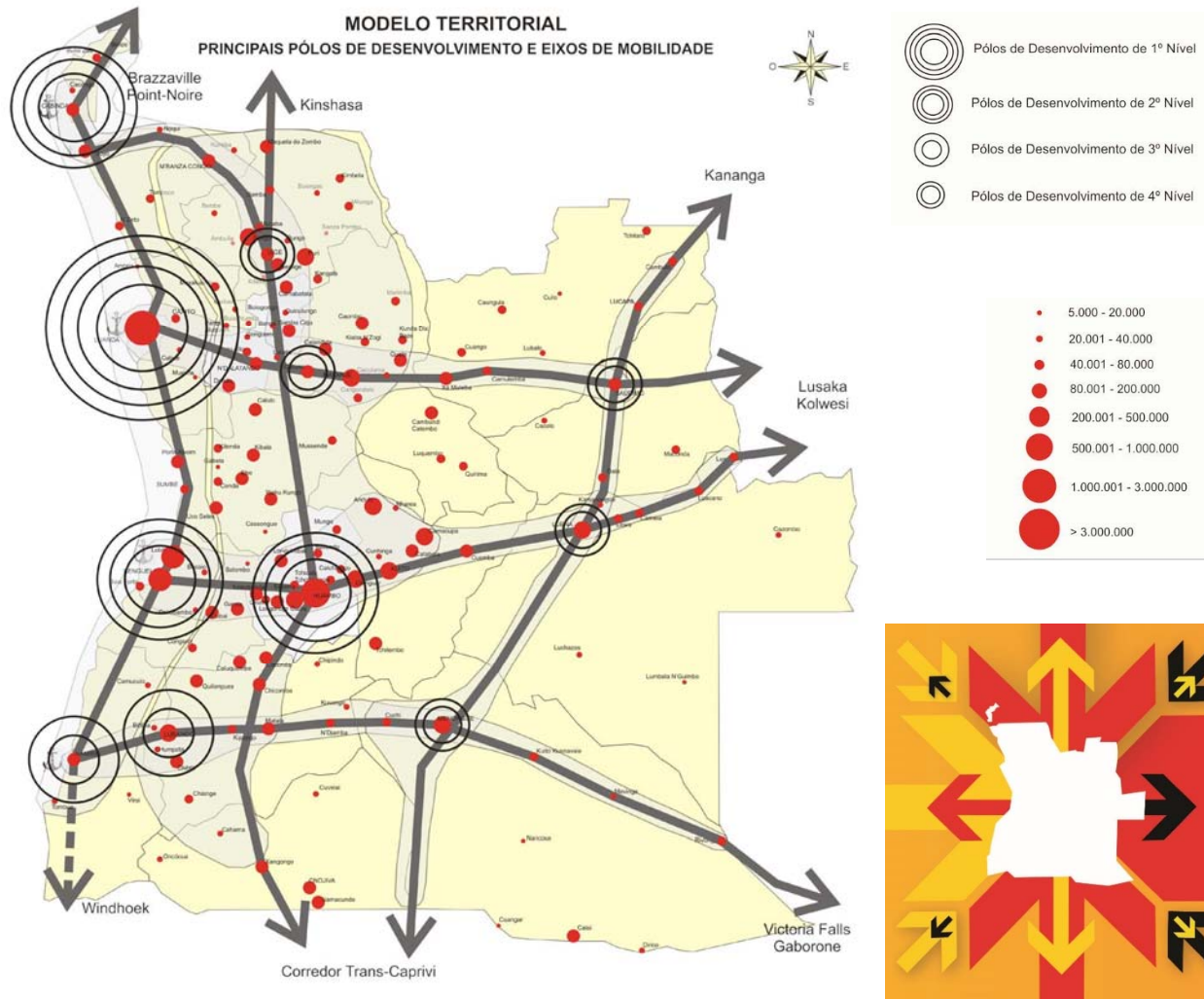
In 2008 the bridge over the Lombe River buckled as a heavily loaded Chinese truck collided with a Toyota HiLux.³²⁵ Traffic was routed to a makeshift bridge on the other side of the railroad tracks, passing over the tracks on the west end, and under the tracks on the east end. At first two somewhat narrow metal beams were laid, and then the national roads institute INEA (Instituto Nacional de Estradas de Angola) quickly enlisted the major Chinese construction firm SinoHydro – already in the area for other work – to build a temporary metal bridge. Hence there were two check points, before and after the bridgework. While neither detour point really practically necessitated checking papers for safety reasons, that is what the police did at those

³²⁵ The title of this sub-section is a play on the famous 1957 film ‘The Bridge on the River Kwai,’ pointing to contexts and issues of military and economic logistics, infrastructure and construction. The truck was reported to be a Foton, a brand that does knock-offs of the popular Toyota HiAce, and the Foton truck appears very similar to a common Mitsubishi flatbed.

Figure 4.2: Lombe Road and Rail Bridges and Infrastructure, 1907, 2008, and 2013

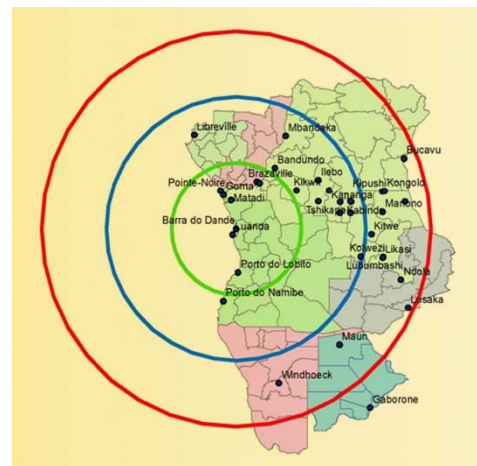


Figure 4.3: Models of Development Poles and Logistics Networks in Angola and Region



a

Precedence		Group
I)	Inter-modal Logistics Platforms (level 1)	A
III)	Inter-modal Industrial Poles	
I)	Inter-modal Logistics Platforms (level 2)	B
II)	Logistics Activity Zone	
IV)	Dry Ports	
V)	Air Cargo Centers	C
I)	Inter-modal Logistics Platforms (level 3)	



points often, and people lacking the proper papers could pass through by paying bribes. This is not to say that the road block was totally necessary or that it was not used simply as a pretext for collecting bribes, which it clearly appears to have been in some cases, but rather that such practices were part of a deeper geo-historical logic and set of processes – they cannot be properly understood *only* in terms of the discretion to do arbitrary actions of exaction.

That site at Lombe has had a series of bridges from at least 1907 onward, including a road and rail bridge in 1907, a 1924 new road bridge, a 1966 highway bridge, war-related repairs in 1995 and 1999, a temporary alternative in 2008, and finally a current sturdy large version completed in 2012.³²⁶ This most recent large-scale bridge was designed to serve the massive planned Lombe ‘dry port’ and regional ‘logistic platform’ on the Luanda-Malanje railway. That regional logistics center in turn was designed by a joint Angolan Portuguese firm established in 1998 that designed it in relation to a broader set of infrastructure linked to the rail and Port, including Luanda port expansion plans as well as the main dry port at Viana on the outskirts of Luanda. The aim is eventually to move industrial port traffic out of Luanda and up the coast to a massive new port, and then have that port connect through to Lombe possibly further east to the Congo. These in turn are part of a roughly \$4 billion project aimed at turning Angola into a ‘logistics platform’ for all of West Central Africa.

In sum, the toleration of the ‘discretion’ exercised in petty corruption at a police road block can only be properly understood in relation to the broader overwhelming preoccupation with the much more heavy investments in broader fixed capital that entail an emphasis on formal logistics and rule of law and regulation for capitalist development.

The specific example of Lombe is illustrative of broader patterns on the Luanda-Malanje highway in particular. The regulation of this particularly key segment has its own history, described later in this chapter, and in Chapter 6, and was also related to the control of immigrants from the Congo. Nevertheless, fourteen police check points regularly marked the road from Luanda to my field site, and, as documented here and in the next chapter, these were seen as influencing considerably how the trade in cassava was conducted. One motivation for this chapter is to go beyond caricaturizing these road blocks simply as manifestations of a ‘gatekeeping’ state, and instead explain their contingent emergence as produced through a conjuncture of multiple spatial and temporal processes. To do so, the following paragraphs describe some of the patterns and operation of the police road blocks, while the following sections then go on to situate these patterns and operations within a broader panorama of the shifts in the relationships between the state, security forces, and transport infrastructure and use.

³²⁶ So, by 1909 at least two metal bridges were built – one narrow 7m one for the train line, and another wider 30m one for vehicles. See (1910) *Revista de Obras Publicas e Minas*, v41, p.152; Ross (1925); and sub-section 4.4.3 below. BBC (1995) ‘Tourism minister inaugurates bridge, health centre,’ SWB Nov 20; BBC (1999) ‘UNITA shelling claims 15 lives in Angola,’ *International news*, March 1; Siona, Casimiro (1999) ‘Angola turns down Zimbabwe’s offer to help against rebels,’ *Associated Press*, March 2. WFP (1999) *Emergency Report No. 09 – Africa*, March 8; ANGOP (2004) ‘Malanje: Public Works Minister Satisfied With Partnership,’ Aug 27; Silva (2013). For the below figures, see (2008) ‘Malange: desabamento de ponte gera transtornos,’ *Radio Nacional de Angola*, June 5, <http://www.rna.ao/canalA/noticias.cgi?ID=21162>; <http://arqhist.exercito.pt/viewer?id=158541>; ‘Plataforma logística do Lombe vai permitir harmonização de sectores,’ http://distribuicaoemexpansao.co.ao/artigo/47216/Plataforma_logc3adstica_do_Lombe_vai_permitir_harmonizac3a7c3a3o_de_sectores_; ‘Lombe Logistic Platform Layout,’ http://ambigest.co.ao/pics/projetos/layout-plataforma-logistica-lombe/5_big.jpg; Ministério dos Transportes (2011).

Lombe's spatial administrative logic is not exceptional among other infrastructure and reconstruction projects.

What happens at any given road-block stop depends both on the characteristics of the people involved and on the particularities of that conjuncture. Normally police check the paperwork for the vehicle and driver, and at large provincial road blocks police also check the IDs of some passengers (particularly if they see someone they suspect of being a foreigner). Such paperwork presumes literacy, and can be very costly and time-consuming to complete, given the long delays and waiting periods at the transit and police offices in Luanda, not to mention the requirement of having paid fees and having other documentation including personal documents issued by other departments with their own delays and fees.

Tight control over the movement of people, vehicles, and goods was rooted in colonialism and war, as documented in later sections of this chapter. As mentioned in the previous chapters, colonial forced labor regimes required people to have authorization and passbooks in order to be able travel. This was only compounded by the militarization of movement during the period of the war for independence. This continued in the post-independence period of conflict, when one was required to have an official government pass, a 'guia de marcha,' to be able to move throughout the country. Rather than a recent rent-seeking invention, then, paperwork for travel was rooted in decades of contentious history.

Part of the practical difficulty that I observed people having with such paperwork was with finding the time to go through all of the steps to ensure proper documentation, given that administration is so slow. Some of this I experienced as I spent time obtaining a local driver's license, and registration for two vehicles (notably, bribes were never demanded of or intimated to me). Without clear instructions anywhere, one has to wrestle through snarled Luanda traffic, often from distant neighborhoods, and then through lines/crowds (of mostly young men, the errand runners) and figure out the steps. These involve going to request a pro-forma invoice for an application (if there is electricity and a computer network), find a bank that has electricity and a functioning computer system in order to pay for the application, going back to the vehicle seller to get a transfer letter, waiting in line for a notary to notarize (and again finding a bank to pay the notary), submitting the materials, returning periodically to see if the temporary registration card is issued, and if not, then having the provisional temporary license extended. Once the temporary card is issued, one can then after three months purchase an application for a permanent registration card, have that notarized, and submit the application and payment, and after six months return periodically with the provisional permanent registration to see if the permanent registration card is ready. Then there are other tasks such as getting a proper license plate, vehicle inspection, insurance, and circulation tax. The whole process can easily take a total of a month or more worth of work, hundreds of dollars, and loads of patience. In practice, wealthy people hire experienced 'professional' errand runners / fixers (nearly all young men) to do the work of standing in line, submitting documents, and checking up, and so on. These fixers – often sporting smart shoes, sun glasses, watches and/or handbags – know the drill, and arrive with a handful of clients' applications.³²⁷

³²⁷ The transport problem is partly wrapped up with the issue of public administration, both the extremely slow and bureaucratic vehicle registration, and the bloated police force. The broader issue is one of law and society, of the ways in which perhaps laws understandable in the abstract are carried out in practice. In the presence of various factors and dynamics, public interest regulations – to ensure kids wear helmets, prevent drunk driving, control

Different road blocks were set up by different sorts of police for different reasons, but there were also some general patterns. Beyond the mesmerizing geography of police check points in Luanda (which could suffice for its own study), the check points between provinces such as near Lucala and the entrance to Ndalatando (not necessarily on the exact administrative border) often had built structures of offices or towers with parking areas, water, outhouses, etc, allowing greater police comfort and hence bargaining ability – they could effectively out-wait a stubborn detainee. Road blocks at construction zones, such as the bridge over the Lombe river, or the highway work at Caxilo, were mounted by police stationed there ultimately to ensure public safety, and hence were more impermanent – it might see a rotation of transitory junior officers, and disappear altogether after construction was completed. There were also “Special Transit Brigades” and mobile police units, recognizable by their orange cones, bright yellow reflective vests and their dual-colored reflective gloves (and sometimes motorcycles, trailers and/or radar guns), who were prominent at particular passageways (dangerous hills, speedy straight chutes, bus/taxi stops and parks, bridges, or key intersections). In sum, there were certain logics (administrative, practical, and otherwise) to when and where road-blocks were mounted. The police knew this, and the police knew that the traders and drivers knew this also.³²⁸

Moreover, at any given road-block, there were patterns in which, for example, if people had their paperwork in order they might still be lightly harangued but could usually get through without paying a bribe. If drivers’ paperwork was ‘incomplete,’ then drivers could invoke connections or other roles to negotiate (or even to avoid the paperwork check in the first place). A person showing more outward signs of wealth might be asked for more money, while the standard \$2 or \$5 from someone in rumpled clothing in a beat-up car might be quickly accepted. Of course, what precisely counts as ‘complete’ paperwork could be and sometimes was subject to debate, as well as whether the vehicle is up to code, what is a standard or excessive bribe, or who is wealthy or poor.

Having connections to the security forces that regulate the roads can be a key resource in being able to navigate the various road blocks, though by no means an automatic pass.³²⁹ For example, consider the following interaction, which occurred while in a small personal car with a young professional man waiting to pick up passengers for Luanda from the Malanje taxi rank. I was happy to find this car because I knew it would be a relatively quicker and more comfortable ride. The car looked clean and well cared for, and had certain adornments of colorful anodized aluminum. The driver exuded an air of calmness and confidence. He wore driving gloves, had several nice phones, and played soothing gospel music on the radio when we were on the road.

immigration, and prevent trade in exploited natural resources or unsafe food – end up having the effect of further impoverishing the already poor people, and favoring wealthy and people with connections to the police, military, party, or government.

³²⁸ As a result, police and drivers adopt practices to try to predict and pre-empt one another. Drivers may follow closely behind another vehicle so that that one is picked up, and the follower can carry on. Or alternatively, a driver may try to actually hide behind a large vehicle so that it is picked up and you can speed away before the police can make visible signs of pulling you over. The police try to prevent this mitigated by the use of cones, chains, bars, etc in the road. And by the establishing of roadblocks at narrow stretches or funnels, or corners where arriving vehicles can’t anticipate the blocks and hide themselves.

³²⁹ As Schubert (2014: 166) notes for Angola, engaging with Wedeen (1999) and Weate (2003), “paternal or familiar imagery ... is a flexible, agentive idiom, that is mobilised consciously and situatively by social actors to position themselves in their society.” He summarizes that “personal networks that influence the position and socio-economic advancement of individuals are an *ambivalent* resource” (171, my emphasis).

At some point it emerged in the conversation that he did information technology work for the police or security services. When the taxi rank transit police officer came over, the driver rolled down the electronic car windows about a third, and gave a curt but formally polite, “Good day, Mr. Agent,” while not looking directly at the officer. The police officer responded by requesting the driver’s license and paperwork, which he handed through the cracked window. The police officer looked over the papers, and then, in a signal that he was eager to find some reason to extract money, carried the paperwork off as he looked at front and back license plates. He then asked if the driver had all the required safety items (a reflective triangle, tire irons, fire extinguisher, etc). The driver, indignantly feeling his professionalism questioned, replied shortly but confidently and calmly, to the effect of, ‘yes, of course, you’re welcome to check – everything is in order.’ The traffic officer accepted that statement without even checking, and returned the paperwork, with a ‘have a good trip,’ and we were on our way. The conversation briefly turned to the issue of traffic stops, with an acknowledgement and critique that that guy was clearly out for money, and the driver’s own response that he knew and followed the rules as a trained young professional and since he worked with the higher echelons of the security services he would not be intimidated in the least by such stops.

Without connections, road blocks can be costly and/or time consuming. In another ride, this time from Luanda to Malanje, I was happy to get a seat in a new gold-colored Hyundai minibus. I knew that the shorter route through Caxilo had just been paved, and so I looked forward to the air conditioning, and relatively quick (5-hour) ride. But after a few police check points, the driver, an energetic young man, was getting irritated with all the stops, and after the next heated check point debate an officer ordered him to pull off the road to haggle about bribes. Frustrated, he swung the minibus around to the parking lot and in the process accidentally scraped a big gash and dent in the pristine sliding door by hitting a large wooden spool that was sitting next to the road.³³⁰ We waited in the heat for a half hour trying to open the door, while the driver also tried to settle with the police. Upset by the bribe and the costly damage to the door, as well as having to face irritated passengers, the driver got back in, and promptly made sure to start blaring a song by an Angolan rapper very critical of the ruling party before we sped away.

The differences were often stark – one frequent and jovial driver that I’d ridden with a few times had an SUV, *nom de guerre*, and friends at each check point; we even stopped at his home in the police housing project to pick up a friend. Another taxi driver explained that I need not worry about being robbed, saying he was a former military man, pulling out a gun from under the seat to help demonstrate his point. At other times I could get a ride from the taxi park in a pickup or Toyota Rav4 with drivers in military uniforms, and hardly any problem at the checkpoints. In contrast, after paying out a hefty bribe, another driver plying the less lucrative inter-municipal route up to Kota muttered to himself over the clatter of his rickety old Toyota sedan, ‘the government is shit. The government is shiiit!’

Such basic parameters of interaction were so well known that they became subjects of widespread ridicule, complaint, and farce. For example, questions to the Minister of the Interior about these practices were raised repeatedly on the state TV interview program *Public Space* by members of the audience, callers, and the hosts. There was even an ongoing play, *Taxi Driver*,

³³⁰ The broader spatial context in which the road blocks exist is also indicated by the fact that the spool was there at all – leftover from laying fiber optic cable inland while the road was being built, as part of Angola’s plans to be an internet hub for not only southern Africa but also for the larger southern Atlantic via a direct connection to Brazil.

centered on the checkpoint rituals, put on by the popular Nzinga Mbandi theatrical group in Luanda. In it a traffic cop saunters up to a minibus taxi, and already the audience knows there are going to be problems, just by the preposterously presumptuous bodily comportment of the man. The humorously overzealous cop gives the impression of checking laws and regulations. He feigns careful inspection of the document, already shaking his head before even having a real chance to read anything, holding up the documents, checking each line, shaking his head again, and then tucks the documents into his shirt pocket and walks away to attend to another car, indicating that he means business whilst also letting the driver look for change for a bribe or try to figure out who to call or what to do.

In sum, if road blocks are less moments of arbitrary action and discretion than part of a broader social fabrics and processes, then understanding road blocks requires understanding the production of infrastructure and its use in the first place.

The Lombe example and other anecdotes above illustrate how corruption has to be understood in relation to broader spatial processes of colonialism, war and logistical construction, rather than just in the conventional use of space as a metaphor of officials' discretion or 'room for maneuver' in deciding to follow the law or not. Corruption in the form of selective transit regulation is related to colonial and socialist era regulations enforced selectively by a government bureaucracy that has been securitized over decades of war, particularly for the transport sector, and subsequent large-scale oil-fueled efforts at logistically coordinating a big push of rapid infrastructure construction. The next section builds out from these specific examples and analytic points by examining the coordinated reconstruction of segments of the Luanda-Malanje as windows into the operation and spatial roots of key figures and agencies involved in reconstruction throughout Angola.

4.2 Geo-Histories of Colonial Road Construction and Counter-Insurgency

Contemporary reconstruction involves not simply kickbacks and control, but also the ways that road work has intensively shaped Angola's history and landscapes (Heintze and von Oppen 2008). The recent emphasis on logistics in Angola's contemporary post-war reconstruction has roots in decades of violent military conflict. Before describing how the crucial – but hitherto unstudied and unappreciated – geo-historical processes associated with military logistics have shaped contemporary road reconstruction, I first root even these early post-independence road construction practices in the much older importance of roads.

The importance of colonial militarized logistics is captured in one of Angola's first nationalist films, *Sambizanga*, which opens with the arrest (for circulating nationalist pamphlets) of a disgruntled Angolan employee at a rock breaking operation for road construction. In my recent fieldwork, villagers and state officials expressed to me vivid memories of similar combinations in the late-colonial era of militarized road construction and village 'reordering.' People could point out visible remnants of former houses, paths, and rock-breaking pits. After the 1961 revolts, mechanized road building for counter-insurgency and regional development boosted paved roads by 700% from less than 1,000 km to more than 7,000 km, supplied by over 300 commercial gravel mines.³³¹ This formidable undertaking, however, was dwarfed by more

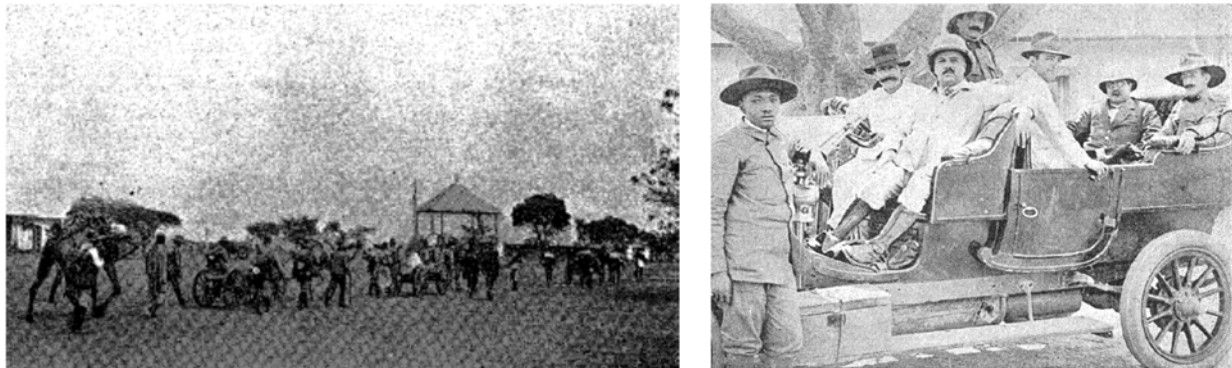
³³¹ Anuário.

extensive quotidian forced labor – mentioned in the previous chapter – that was supervised by local colonial administrators in the construction and maintenance of 18,000 km of dirt roads and 29,000 km of paths (patrolled by over 100,000 colonial troops), entailing possibly thousands of manual rock breaking sites.³³²

It is important to appreciate, as emphasized in Chapter 3, that the late-colonial road work built upon the infrastructure established through a significant amount of forced-labor-based road building and maintenance that had been done from the 1910s through the 1930s. Indeed such exactions that had contributed to the discontent fueling the nationalist revolts. Building on this work, and the increasing traffic plying these roads, extensive plans for road building in Angola far pre-date the 1961 revolts, even as road construction was given further impetus by the events.

During the pivotal early periods of 1912-5 and 1921-3, the modernizing military engineer Governor Norton de Matos marshalled his experience with land surveying in Goa to coordinate in Angola a spatially expansionary dynamic constituted by the sextuplet of military conquest, indirect rule through ‘traditional’ authorities, regularized labor recruitment, extensive road building, concentration of villages, and transport and commercial regulation (de Matos 1926, 1944).

Figure 4.4: Malanje Military Artillery for Kassanje, 1911; de Matos’ 1912 Car Trip to Malanje



Sources: Machado (1913: 10); de Matos (1926: 240).

Shortly after arriving in Angola, de Matos traveled to the recalcitrant far north east Lunda areas in July 1912, significantly making the trip by car to Malanje, and upon his return passed a decree with important implications for road construction throughout the colony:

the existence of roads that permit rapid transit is one of the principal means of rapid and effective administrative occupation of the territories of Angola these roads and automobiles will permit the rapid circulation of functionaries, indispensable for a good execution and financing of all the public services, and making possible the integrated administrative occupation of the Province ... [As] always the use of force becomes indispensable, in a region so vast and still with nuclei of insubmission ... The

³³² Ibid. The rise of roads can also only be understood in terms of managed competition with and substitution for rail transport (Oshin 1991; Pourtier 2007; Tsey 2013).

construction of “automobile roads” would become one of the best ways of avoiding any attempt at revolt, and, in the case of alterations in order, it would be easy to repress these with the rapid deployment of armed forces permitted by the roads and trucks. (1926: 249, 251-2)

The newly constructed roads from Malanje to Saurimo and Chitato permitted the movement of 40 military trucks with supplies to finally establish military control in Lundas. (255). Since the start of de Matos’ reign, a staggering 25,000 kilometers were reportedly constructed from 1912-23. So, although Angola’s energetic Autonomous Roads Board was formed in 1961, it has important roots in de Matos’ work.³³³ That work was then followed by influences from Portugal’s own original Autonomous Roads Board, formed in 1927, which spun off colonial roads ‘Brigades’ in Angola formed in 1930 and revived in 1943, followed by the public investment of the colonial development promotion plans.³³⁴ In particular, in addition to cotton road developments mentioned in Chapter 3, the routes to the coffee hills outside of Luanda were paved, spurring a coffee land rush that would feed into the violent nationalist revolts there. Indeed, the road from Luanda to the cotton town of Catete had been paved by 1956, that to the Dondo crossroads by 1957, the coffee town Ndalatando by 1959, and the start of the Malanje plateau by 1960.³³⁵

In sum, road construction in post-1961 Angola was part of a longer process of commercial development throughout the province in relation to military conquest, administrative rule, and the transforming local and international transport industry; road construction in Angola was much more than simply a response to the 1961 revolts. The pre-1961 efforts in road construction were in line with promoting economic development and taking advantage of the global proliferation of post-WWII vehicles, improvements in international road construction techniques and technologies, the development of bitumen extraction (for asphalt) in the petroleum seeps in the outskirts of Luanda, and increasing administrative control of populations for the purpose of cheap and forced labor.³³⁶

The following sub-sections first describe the general development of attention to transport and logistics in Portuguese late-colonial approaches to counter-insurgency, and then sketch how this was enacted through road construction. I then focus specifically on late-colonial road construction in Western Malanje, and chart the relationship between that road construction and the spread of counter-insurgency activities there.

³³³ See also the 1918 map of roads and planed road construction, which shows the roads connecting the capitals of the districts and the frontiers: ‘Rede estradas da província de Angola: construídas, em construção e projectadas,’ 1:2,000,000, Luanda, 46x70 cm, (Biblioteca Central da Marinha, Lisbon, 2-11-13/547).

³³⁴ See Appendix K. Portugal had seen the development of its own roads network, regulations, and construction industry at that time, with some 5,000 km of roads built over the next 15 years (bring the total to around 17,000 km), along with conservation and repair of all these. Angola Norte, Aug 9.

³³⁵ See BGU various years.

³³⁶ Asphalt rock production had increased from 1,445 tons in 1940 to 34,723 tons by 1958. (Anuário Estatístico; BGU). Much of the road labor was reportedly done by women and youth, given that working age men were disproportionately recruited for work on plantations and mines. In Kimbundu, forced work was known as *kakolala*, in contrast to standard work *kukalakala*, see also Ross (1925), Kamabaya (2003: 87).

4.3.1 Transport in Late-Colonial Counter-Insurgency

The late colonial military logistics of counter-insurgency was to shape transport infrastructure in the postcolonial period in a number of ways that remain influential today.³³⁷ Firstly, it gave rise to a wealthy and powerful road construction industry, including specialized companies, company wings, and indirect and sub-contracted services. Secondly, road building went beyond discrete large highway projects by companies commissioned by the central government, and also involved a great deal of quotidian, often female manual labor supervised by local administrations for the paths and smaller roads throughout municipalities. Thirdly, the roads and transport boom gave rise to a material landscape and lived experience of transport by many Angolans that would last well on after independence into the turbulent war years of the 1980s and 1990s. Fourthly, it generated a set of bureaucratic institutions, conceptions and practices, as well as regulations and laws, which have remained influential. Lastly, it also shaped transnational experience of road building – Portuguese road businesses and construction diasporas would leave Angola for work in the Middle East, and then on new EU-funded road projects in Portugal, and return to Angola with consulting and projects some 20 years later.

Roads served several direct and indirect counter-insurgency functions, both military and socio-economic. Influenced by British and French experiences, the Portuguese army came to emphasize counter-insurgency via light patrols throughout much of Angola.³³⁸ Roads allowed military patrols of villages that sought to do surveillance and reconnaissance of political information. A compliment to the road building was villagization, or *aldeamento*, into concentrated settlements along accessible roads, designed to prevent contact with guerillas, and facilitate surveillance, and also specifically shaped by counter-insurgency experiences (including the US in Vietnam), and which I will discuss more in Chapter 7 on land.³³⁹

But roads were not simply about an external state ‘broadcasting’ power *over* people; roads also were key to counter-insurgency efforts to shape people’s very identities, subjectivities, and interests.³⁴⁰ The Portuguese practices of war and counter-subversion entailed the involvement of numerous Angolan staff support. These staff were necessitated by increasing difficulties in army recruitment in Portugal, given the continuing war and rising resentment and outright protest from 1968 onward. The number of Portuguese soldiers had increased from 75,000 in 1961 to 92,000 in 1972, and the desertion rate had almost doubled from 12% to 20%.³⁴¹ And so by 1974 there were tens of thousands of Angolans in the Portuguese army who would learn the important ties of logistics, roads, conflict, economy and development.

³³⁷ Logistics grew in significance in the Portuguese military in relation to NATO after WWII. Portugal’s Azores base played a key role, and gave Portugal practical experience, while Portuguese officers also attended courses in the US and the US established a Military Assistant Advisory Group in Portugal.

³³⁸ Though the situation in the active fronts in the North and East was different and involved more resettlement camps, discussed in Chapter 6. More research is needed to compare role of roads and patrols in counter-insurgency in British and French colonial experiences.

³³⁹ Cann (1997: 156) notes: “By February 1973 just short of a million Angolans were living in 1,936 *aldeamentos* in the Eastern Military Zone, and by 1974 there were a further 900 *aldeamentos* in the north. At the end of the war there were well over a million Angolans living in almost 3,000 such villages.” See also Bender (1975, 1978).

³⁴⁰ Cf. Herbst (2000, 2014), Soares de Oliveira (2015).

³⁴¹ Cann (1997: 89).

Roads allowed colonial patrols to carry out social works, such as health check-ups, and building of bore-holes and schools, as well as music and film entertainment.³⁴² A senior military officer noted "... the revolt starts where the road ends. Beyond any doubt, counter-subversion depends far more on connecting roads than on direct confrontation with subversives."³⁴³ Roads also fostered such social work by facilitating the supply of provisions to army soldiers, thereby bolstering their morale for their social interactions with populations they were surveilling (EME 1990; Cann 1997).³⁴⁴

Roads were also seen by Portuguese officials to be stimulants to regional economic development that would appease Angolans' grievances, for example by facilitating commerce and the technical work and distribution of inputs by the agricultural services.³⁴⁵ For these reasons, the colonial government poured massive funds and institutional energy in road building, to the extent that it sparked the rise of contracting private road builders and transporters to meet the demand by the military.

4.3.2 *Late-Colonial Road Construction*

The post-1961 period saw a massive increase in the amount of dirt and paved roads, bridges, vehicles, general road traffic, and spending on road construction (as illustrated by the tables and graphs in Appendix N). Road construction moved from immediate responses to quell revolt, to two-tier system of maintenance and new construction, and then additional road construction by local district administrations and the Provincial Settlement Board.

Immediately after the 1961 revolts, much roadwork was done for the military by the Engineering Battalion, established earlier in 1960 as tensions increased with the Congo's independence. There were eventually reportedly 21 colonial military companies for engineering, and 12 for construction.³⁴⁶ To manage all these, the initial Battalion was reorganized in 1964, with main depots in Luanda and Luena in the east.³⁴⁷ Cann (1997) summarizes the military's road building program during the early period 1960 to 1964, when roads clearance, reconstruction and building was necessary to putting down the revolts and re-establishing territorial control:

It took ten battalions of engineers 60 months at the rate of 90,000 man-hours per 100 kilometers of road to build, repair, or maintain the system. Ultimately the job was given to contractors as a more efficient use of resources, and the military provided security.

³⁴² For example, EME (1990) notes numerous pamphlets were distributed in Malanje, and numerous film screenings were done.

³⁴³ Reuver-Cohen and Jerman (1974: 89); also cited in van der Waals (1993: 200).

³⁴⁴ The aim in 1965 at least was to link the Port of Luanda with all the 'district'/provincial capitals by paved roads by 1968. See Angola Norte, 1965, April 24.

³⁴⁵ In addition, roads made it more difficult to hide land mines, which was mostly relevant in the sandy east of the country where there was active fighting. See, e.g. the report of a May 16 1969 meeting 'Itineraries in the East: Utilization of the Means of Military Engineering and of the Roads Junta,' AHD, which recounts active cooperation between JAEA and military command in paving in the East since 1967 at least. See also Nunes (2002).

³⁴⁶ See Braga (2011) Mascarenhas (2011); 'Engenharia,' <http://www.guerracolonial.org/index.php?content=355>, and Tavares, A. (2005), 'Engenharia Militar,' *Ingenium* 87 (May/June), <http://www.ordemengenheiros.pt/pt/centro-de-informacao/dossiers/historias-da-engenharia/engenharia-militar/>.

³⁴⁷ They planned to spend 1.5m contos on arms, vehicles and equipment from 1964-6, and another 1.8m for 1967-70 (Mascarenhas 2011: 24).

These contracts with Lisbon management and local workers became quite good, and following the war moved with their skills to the Middle East. (151-2)

But beyond the immediate efforts to crush the revolts, in order to build numerous roads quickly while also pursuing counter-insurgency necessitated avoiding heavy labor exactions. Consequently, the Portuguese government established the Autonomous Roads Board of Angola (JAEA), emphasized mechanization, and established a fuel tax to fund maintenance and bridge work. Public investment funds from Portugal would be used to hire private road contractors to build new and paved roads using mechanized equipment of tractors, rock crushers, and trucks.³⁴⁸ Illustrating this shift to mechanization, just a decade later, the JAEA by itself would have 15 parks across the country and the following mechanized equipment, just for road grading work: 431 dump trucks, 32 scrapers, 90 light tractors, 22 heavy tractors, 140 levelers, 133 digging trucks, 31 water tank trucks, and 140 cylinder rollers.³⁴⁹ This mechanical equipment helped replace some – but certainly not all – of the manual labor that had been so important in the early phase construction, subsequent maintenance, and then the renewed road building in the 1950s.

The present-day emphasis prioritizing the national highway network linking all the provincial capitals by paved roads built through mechanized construction was shaped partly by this key period of road building during the liberation war.³⁵⁰ Road building was ramped up from the mid-1960s not only to police existing areas, but also in order to counter the increasing territorial and social gains in east Angola made by the armed liberation movements of UNITA and MPLA (see Graph 4.1), who had been gathering international support, finances, training, weapons and soldiers. Plans were in the works by at least September 1963 to connect Luanda (where the main arms depot was) by paved road with all the provincial capitals by 1968, and so to pave some 5,000 km, an objective that was then formalized in the 1965 colonial Road Plan.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ Angola's Autonomous Roads Board was a part of a number of other boards that were extended to Angola and the colonies, including exports, settlement, coffee, research, etc. There was legislation governing these boards. The shift to extend military control by new mechanically built roads also contradictorily represented a lessening of control over people's labor. Given the reformed labor legislation, companies could not use forced or underpaid labor, which contrasted extensive control over people for the labor-intensive road building under de Matos.

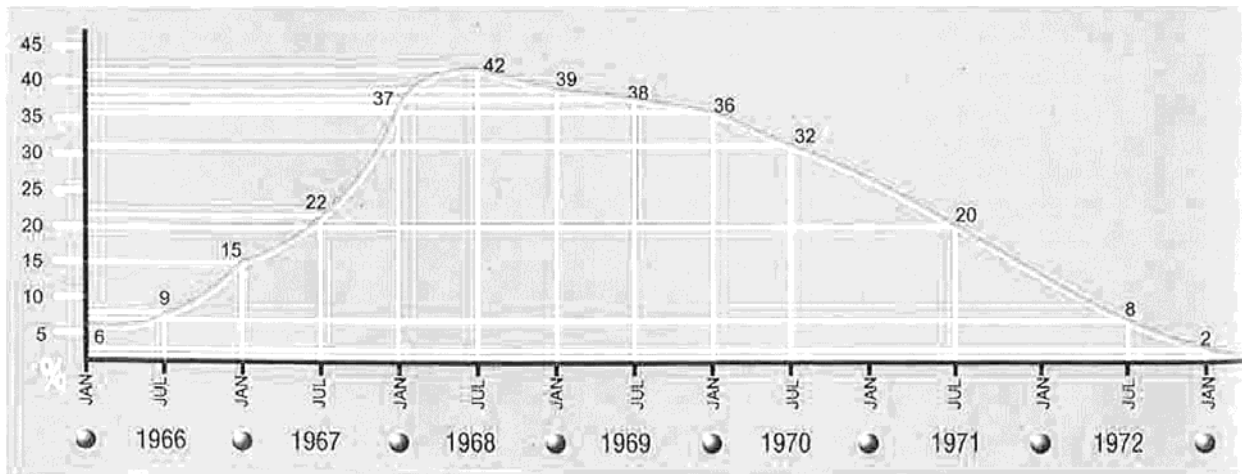
A Road Fund was established on October 25th 1961 with the Diploma Legislativo 57.

³⁴⁹ JAEA (1970) Relatório Anual, p.16.

³⁵⁰ The post-independence official networks of "national" and "fundamental" roads are laid out in Resolução 3/92 of Sep 9.

³⁵¹ (1965) 'Plano rodoviário de Angola,' Angola Norte, April 24; Rego (1964: 78).

Graph 4.1: Percent of Angolan Territory under 'Subversion'



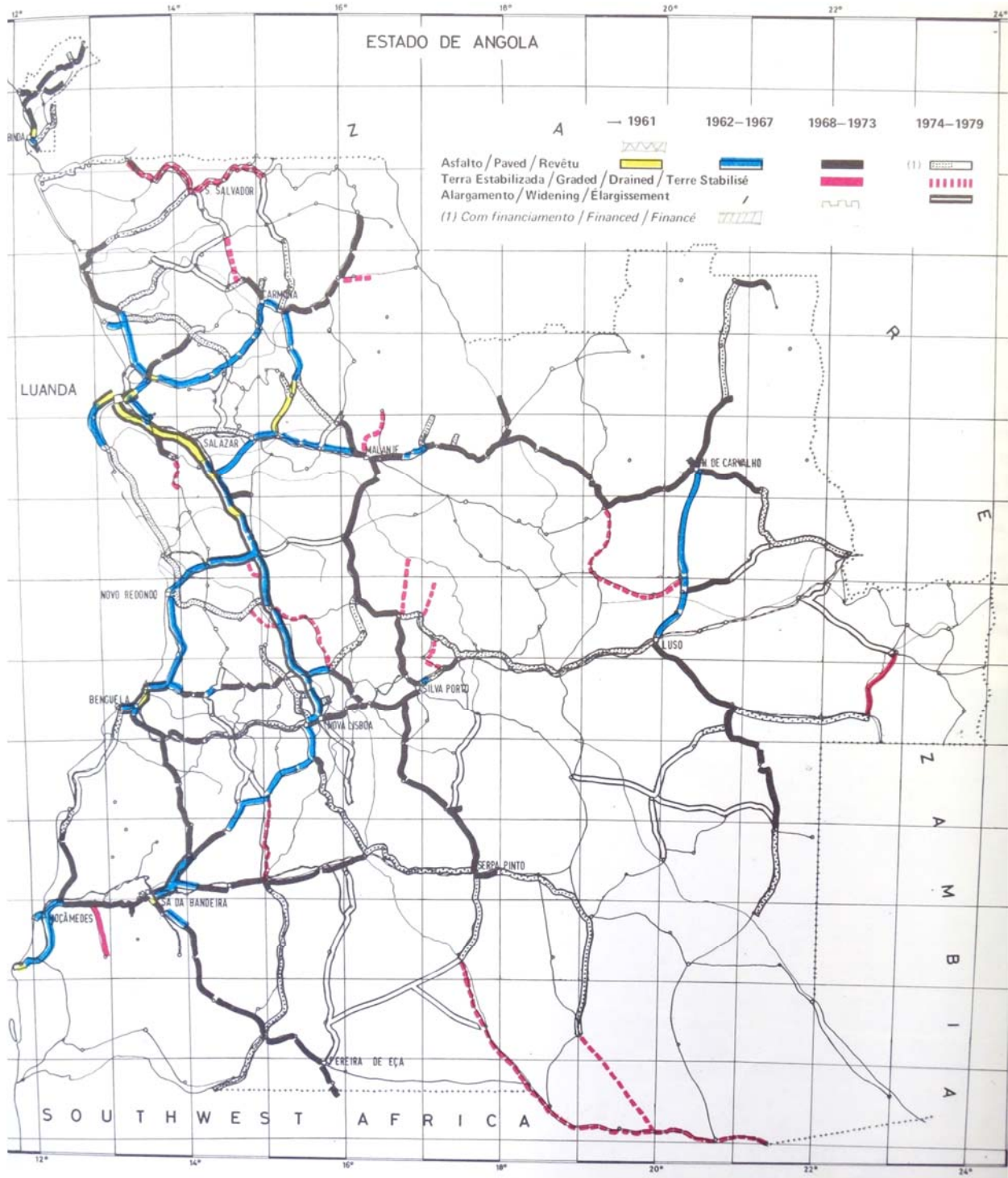
Source: Nunes (2002: 98)

Figure 4.5: Bulldozers Used to Build Military Road in Eastern Angola



Source: Nunes (2002: 59)

Map 4.1: Road Construction <1961-1973



Source: Serôdio (1973: 44)

The economic vs political-military distinctions in road building were partly indicated by the emphasis on economic evaluation based on efficiently using fuel tax revenues for those roads under the direct responsibility of JAEA – in which decisions about the level of maintenance, grading or paving were adjusted for expected frequency of use and economic significance – while other routes of greater political-military significance received dedicated funding exclusively to be used to contract private companies to quickly pave vast expanses.

Road construction was undertaken by a limited range of companies, often with close links to government administration, and who became influential business figures.³⁵² The head of one of the key firms, Antonio Garcia de Castilho, had worked in Angola since 1945 and presided over of the country's main business association, the Industrial Association of Angola, as President for roughly a decade (1961-1971), helping to organize the first Industrial Fair of Luanda, which still continues some 44 years later.³⁵³ The key companies were allocated specific regions and road segments to work on.³⁵⁴ After independence in 1975, many of these companies would be nationalized and incorporated into the socialist state road building units.³⁵⁵

4.3.3 Late-Colonial Road Construction in Western Malanje

During fieldwork an elderly man in Kota with whom I was discussing the history of road work in the area pointed to the side of the newly paved highway – look, he said, on the edge you can still see the old colonial pavement underneath the new pavement. Beneath that old colonial pavement, he explained, was in turn the gravel painstakingly produced by hand by people compelled by the local administration. Fifty meters away, barely visible amidst burnt grass, he pointed out the distinct stone pits from where the gravel was pounded – “there was much suffering here,” he explained, and alluded to a broader history of suffering in Angola, “there is *not one road* that doesn't have pits.” Here was a quite literal, physical manifestation of the fact that the present infrastructure was formed through a sedimentation of past geographies and histories. The colonial roads in Malanje described below would be critical to post-independence efforts at socialist transformation of agro-industry, but would be destroyed and targeted for ambushes during the decades of war, and then subsequently de-mined and repaved.

³⁵² Leal (1968), AIA (1960); Guerra (1979).

³⁵³ See Oliveira (2005: 95), Castilho, A.G. (1970) ‘Acto inaugural da primeira FILDA,’ Boletim da AIA, n3, 5-12; Castilho, A.G. Feira Internacional de Luanda,’ n84: 39-40; Castilho, A.G. (1961) ‘Discurso do presidente da direcção da AIA,’ Boletim da AIA 47: 100-103. Castilho attended the 1957 first conference on roads in Angola.

³⁵⁴ The main companies were Lourenco, Lda, Castilhos, CETEC (Construcoes e Estudos Tecnicos de Engenharia Civil), SICCAL, Rodril (Rodrigues & Rodrigues), Tecnil (Tecnica e Industria de Construcoes), Antero de Andrade e Silva, Luso-Dana, and Socrol (Sociedade de Construcoes Rodrigues). See Leal (1968). See possibly also Secol, Motas, Guerra, and Secangol (Sociedade de Estudos e Construcoes de Angola) (JAEA 1970: 23a), and also Construções Especiais, Alfredo Luis Morera, and Goncalo Santos Costa. See META – Maquinas e Equipamentos Técnicos de Angola - (1969) ‘Primeira conferência sobre pavimentos asfaltados para a África Austral,’ Actualidade Economica, n202, July 24, p.8.

³⁵⁵ Specifically, the Nucleo de Apoio a Industria de Construção de Estradas. See the Diariio de Republica. In addition, the Ministry of Transport and Communications became responsible for “20 trucking and bus companies, the agency for transport equipment and spare parts (Abamat), car and truck repair shops (Manautos) and driving schools (Condautos) ...” (World Bank 1992: 4).

Figure 4.6: Colonial Manual Labor Road Gravel Pit at Kota



Source: Author

In 1963 the firm Lourenço Limited won the contract to continue building the highway from Lucala through to Malanje. In a pattern that would be repeated in the post-2002 period, the founder, Antonio Lourenço, had spun off with the capital, skills and connections gained from work at another company (Tecnil).³⁵⁶ A major bridge spanning the Lucala River was built, and the paving reached Cacuso by 1965, Malanje by 1966, and then continued east.³⁵⁷ An account at the time noted that while the journey to Luanda had recently required 8 hours and significant trouble, after paving, it was a “little more than 4 hours of pleasure and euphoria.”³⁵⁸ Traffic boomed, as did the number of cars traveling within Malanje, rising by 30% from 1964-6, and another 33% by 1968 to some 2,400.³⁵⁹ This completion of the highway to Malanje, and the accompanying militarization and village relocations, facilitated a land rush that is detailed in Chapter 7.

Gradually, further investments in grading secondary roads were made. For example, the Cacuso-Soqueco road had been built around 1953 with manual forced labor, as was the segment joining it to Amaral, still vividly recalled and resented by the elderly residents in the area.³⁶⁰ With men away at plantations, mines, and towns, this work fell largely to women and youth. This was emphasized by an elderly woman with whom I discussed this near Amaral when she demonstrated how they head-loaded stones, feigning the burdensome weight and giving off a small laugh of relief that the horrible practice was long over. This is part of the reason that the contemporary paternal pride of the state and its contractors providing paved roads now resonates so widely. After 1961, forced labor was increasingly out of favor, and these initial manually built dirt roads deteriorated, prompting complaints from the traders, settlers and businessmen in the area. The JAEA did some work in the area as regular bus and trucking routes were established given the increasing security, including work on the Lombe-Kota route in 1964, which it graded in 1970 and then paved in 1971.

³⁵⁶ See Mensario Administrativo, 65-66, p. 113.

³⁵⁷ Leal (1968: 69).

³⁵⁸ (1965) ‘O Turismo,’ Angola Norte, Nov 13, p. 5.

³⁵⁹ BdA. Likewise traffic counts from 1965 and 1970 show stark increase in Malanje from 78 vehicles per day to 123. These included motorcycles (11 – 7), light vehicles (28 – 66), and heavy (39 – 50). JAEA (1971: 10).

³⁶⁰ Interview, Kota.

Figure 4.7: Lombe-Kalandula Road c. 1970



Source: JAEA (1970: 39)

4.3.4 Late-Colonial Counter-Insurgency in Western Malanje

As the conditions of the roads changed, so too did counter-insurgency patrols and activities in Malanje shift over time, going through three main periods. First was an initial round of difficult intensive patrols in the aftermath of the revolts, particularly concerned to prevent attacks on the railroad, until the last rebellious people had been found and arrested by 1965.³⁶¹ Patrols then became quicker and lighter as the security threats declined in central plantation regions around Malanje city and the rail line, and as roads improved and villages were relocated closer to the roads. Subsequent troop activity then focused more on the supplying patrols along the northern frontier with the Congo where the armed liberation movements had been able to regroup with international support and were increasing pressure.

Illustrating the urgency of even the social aspects of the counter-insurgency campaign, about a year after the revolts, on June 28th 1962, Governor de Lima inaugurated a health post in Kota, during which the Portuguese national anthem was played, the officials visited a well, and people in Kota danced and played drums and marimbas.³⁶² In the following months, military patrols continued throughout the area around Kota.³⁶³ A military unit in the area, for example, reported

³⁶¹ This section draws on the Historical Military Archive in Lisbon. See the late 1964 report for B460, which said that PIDE captured Antonio Padre, “the principle agitator responsible for UPA’s whole terrorist ‘organization’ in Malanje, with external links.”

³⁶² 1962, Baluarte, p. 4. Likewise, in December 1962, Governor visited new administrative post at Tua, in Forte Republica, distributed flags, sung hymn, stopped at Kiguengue to appreciate the works of the Post Secretary, and the functionary’s residence, then went to Kitalabanza on Cuale River, and the Catholic Mission at Cuale.

³⁶³ 1962 – Oct 12, B325/C328 (Duque de Bragança) did patrol Sampaio Diogo – Mandele – Zage – Gola Bande – Zari – Massungo – Mangumbala – Bingue – Mundo – Quimbanda.

that in 1963 it “did patrols in its action zone, searched intensively for news, escorted trains, did foot patrols of the rail line, controlled civil and native vehicles, protected sensitive points, searched in villages, and did intense contact and intense psycho-social action with native masses.”³⁶⁴

In February 1964 a new Calvary Battalion arrived, but was frequently “mired in mud and had to return to the quarters with damaged vehicles.” They nonetheless did psycho-social action that year, treating 500 sick people, with some Cape Verdeans lecturing in schools, and they transported materials to build schools and distribute books, notebooks, and footballs. They also did patrols, and two rounds during the day and night through Malanje city, the airport, and the periphery neighborhoods. They did one to three escorts from Malanje to Lucala per week, and did a total of 250 patrols. They arrested 10 undocumented people and turned them over to colonial security police. Another unit reported in 1964 repairing a bridge near Kota over the Mucusso River on the road to the Candongo plantation.³⁶⁵ A new unit did patrols in November 1964, in the area, passing through Amaral several times as well as the road down to Matete. They also presented the film ‘O Grande Elias’ in Cacuso, Kalandula, Malanje, Kambundi, and Kela as part of psycho-social action, and presented another film, ‘The Millionaire,’ in the same areas in January 1965.³⁶⁶

By late 1965 the transit conditions seem to have improved. Early in the morning of October 23rd 1965, for example, an army sub-unit set out from Kalandula for a round of patrols. They passed along dirt roads off the main road networks on this day during the rainy season, but were able to visit the main small white towns of Amaral and Kota in the countryside, and return in just over 5 hours. Several days later, a pair of sub-units would do much the same route, leaving at 7 am and returning at 2 pm. Five days later another patrol would again pass through Amaral. This illustrates how by 1965 roads and villages had been restructured to allow quick, extensive patrols by mechanized troop units. Chapter 7 will build on the above description of the completion of the highway to Malanje and the proliferation of military to show how from these years onward there was a boom in settler land claims and growing prominent plantations that had direct links with the expanding transport industry.

And so while many army units were concentrated around the plantation sector around Cacuso in the mid-1960s, by the late 1960s forces seemed to have shifted to focus on the northern districts and the frontier with the Congo. In 1965 some 22 airports throughout this single province served both crop dusting aircraft and military patrols.³⁶⁷ The army vehicle patrols would still routinely pass through the main plantation towns, but increasingly tended to pass along the main roads up to the frontier to keep it sealed. There are only sporadic reports of nationalist attacks in Malanje throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s.³⁶⁸ The incidents are ambiguous, but they indicate that

³⁶⁴ AHM, report of B159. Other reports from late 1962 to 1963 mention occupation of some places in the north of Malanje Province, but it is not clear why, nor whether these were not occupied before, or what ‘occupy’ meant.

³⁶⁵ AHM, B460 Report, 1964.

³⁶⁶ Report for C459. See also (1950) ‘Brigada de Cinema Ambulante,’ BGU 300, p. 210. In September 1965 the calvary company participated in a spectacle on the 54th Anniversary of the Associacao Commercial in Malanje, to benefit the Casa de Gaiato.

³⁶⁷ The airports in 1965 were reported to be in Malange, Cacuso, Kalandula, Forte Republica, Marimba, Nova Gaia, Quela, Cateco, Uale, Fazenda União, Quitota, Quizenga, Mangando, Caombo, Capunda, Iongo, Moma, Quirima, Quitapa, Sautar, Xamuteba, and Xandel.

³⁶⁸ In March 1968, a nurse in Cambunze, near Cacuso, met eight ‘unknown’ Africans, who mentioned another 28 in the bush, presumed from the Congo. In September 1969 there was a gun battle across the river Kwango. In

in general conflict was rare, but security not perfect. The intelligence services noted, for example, that around still in 1966 some Angolans were nonetheless singing a “Hymn of Independence,” with lyrics apparently from three years earlier, in the western and south eastern parts of Malanje District (Kalandula and Songo).³⁶⁹ By the early 1970s the roads had improved so much that artillery companies could quickly patrol off the main roads, and on March 13, 1973 one passed through Amaral. They reported providing medicine and medical assistance, hearing villagers’ anxieties and needs, and verifying the tidiness of the villages and the condition of the paths, bridges and pontoons. A year and half later, however, the soldiers would pass through Amaral again but this time to also announce the transition to “the democratic ideal that drives the MFA’s [revolutionary Armed Forces Movement’s] program.”

This section has illustrated the widespread logistical, military, and developmental aspects of late-colonial infrastructure construction that subsequently shaped Angolans’ perspectives and material worlds in the post-independence conflict and reconstruction periods.

4.4 Transport, Logistics and War in Independent Angola

After independence, the MPLA’s control of the central Angola state apparatus depended significantly on how well the regime was able to manage not only oil revenue contracts, but also how it managed military personnel and equipment from Eastern Bloc countries in supporting its war against UNITA throughout the country. The figures are staggering – coordination, across a large and varied country over several decades, of hundreds of thousands of soldiers and billions upon billions of dollars’ worth of weapons, supplies and equipment. This involved detailed coordination over an immense, diverse physical, social, and military terrain – it was distinctly not, as gatekeeper models imply, just about bureaucrats sitting in their ‘gatekeeping’ offices at the port and skimming off rents from taxes on imports and exports paid to them because they were juridically recognized by the United Nations.³⁷⁰

Just as Western corporate logistics grew out of World War II and American approaches in the Vietnam War, so the ‘techno-war’ in Vietnam was part of a broader ‘Global Cold War’ that also entailed parallel networks of Eastern Bloc military and economic logistics that significantly shaped Angola.³⁷¹ Many of the United States’ key military logistics staff would leave Vietnam in 1974 only to be then re-deployed months later in Angola against the socialist MPLA and in support of the FNLA and then later UNITA, with key US-organized logistics bases in Kinshasa

September 1970, a group in southern Malanje around Sautar attacked the Portuguese with grenades, automatic weapons, mortars and bazookas. In March 1971, a store in Luquemo mentioned three Angolans saying in Kimbundu that they would attack in southern locations with 40 people, which perhaps occurred around Sautar. In August 1972, an explosion hit the seminary in Malanje. In September 1973, 2 cars with 50 FNLA soldiers left from the training center at Kizamba, attempting to attack and hold various sites.

³⁶⁹ SCCIA (1970: 33). The lyrics were reported as “Mother, we are blacks, mother, to be white is nothing, mother look independence!, mother, it has already been three years, mother, the others are right, mother, we are stupid, mother, the year ’60, mother, three years have passed, mother, look independence!, mother, break the viola, mother, break the guitar, mother, look independence!, mother, to dance is good, mother, look independence!”

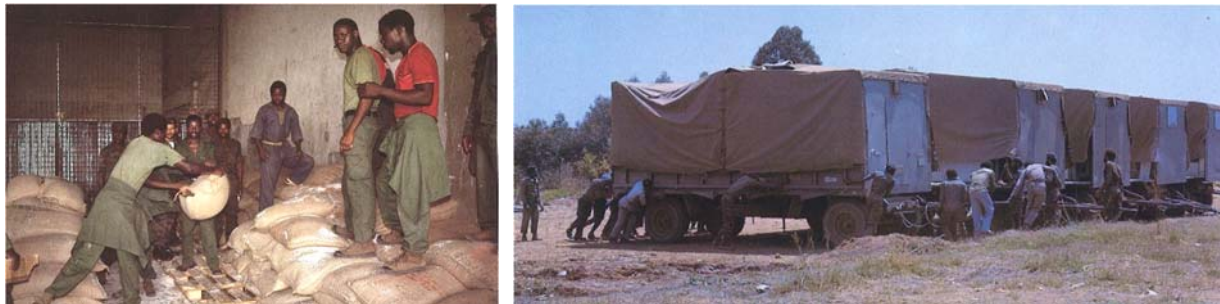
³⁷⁰ Cooper (2002: 156) writes that African states’ “survival depended precisely on the fact that formal sovereignty was recognized *from outside ...*” (emph. added). Cf. Tilly (1990: 81) and Moore (2004).

³⁷¹ Cowen (2014), Westad (2007), Ellman (1979), and see also Gregory’s work on logistics, <http://geographicalimagination.com/category/logistics/>, as well as other critical writing on logistics, though more abstract and not specifically addressing Africa (Hepworth 2014; Toscano 2014; Bernes 2014).

and the coastal town of Ambriz north of Luanda.³⁷² Given the expanding UNITA guerilla attacks and mechanized South African incursions in the 1970s and 1980s, the MPLA government relied extensively on Soviet and Cuban military cooperation, and it is out of just such experiences of socialist logistics that contemporary approaches to reconstruction have important roots.³⁷³

Early on, logistics was one of the six weaknesses highlighted in 1977 by Defense Minister Iko Carreira, having just headed the armed forces' victory over UNITA and the US-backed FNLA in 1975. Carreira, who had since 1970 been making regular official visits to Eastern Bloc countries to seek aid, subsequently established key logistics-related units, including the Military Works Construction and Studies Brigade, the Clothing, Shoe and Furniture Production Enterprise, the Technical Material Provisioning Enterprise (EMATEC), and the Military Works and Construction Enterprises.³⁷⁴ Given the deliberate tactics of starvation as a weapon of war during the conflict, ensuring supplies of food to the military would become important, and a state military supermarket network in Luanda was established in 1987, a precursor to post-war security forces involvement in the logistics of the post-war the Brazilian contracted food market national network (see Chapter 6).³⁷⁵ Various other food, agriculture and construction units and companies working for the military and Presidency would be established in the 1990s, such as the Military Construction Brigade, the Angolan Food Distribution Company, the Armed Forces Agro-Livestock Company, and Construction Brigade for the Support of the President. It was out of such state military and construction logistics units that some of key figures and organizations in Angola's post-war reconstruction emerged.

Figure 4.8: Army Food Warehouse and Mobile Trucks, mid-1980s



Source: FAPLA (1994)

In all this, Angola was influenced by the USSR's particular approach to logistics. Some 7,000 Angolans studied at any of the dozens of Soviet military training institutes, while 11,000 Soviet advisors had cumulatively gone to Angola by 1991, some at the Soviet Navy's Atlantic

³⁷² Stockwell (1978), Castro et al. (2013).

³⁷³ 'Western' personnel, equipment, and mercenaries came largely after and on top of the bulk of Eastern Bloc military institutionalization. Of course Angolan attention to and institutionalization of logistical approaches did not appear as perfect functional responses to the requirements of conducting effective war – there were grave mistakes, excesses, repetitions, and abuses (Weigert 2011).

³⁷⁴ Júnior (2007), Carreira (2005).

³⁷⁵ See Ministry of Defense Despacho 24/87. The Adjunct Director of the ENSUMIL network 1989-1993, Eduardo Lafayette, apparently went on to be director at the EAA state company managing the Poupa Lá retail stores, after having served in the MPLA business holding company GEFI (see Chapter 6); <https://www.linkedin.com/pub/eduardo-lafayette/58/a32/4ab>.

communication and air reconnaissance base in Luanda.³⁷⁶ Angolans also cooperated with other Eastern Bloc countries (themselves Soviet-influenced).

The massive build-up and organization of the Angolan army FAPLA by the Soviets was at first not a sure thing, and was later seen as a strategic error. Initially, the Cubans had urged that the Cubans shoulder much of the fighting against South African incursions, leaving the government's FAPLA to use Soviet support in its fight against UNITA guerillas, which were still rather weak in the late 1970s. By 1981, with the issue of linkage settled after Botha visited newly elected Reagan, South Africa stepped up its attacks in Angola, notably with operation Protea in August – “the biggest mechanized operation by the SA Army since the end of World War II” – that took out FAPLA's southern radar and thereby allowed South African planes to support UNITA's expansion.³⁷⁷ And so the Soviets wanted FAPLA to focus on South Africa, and Soviets had little experience with counter-insurgency operations in Africa, and as a result sought to build up FAPLA into a conventional army with standard brigades and heavy weapons and vehicles. This was also attractive to overly ambitious Angolans – as a key military figure, Roberto Leal Monteiro Ngongo, reportedly recalled, “We wanted to create a strong conventional army. ‘We have a rich country,’ we said, ‘We must be able to protect it!’”³⁷⁸ As the Cubans shifted away from fighting UNITA, UNITA was able to recover and grow significantly. South Africa's air force provided cover for this UNITA expansion under the guise of pursuing SWAPO forces, and in the process destroyed FAPLA vehicles, equipment and infrastructure, which in turn would prompt FAPLA to pursue a massive build-up of Soviet materiel and accompanying technicians over the next few years.

The MPLA government increasingly examined the country's extensive logistics infrastructure in in order to respond to UNITA's ever more mobile guerilla attacks on the fixed capital of an extensive transport and infrastructure system left behind by the Portuguese colonial regime. Topographic maps were updated, road protection committees formed, bridges repaired, and so on. The ‘war of maneuver’ increased particularly after the numerically and technically inferior UNITA launched a new strategy in 1983 of moving beyond territorial control of the south and towards expansion of guerilla attacks on infrastructure throughout the country intended not to hold territory but to force a stronger negotiating position. There is little evidence that UNITA's overall expansion was based in sympathy by local populations, while there it is clear that key to such expansion were the 5,000 South African troops in southern Angola by 1984 covered by South African air raids.³⁷⁹ The following year the US Congress would reauthorize regular shipment of millions of dollars of support and sophisticated weaponry to UNITA.

The MPLA also developed great interest in monitoring, controlling and repairing infrastructure in order to use mechanization to counter interventions by South Africa's technically sophisticated forces. These significant forces were mobilized as part of South Africa's broader plans to establish an allied ‘Constellation of Southern African States,’ in which a crucial step was to install their collaborator Savimbi as the President of Angola – hence the heavy logistical

³⁷⁶ Shubin and Tokarev (2001: 614-5). The role of the Cubans in logistics in Angola is not yet clear. The prominence of Soviet perspectives may have had more to do with the Soviet training institutions, and the rough division of labor (reported by Gleijes 2002) between Soviets doing management and Cubans more engaged in on the ground fighting (reportedly 430,000 total Cubans), including non-military, served in Angola, according to George (2005: 143).

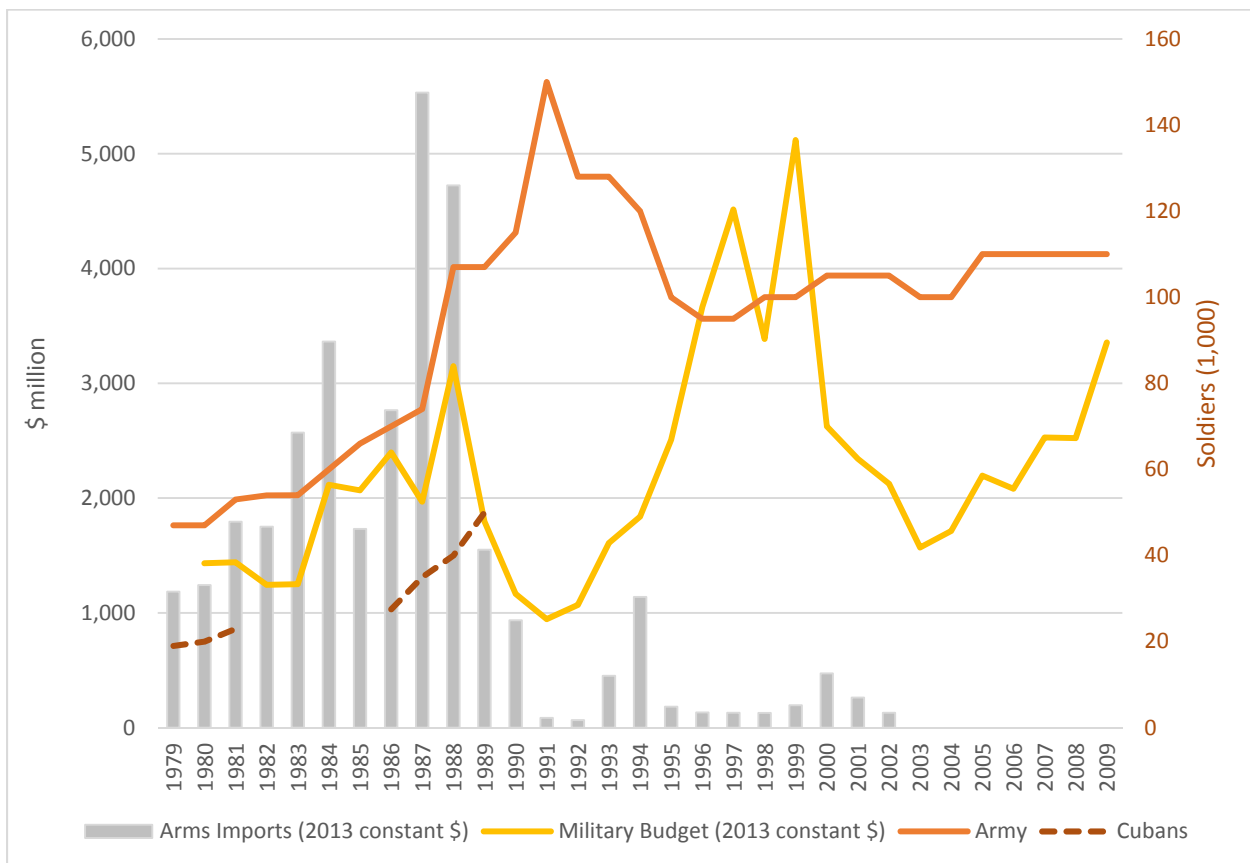
³⁷⁷ The quote is from General Jannie Geldenhuys, the SA army chief, in Gleijes (2013: 187).

³⁷⁸ Quoted in Gleijes (2013: 191).

³⁷⁹ Ibid, 233.

support.³⁸⁰ As a key Cuban military historian notes, “The war against South Africa in Angola has always been called the war of the roads.”³⁸¹ This mechanization increased the large number of tanks (over 500), armored personnel carriers, planes, and more than a hundred helicopters, which all entailed Soviet mechanics and spare parts, and an increasing importance of military supply chains for mobile brigades (supplying gasoline, parts, food, and weaponry) (e.g. Mannall 2014).³⁸² The importance of such mobile military logistics chains would only increase further in the 1990s after UNITA used the hiatus around the 1992 elections to regroup and extend its forces throughout the country with US and ex-Eastern Bloc equipment.

Graph 4.2: Angolan Military Expenditure, Personnel and Arms Imports, 1979-2009



Sources: WMEAT³⁸³; Johnson and Martin (1989); various sources for Cuban troops

³⁸⁰ Ibid, 201.

³⁸¹ José Angel Gárciga Blanco, in Gleijes (2013: 214).

³⁸² The crucial role of fuel for in increasingly mechanized war helped transform logistics to the heart of war strategy, and from there to business (Cowen 2014). Contrast Bayart’s (1993: 235-7) key example of transport fuel theft in the air force in Zaire under Mobutu (who graces the book’s cover), which is taken as a decontextualized example of corruption rather than situated with regard to the logistics of fuel in increasingly mechanized armies.

³⁸³ ‘World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers,’ United States Department of State, <http://www.state.gov/t/avc/rls/rpt/wmeat/>. The lack of import numbers after 2002 needs clarification.

Without wishing to imply that contemporary elites were mechanistically selected for their positions via their success in war, I am emphasizing rather the emergence of a *pervasive*, particularly logistical attention to space, which has shaped popular understandings as much as the highest echelons. Analysts' emphasis on suspicious oil-backed spending for arms and supplies in the 1990s occludes the massive exercise that was involved in coordinating the relatively much greater Eastern Bloc materiel imports and large increases in personnel in the 1980s. That experience laid the groundwork for the post-Soviet 1990s era of state expenditures on private military suppliers that in turn shaped the state's logistics approach to post-war reconstruction through private contracting with enterprises from China, Brazil, Portugal, and elsewhere.

4.4.1 Institutional Continuity and the National Highway Network

The emphasis on the paved primary road network was carried through during the war years, both due to the institutional continuity and because the primary highways were used during the war and hence subject to attack and degradation. However, what would change would be the management and financing of road construction – this moved away from the colonial budgets through, firstly, a brief 1990s neoliberal emphasis on a user fee-based road fund and foreign contracting of construction, and then towards oil-boom era loans and contracting.³⁸⁴

During the break in war in 1992 there were World Bank transport and rehabilitation projects that helped re-institute the colonial emphasis on the 20,300 km primary network, albeit in a somewhat expanded form.³⁸⁵ With the support of a Portuguese consulting firm PROVIA, the JAEA was transformed into an expectedly autonomous Institute.³⁸⁶ Portuguese consultants inventoried the road network, personnel, and equipment (and PROVIA would subsequently be involved in a range of infrastructure projects after 2002, not least the Logistics and Distribution Center in Huambo of the PRESILD network, discussed in the next chapter).³⁸⁷

After a commission was established in 1989, in late 1990 the JAEA was legally transformed into INEA, and a number of visits were made to primary road network over the next year by INEA staff together with Bulgarian assistants, World Bank officials and consultants, and Portuguese

³⁸⁴ The World Bank (1991: 38) stated “The long term goal is for the Institute to become an autonomous organization fully deriving its financial resources from user charges collected through a “highway fund” mechanism under consideration by GOA. Since policy makers also anticipate that most highway maintenance and rehabilitation work will be performed by contract, INEA would not hire more staff, nor buy equipment for direct in-house operations. However, until the contract industry develops sufficiently in Angola, INEA would have to contract work to foreign organizations.”

³⁸⁵ It was expected to expand to 30,000 km. In 1990, the primary network was listed as 8,000 km paved, and 4,000 gravel. (World Bank 1992: 5).

³⁸⁶ The report was ‘Relatório Final – Comissão Organizadora do Processo de Implantação da Estrutura Tipo J.A.E.A.,’ of September 1991. See World Bank (1992: 106). PROVIA was established in 1985, and has conducted a range of projects in Portugal, Angola and Mozambique. It's not yet clear to me which connections there were between PROVIA and the colonial road construction industry in Angola. Fernando Jose Romao da Silva Valero appears to have worked at PROVIA and then CENGA, See ‘Empresa Comparticipada-Angola,’ at http://www.guianet.pt/provia/entrada_emp_angola.html, and <http://www.guianet.pt/provia/entrada.html>.

³⁸⁷ PROVIA appears to have connections with CENGA, see <http://www.cenga-angola.com/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=h6syzsvtyrY%3d&tabid=99&language=en-US>.

Economic Cooperation Agency consultants. In order to classify the importance of the roads, the consultants used the old 1970 colonial traffic count, and in May 1992, the National Road Transport Plan was issued, dividing roads into three classes based on vehicles per day, and laying out the specifications for each class.³⁸⁸ These details illustrate the institutional means of continuity in the hierarchy of roads emphasizing highways.

In September 1992 the government issued classifications of the ‘Fundamental Network’ of national highways, encompassing those routes “of most relevance and importance (either by their general layout, or by the traffic they support or could be seen to come to support) for the national economy, administration and defense of the Country and satisfaction of the basic needs of communication of its populations.”³⁸⁹ The return to war and economic difficulties made maintenance very difficult – if not impossible – rendering the Road Fund established in 1994 rather moot, and making farcical the notion of financing it through transport fees and gasoline taxes.³⁹⁰ After the end of the war, road funding and transport statutes would be restructured again, and after Chinese loans had been secured, the Prime Minister issued a new 2005 Executive Plan for Rehabilitating the Basic Network of National Highways, but the emphasis on the primary network appears to have remained.³⁹¹

4.5 Contemporary Road Reconstruction: The Logistics of Rebuilding the Luanda-Malanje Highway

This section looks at the actual spatial aspects of the work of contemporary road construction, rather than viewing infrastructure in an a-spatial way as simply an opportunity for enrichment, or in a limited approach emphasizing the ‘broadcast of power *over* or *across* space.’ I focus here on the Luanda-Malanje highway, and plan also to look at the branch road from this highway up through Kota.

Some of the basic details of construction of the highway that I could locate are presented in Table 4.1 below. Interestingly, the reported costs per kilometer of these road projects do not seem greatly different when compared to both figures from other road construction projects in Africa, as well as the adjusted costs of the original colonial road construction activities.³⁹² Moreover, in the roughly the dozen years of reconstruction since 2002, the government has had contractors pave some 12,000 kilometers of roads, 50% more than the colonial government had

³⁸⁸ World Bank (1992: 12). Also, in late 1991 the new Highway Statutes were issued. See Despacho 59/89, Decreto 28/90 of Dec 17; Despach 80/90 of Nov 1; and Decreto 77/91 of Dec 13. See also INEA ‘Historial,’ <http://www.inea.gov.ao/inea/historial>.

³⁸⁹ World Bank (1992: 32) and CM Decreto 21/92 of May 22. See JAEA (1970) and map in Appendix L.

³⁹⁰ See and Decreto 27/94 of July 22 on the Road Fund, and Decreto Ejecutivo Conjunto 61/95 of November 24 on funding.

³⁹¹ See Decreto 88/03 of Oct 7, Law 20/03 of August 19, and Resolution 36/05 of August 5.

³⁹² Compare Leal (1968) and Alexeeva et al. (2008: Table 3.). Road construction costs vary in Leal’s (1968) sample of road contracts, in adjusted dollars, between \$50,000 and \$150,000 per kilometer (within and between companies and road segments), with an average of \$100,000 per km (based on 1600 km total worth of contracts, for 719 million escudos). Of course the colonial technology, and labor and material costs may have differed, as well as the specifications of roads (especially widths), but the difference is still not an order of magnitude. Alexeeva (2008) gives a mean cost in 2007 dollars for reconstruction of a two-lane inter-urban road at \$400,000 per kilometer, and paving at \$360,000/km.

been able to do coordinate in the same amount of time from 1961 to 1973.³⁹³ This appears to have been a complicated management exercise. The contracts seem to have been divided out in roughly segments of 30-70 km each, which would roughly equate to somewhere between 170 and 400 total road construction contracts. At going rates of construction costs, 12,000 km equates to roughly \$4.8 billion worth of contracts.

Claims have been made online about enormous amounts of money said to have been acquired by the former director of the national roads institute, Joaquim Sebastião, who served during the main period of reconstruction from 2003 to 2010. Around April 2010, some allegations about his wealth emerged more publically, and estimates on the internet put his acquired wealth at \$700 million, over \$1 billion, or only €24 million.³⁹⁴ Different internet posts suggest he tried to use bribes of \$30 million and \$2 million to become Minister of Construction and Secretary of State for Public Works.³⁹⁵ Again, the discrepancy is great and there is a large lack of information. He was relieved of his post in December 2010, but was mentioned in a 2013 story on state radio as being president of a well-known Luanda football team.³⁹⁶ It seems fairly unlikely that he could have illegally appropriated \$700 million without any serious consequences, particularly when others have been prosecuted for much less. Sebastião, apparently from the Kwanza North Province just north west of Malanje, had nonetheless formed several private companies related to construction and other sectors while director of the roads institute.³⁹⁷ Sebastião seems to have subsequently been the subject of an online reputation campaign, with a similar English paragraph describing the ‘businessman’ on various sites such as linkedin, tumblr, wordpress, viadeo, mendeley, etc. Part of what is remarkable though are the critical internet reports that Sebastião did not get on well with some of the highest established elite in regime such as Manuel Vicente, Dino, and the President.³⁹⁸ It’s almost impossible to say anything definitive here aside from that there is not an entirely clear picture of a coherent corrupt creole elite cabal (though that would be a hard thing to prove in any instance) in what has been one of the most expensive and core parts of the whole post-war reconstruction process.

The following section sketches out the process of construction logistics for the rebuilding of the highway segments, before turning in the next sections to understand how approaches to transport infrastructure emerged in Angola in relation to decades of Cold War battles, and, before that, colonial counter-insurgency.

³⁹³ See Castro (1974), and ANGOP (2012) ‘Construídos cerca de 12 mil quilómetros de estradas asfaltadas,’ July 18. This 12,000 figure is also cited in the MPLA’s electoral manifesto, Program 2012-17.

³⁹⁴ <http://revistamangop.blogspot.com/2010/04/dirigente-angolano-gaba-ter-fortuna.html>, <http://www.circuloangolano.com/?p=13642>; Vilela, A.J. (2012) Revista Sábado, March 29; Muvuma, A. (2013) ‘Dos Santos’ Son Shapes His Own Government,’ Maka Angola, July 2, http://makaangola.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=11478:dos-santos-son-shapes-his-own-government&catid=29:politica&lang=en.

³⁹⁵ Muvuma, Ibid.

³⁹⁶ (2013) ‘Joaquim Sebastião eleito presidente do Benfica de Luanda,’ February 21, <http://www.rna.ao/radio5/noticias.cgi?ID=69265>.

³⁹⁷ Diário da República, Série III; <https://about.me/joaquimsebastiao>.

³⁹⁸ (2013) ‘Rumores sobre pedido de demissão de “Kopelipa”,’ Club-k.net, March 28, http://club-k.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=14678:rumores-sobre-pedido-de-demissao-de-kopelipa&catid=8:bastidores&Itemid=125&lang=pt.

Map 4.2: Segments of the Luanda-Malanje Highway Reconstructed

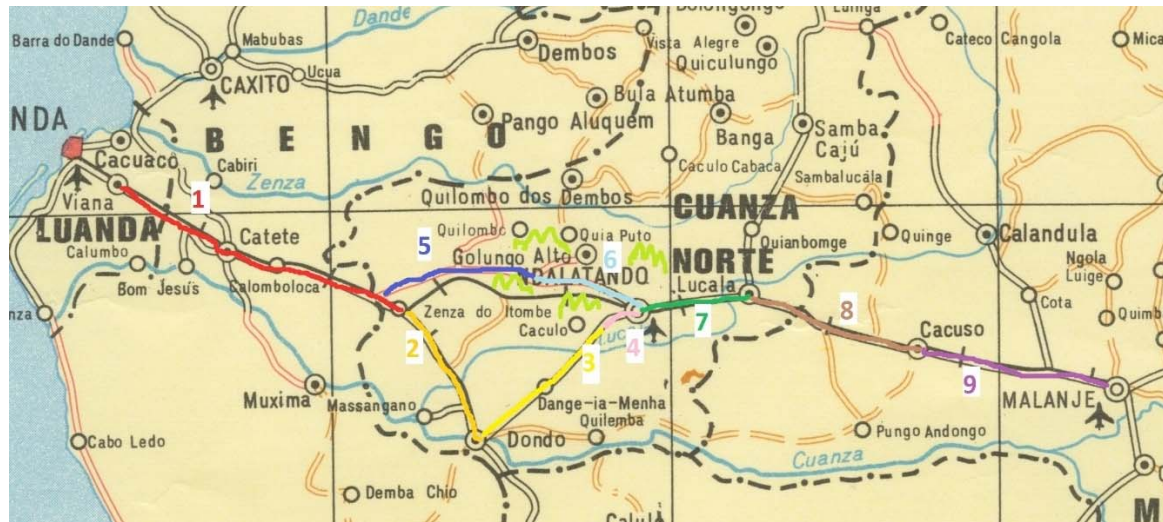


Table 4.1: Segments of the Luanda-Malanje Highway Reconstructed³⁹⁹

#	Segment	Agency	Builder	Country	Dates	Km	Cost (& \$m/km)	\$m / km	Sources
1	Luanda-Maria	INEA	CRBC	China	c. Sep 2005-7	91	\$20.6m	0.23	DdR ⁴⁰⁰
2	M. Teresa -Dondo	BCOM	Sichuan Nandong	China		67	\$61m	0.91	DdR, ANGOP ⁴⁰¹
3	Dondo-M. Binda	BCOM	BCOM?	Angola		57			ANGOP ⁴⁰²

³⁹⁹ Initially, the 2005 budget put road-work for Dondo-Luena for that year, some 1200km and 18 bridges, at 2.4bn kwanzas, or roughly \$27m at the time.

⁴⁰⁰ See China Contract. The 2006 and 2007 budgets, however, present differing numbers, of respectively 1,413,000,000 and 622,500,000 kwanzas, which equate to \$17m and \$7.8m, or a total of about \$25m for 90km from Viana to Maria Teresa.

⁴⁰¹ ANGOP (2007) 'Malanje: INEA reabilita pontes e estradas na província,' Jan 22. The budget for 2007 put the GRN budget for Luanda-Dondo-Lucala work at 954m kwanzas, or only \$12m, while the 2009 budget put another 105m kwanzas (a few million dollars). (no entries for 2006 and 2008 budgets – double check)

⁴⁰² ANGOP (2007) 'Instalada britadeiras e central asfáltica no Alto Fina,' July 20.

4	Morro de Binda – Lukala	BCOM	AngolACA	Portugal	c. 2007	15			ANGOP
5	Maria Teresa – Caxilo	INEA	MCA	Portugal		63			ANGOP
6	Caxilo – Ndalatando	INEA	Vias XXI	Portugal	March 2008 -	34 (56)	<\$48	0.86	ANGOP ⁴⁰³
7	Ndalatando – Lucala	BCOM	BCOM?	Angola		37			ANGOP
8	Lucala-Cacuso	INEA	Metro Europa	Brazil Angola	- mid 2007	56	\$19m ⁴⁰⁴	0.34	ANGOP
9	Cacuso-Malanje	INEA	Brafrikon	Angola, etc	c. Feb 2006 – end 2008	67 (~77?)			ANGOP ⁴⁰⁵
10	Lombe - Kota		Antonio Evaristo		Feb – May 2004	26	\$0.8		Grading; ANGOP
			Antonio Evaristo		Nov 07 -	26	\$12.4	0.48	INEA
11	Kota - Kalandula		Alva Ventures ⁴⁰⁶		~ Oct 2009	33	\$12.6	0.38	INEA, ANGOP ⁴⁰⁷
12	Cacuso - Soqueco					45	~\$16.1	~0.36	Budgets ⁴⁰⁸
13	Cacuso – Kalandula		Afro Wengui		- est. June 2013	46	\$36	0.78	

⁴⁰³ The \$48m figure refers to the total length Ndalatando-Golungo Alto. ANGOP (2011) ‘Governo investe USD 48 milhões na reabilitação do troço Ndalatando/Golungo-Alto,’ Jan 21.

⁴⁰⁴ Angop (2006) ‘Malanje: Reabilitação da estrada Lucala/Cacuso custa USD 19 milhões,’ Dec 12. Info from INEA report - \$62m, 2011 - Conservation 249m kw [= \$2.5m?] according to O Pais, <http://www.opais.net/pt/opais/?det=22167,249> for Cacuso-Malanje.

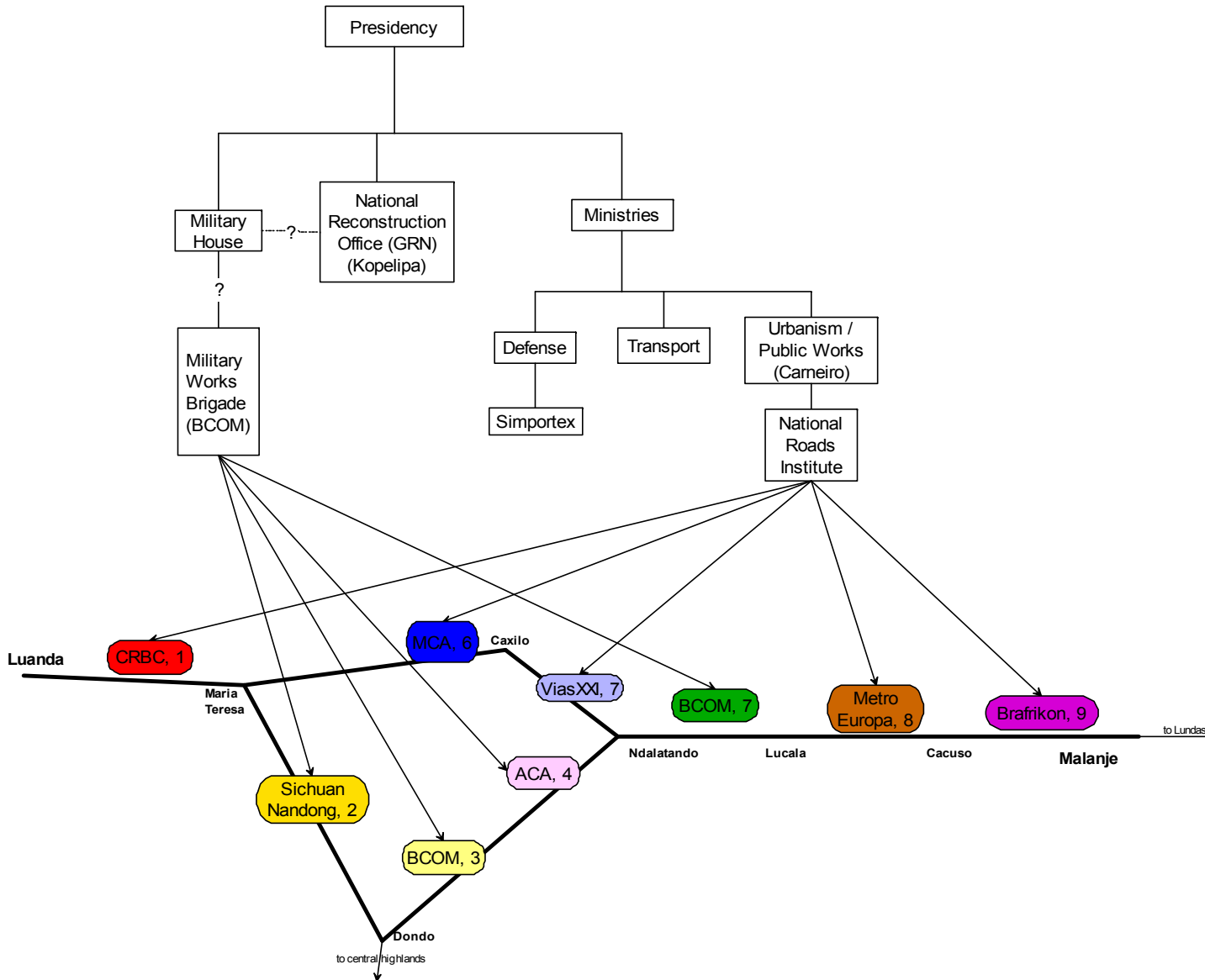
⁴⁰⁵ 22km had been reportedly finished by January 2008 - See ANGOP (2008) ‘Estrada Cacuso/Malanje recebe novo tapete asfáltico,’ Jan 7. Brafrikon also did other road segments around Malanje. The Budget for 2006 gives rehabilitation of Lucala-Malanje road at 942m kwanzas, which equates to only about \$11m. Meanwhile the budget for 2008 lists 424.5m kwanzas for paving in Malanje province (\$5.6m).

⁴⁰⁶ Registered in DdR S3, October 2005.

⁴⁰⁷ ANGOP (2009) ‘Troco entre quedas de calendula e sede municipal esta a ser asfaltado,’ Oct 1.

⁴⁰⁸ The 2010, 2011, and 2012 budgets give figures for Calandula-Cacuso-Malanje rehabilitation of 792m, 500m, and 500m kwanzas, or roughly (\$5.6m, \$5.2 and \$5.2m).

Figure 4.9: Management of Road Reconstruction Segments



4.5.1 Leaving Luanda: The Chinese, the Roads Institute, and ‘The Bulldozer’

The highway from Luanda to Malanje was reconstructed through patch-worked projects of different segments. On the Luanda-Maria Teresa segment, passengers would not infrequently remark on the shoddy construction by the Chinese, which made traveling on that rolling, heavily trafficked section out of Luanda a visceral, somewhat life-threatening experience. Passing on to the next section, rebuilt by the Portuguese firm Manuel Couto Alves, up to the old coffee hills of Caxilo and Ndalatando, the whole tenor of the passage changes. Ascending from the hot rolling lowlands, first gradually but noticeably, along a freshly paved road, the pitch of whirring rises, windows slide to diminish the cooling but now violent wind, honks warn off distant goats and children quickly approached, moods shift – the rollicking excitement and anxious uncertainty of exit eases, and a cooler confidence of progress settles in.

The point of the schematic description here is to illustrate some of the complexity and challenges of basic spatial coordination. While corruption, control, abuse, theft, and patronage undoubtedly occurred, these alone are insufficient to understand the actual pattern of road construction. Rather construction was also shaped by several factors: (1) prioritized road segments (largely inter-provincial highways); (2) physical progression/accessibility; (3) financing; and (4) agency and company capacity/availability.

A now famous \$2 billion oil-backed loan from China in 2005 enabled early financing and capacity for construction of the road out of Luanda by the China Road and Bridge Corporation, operating in conjunction with the National Roads Institute of Angola (INEA). This was followed by work along the next section through Dondo to Ndalatando, managed by the Military Works Construction Brigade (BCOM). Thereafter INEA used a range of private contractors to do the remaining segments through to Malanje, as well as the quicker upper Caxilo route. By that point Angolans had also developed sufficient capacity and pressure to do the work through joint ventures. The whole highway likewise held strategic importance for the transport of fuel, machinery, and other logistics supplies to the diamond mines and UNITA prevalent in the Lunda Provinces in the country’s north east.

Figure 4.9 oversimplifies the numerous process and projects that were coordinated, involving various other smaller projects before, during, and after the main periods of paving, such as road preparation (basic grading), bridge building, producing materials (gravel, etc), and maintenance. The patchwork of road projects from Luanda to my research site involved dozens of different main companies and agencies, and different projects, not to mention dozens more secondary companies indirectly involved in supplying designs, proposals, machinery, sand, gravel, water, pavement, demining, personnel, housing, parts, maintenance, food, accounting, insurance, supervision, etc.

By examining issues of spatiality, we can see that the Minister of Public Works responsible for the majority of projects during the height of post-war reconstruction deployed geographical and logistical knowledge and skills gained through training and key periods in political and military activities. Most of the roadwork has been done by sub-contractors who work on specific contracted projects for the INEA, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of

Urbanism.⁴⁰⁹ This Ministry was one of the main agencies involved in reconstruction (together with the National Reconstruction Office (GRN), discussed below), managing contracts worth dozens upon dozens of billions of dollars. The Minister during the height of post-war reconstruction was General Francisco Higinio Lopes Carneiro, who served from 2002-2010, and was said to be known colloquially as ‘The Bulldozer.’⁴¹⁰

While Carneiro is now known in relation to construction and also his increasingly numerous businesses (and in terms of physical appearance, he matches the stereotype of a well-fed, mestiço elite), his background and experiences are insufficiently appreciated for the highly complex reconstruction rush and an assortment of business (Soares de Oliveira 2013: 180). Born in the coffee lands along the highway that runs south from Luanda and just past Dondo, Carneiro joined the army in 1977 at age 21, trained in Russia (the dates are unclear), and rose particularly quickly around 1990 to become Chief of Staff and the lead negotiator with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi during the renewal of conflict after the 1992 elections. As army chief of staff, Carneiro was responsible for gauging and combatting UNITA’s expanding presence (funded by diamond revenues) in order negotiate strategically, and hence coordinating highly complex military logistics across Angola. After several years of this, he went on to do similar functions but on a more political-administrative level as Deputy Minister of Territorial Administration from 1997-2002. So, Carneiro’s widely known ownership of a coffee plantation, hotel and soccer team near his childhood home some 200 kilometers south of Luanda is less relevant as an indication of an elite’s fiefdom and luxurious getaways than indicative of deeper geographical connections, and it is such lengthy geographical familiarity and responsibility that were crucial parts of why he became one of two key figures coordinating reconstruction.⁴¹¹

4.5.2 Climbing to Ambaca: the Reconstruction Office and Military Logistics

The next segment of the highway illustrates some of these same dynamics of commonalities and relations between the spatial coordination of military and reconstruction logistics, but for the other major reconstruction agency, the GRN. Like the Ministry of Urbanism, the GRN did not do most of the construction itself, but delegated and sub-contracted. In the case of the segment from outside Luanda towards Malanje, the GRN delegated to a little known wing of the President’s Military Office, BCOM, exemplifying how the military itself had its own set of construction and spatial logistics operations, out of which reconstruction activity has emerged.⁴¹² BCOM in turn subcontracted out parts of the highway work to private companies.

⁴⁰⁹ CRBC was involved other road construction projects such, as the \$652 million road from Luanda to Congo Province, and reportedly has 135 projects across Africa, having first started work on the continent in the 1960s.

⁴¹⁰ Barbosa, M. and M. Aith (2010) ‘General de Angola é sócio de empresa aérea brasileira,’ Folha de São Paulo, April 4.

⁴¹¹ See DdR; <http://www.kalulo.com>; <http://www.worldfolio.co.uk/region/africa/angola/francisco-higinio-lobes-carneiro-governor-cuando-cubango-angola-n3143>; <http://angola-luanda-pitigrili.com/who%E2%80%99s-who/h/general-francisco-higinio-lobes-carneiro>; Antsee (1996); (1996) ‘From Khaki to Pinstripes,’ Africa Analysis, p. 48.

⁴¹² GRN built four other key highways. BCOM (Brigada de Construção de Obras Militares) was reportedly operating by 2007, and is in the 2010 charter for the Presidency’s Military Office, which was to be guided by new regulations issued in 2011, but these regulations make no mention of BCOM.

These examples can be used to illustrate how the military expertise in logistics carries over into coordinating the spatial logistics necessary to construct infrastructure by bringing together various inputs necessary to produce the road as simultaneously both a peculiar sort of commodity that is ‘fixed’ (Linder 1994) and also a public good that facilitates the movement of commodities. The actual process of paving required both gravel and bitumen, from rock processing areas and from the Luanda oil refinery. The materials for the highway reportedly came from near Dondo, where they were operated by an affiliated state company established by the Defense Minister in 1984, Aerovia (the ‘National Company for Construction of Airports and Roads’). The historic continuities in construction and military logistics are illustrated by the fact that Aerovia was a nationalized colonial-era regional paving company, managed by a former employee of the colonial road-building board that had worked building roads for the colonial army. As with the other key highway segments under GRN responsibility, the road from the coastal lowlands to the north central plateau has long been a highly strategic one, whose importance resonates still through various iconic references.

General Manuel Helder Vieira Dias Junior (“Kopelipa”) is often said to be the President’s right-hand man, and one of the wealthiest and most connected and powerful people in Angola. As with the case of Carneiro described below, nearly all analysis of Kopelipa and the GRN has ignored space and focused instead on the il/licitness of his military and numerous business interests in connection with China (as if these occurred on a pin head, or, at the very least just in the confines of executive jets or presidential palaces), when in fact the spatial aspects of his duties were arguably quite important. Like Carneiro, Kopelipa was in the army in the 1970s, then served in the southern front, and rose to prominence in the turbulent early 1990s, reportedly working in communications security at the Presidential Palace.⁴¹³ Two months after the return to war, he was appointed on February 2, 1993, as Director of the Studies, Research, and Analysis Office in the Presidency, and roughly two years later he was appointed on July 11, 1995, as Director of the Military House of the Presidency (it is within this Military Office that BCOM apparently resided). Two years after the war ended, he was appointed in October 2004 to head the newly formed National Reconstruction Office (GRN) that would manage the much-remarked billions of dollars of loans and contracts with China.

Kopelipa’s rise in power and wealth appears to be at least partly connected with spatial security logistics in Luanda. Though the GRN is commonly depicted as a recent invention by a powerful Kopelipa to manage the patronage associated with Chinese-funded projects, the GRN’s origins actually date back to spatial issues of urban restructuring during the early years after independence. The government had in 1979 planned a Political and Administrative Center in downtown Luanda, but this was prevented by the restart of costly war amidst declining oil revenues during the 1980s.⁴¹⁴ Instead, as the country returned to war in November 1992, a technical group was approved for revamping the existing physical infrastructure around the downtown Presidential Palace – the ‘Upper City,’ which dates back centuries to the first Portuguese colonial administrators – and it appears that it was at this point that Kopelipa may

⁴¹³ See Translations on sub-Saharan Africa, 1976, 1978; <http://angola-luanda-pitigrili.com/who%E2%80%99s-who/m/general-manuel-helder-vieira-dias-junior-kopelipa>.

⁴¹⁴ See Resolution 12/2001, ‘Programa Integrado do Centro Político Administrativo.’

have played key roles, not least in the system of cement security tunnels and bunkers.⁴¹⁵ The importance of this cannot be overestimated – after UNITA rejected the election results and resumed fighting, the ‘Battles of Luanda’ raged with street by street fighting throughout the city including sieges in prominent hotels near the Presidential Palace. The government had been preparing to share the capital city with the leaders of an armed insurgency turned political party that had still yet to completely disarm and with which it had been in violent conflict for roughly two decades. Instead, the country returned to war.

The basic set of events of the ‘Battle of Luanda’ is as follows, not in absolutely precise order hour by hour, but roughly chronological; the cited sources should be consulted for details.⁴¹⁶ While most journalist had left Luanda by the outbreak of violence there, Karl Maier was able to soon get back in and tried to reconstruct the course of events. Protests, deadly fighting and skirmishes and problems with demobilization had continued during the period up to the elections. On October 5th, Savimbi denounced the vote tallies as fraudulent, UNITA dynamited an arms depot in the southern city of Menongue, and then 11 UNITA generals withdrew from the recently united army. Days later UNITA troops reoccupied a key town in the southern province of Huila. What happened soon thereafter signaled escalation in Luanda – a car bomb went off outside a hotel in Luanda where UNITA officials were staying, followed by confrontations between UNITA, MPLA, and the government’s special paramilitary ‘Ninja’ police. On October 15th, UNITA was reported to have attacked a government arms depot in Luanda, which it denied. Within a week the UN certified the elections as generally “free and fair,” which Savimbi then rejected. UNITA forces attacked Huambo on October 17-18, and the government in Luanda began distributing arms to its supporters in Luanda. UNITA attacked the radio and television in Huambo and attempted to occupy the governor’s palace. On October 30th, 11 people were killed in the Cassenda neighborhood near Luanda’s airport (including three Portuguese), and when UNITA reportedly organized a demonstration at the airport and there was heavy gunfire, government officials denounced it as the start of a coup d’état.

Intense fighting broke out throughout the city over the next couple days, with house to house searches in various neighborhoods, and police and MPLA members who had been armed reportedly killed “at least 1,200 and possibly several thousand UNITA members in Luanda” (112). Some other UNITA suspects were imprisoned, and neighborhood killings went for days thereafter. During the main battle, October 31st to November 2nd, the fighting was heavy in places, with AK-47s, RPGs, PKMs, and mortars being used. There were reports of UNITA drive-by shootings at the airport and central May 1st roundabout. Much of the standoff occurred around the wealthy Miramar neighborhood of embassies and oil company compounds, just uphill from downtown Luanda, and where Savimbi was residing. There, UNITA dynamited the main broadcasting tower. UNITA officials also bunkered in the downtown Hotel Turismo and Hotel Trópico (which were hit by gun and mortar fire), while other UNITA forces took foreign hostages, and scaled the US compound, prompting a commando team in Stuttgart to be put on alert. Amidst confused and unreliable communications, Carneiro tried to broker an end to the fighting, and government tanks and helicopters were sent to Miramar. There was also fighting

⁴¹⁵ A new Technical Group on the Center was appointed in November 1992, and a month later the Military House was created. See *ibid*, and Decreto Presidencial 83/92. The organizational statute for the Military House was approved on December 18, 1992, and published on February 19, 1993 as Decreto Presidencial 16/93.

⁴¹⁶ I am drawing from Weigert (2011: 110-113) and Maier (1995). See also Antsee (1996), Vines (1994), HRW (1994: 61-70), and Roque (1993).

reported near the Presidential Palace, in the southern side of Luanda. Throughout Luanda, UNITA offices were attacked, and officials killed, including UNITA's Vice President Jeremias Chitunda and its key negotiator, Savimbi's nephew, Salupeto Pena, while other UNITA officials in Luanda were arrested, injured or fled. By November 3rd, the situation had calmed, with the UN trying to broker an end to the violence, and foreigners fleeing the country. UNITA responded by taking several provincial capital cities, and within weeks had captured 50 of the 164 municipalities, upped to 90 several weeks later.⁴¹⁷ UNITA had also captured the town of Caxito 35 miles from Luanda, and the return to war had begun, in which the newly appointed hard line General João de Matos would play a key role, as would Carneiro and Kopelipa.

After years of delay due to heavy war, the Commission on the Political and Administrative Center was transformed in 1998 into the Office of Special Works (GOE), and as the war appeared in 2001 to be nearing a close it was given charge of dozens of different significant construction works around the city, including infrastructure and military facilities and housing projects. It was from this that GRN would emerge several years later. Indeed, the very rhetoric around national reconstruction long predates the GRN and the end of the war in 2002, going back to 1970s ideas of liberation and the prospect of 'reconstructing' the post-colony into an independent modern socialist republic.⁴¹⁸

In many analyses, however, this spatial history has been ignored, and instead Kopelipa's rise is often inferred directly or indirectly from an erroneous report of alleged public-private malfeasance. A widely repeated 1999 report by the advocacy NGO Global Witness confused the military supply public enterprise Simportex with Simpatex, a similarly named but unrelated private company reportedly co-owned by Kopelipa. Simportex's responsibilities were to find ways to furnish supplies (including uniforms and food) to the military during the intense fighting and economic crises of the 1990s. In particular, deals worth billions of dollars involving oil and debt for Eastern-Bloc arms were key to replenishing the national army after aid from the then disbanded USSR dried up and fighting had renewed. The deals blew up in scandals – termed 'Angolagate' – reaching the son of France's President Mitterand, and set off legal battles and diplomatic rankles for a decade.⁴¹⁹ Was Simportex a case of gate-keeping and rent-seeking, of using state monopolies to grow rich by skimming off of trade? Perhaps, but Kopelipa was actually not the main figure there, Simportex was more than the much-publicized deals, and both were part of a more important broader complex of spatial logistcs.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁷ The ability of UNITA to return to war through the capture of territory is significantly due to the weakness of state control due to pitiful UN peace-keeping resources and, more importantly, the huge financial pressure on the devastated state (see pages 230 and on below).

⁴¹⁸ See Gérard (1980) on early reconstruction notions.

⁴¹⁹ Global Witness' (1999) report 'A Crude Awakening' misread Bearman (1999), cited in endnote 28. See 'Examination of Witness Simon Taylor,' Jan 16, 2001, Question 527, House of Commons, International Development, Fourth Report, Minutes of Evidence, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200001/cmselect/cmintdev/39/1011609.htm>. On Angolagate, see the roughly 500-page French court proceedings at <http://prdchroniques.blog.lemonde.fr/files/2009/11/angolagatejugement.1258390384.pdf>.

⁴²⁰ Simportex's director, José Castro, also previously directed EMATEC.

4.5.3 Angolan Contractors from Amabaca to Malanje: Brafrikon and Metroeuropa

After the road from Luanda to Dondo and Ndalatando had been rebuilt with the Chinese loan by around 2006, builders could move on to constructing the next portion from Ndalatando to Malanje. At this point, the Angolan government also had more money from a few more years of oil sales. For this next section, it contracted firms that were nominally registered in Angola, and had Angolan partners and employees, but these firms also had significant interests and ties to Brazil.

The two firms that constructed the remaining segments from Lucala across the plateau to the city of Malanje are illustrative of coordination and cross-sectoral links because they in turn were also involved in a range of other activities, in Malanje and elsewhere. An Angolan firm called MetroEuropa constructed the Lucala-Cacuso section, while another firm called Brafrikon built the Cacuso-Malanje stretch. These firms began work around 2006 and appear to have finished around late 2008.

My research, analysis and writing about these segments has been difficult because information on these companies and projects is scarce, uneven, inconsistent, and hard to obtain.⁴²¹ Such difficulty with information is an important point, and recalls debates about transparency in contracting, and corruption.⁴²² To my knowledge, the contracts are not published publically. However, it would be incorrect to claim that *all* details are kept secret to cover up corruption; in fact, some details are announced. Sporadically, state and private media would sometimes report certain dates or financing amounts for the road contracts, though these could be outdated if, for example, there were delays or cost over-runs. For instance, while I could find no information whatsoever on the cost of the Brafrikon-built segment, a state news report put the MetroEuropa Lucala-Cacuso segment at \$19 million, but another government sources put it at much more.

These two segments were part of construction logistics that had to be managed, but also had a weak indirect personal-business tie to the Minister and to various other business interests. An example of the supply logistics of road construction is MetroEuropa's asphalt manufacturing plant in Cacuso.⁴²³ It coordinated other road projects in other provinces, as well as an urban infrastructure project in the Cassenda neighborhood of Luanda. MetroEuropa was founded in 2002, had some work on power transformers in Luanda in late 2002, and began the road contract in 2006. The main owner, Reinaldo Reis Vieira, appears to have a somewhat indirect link with the then Minister in the form of Vieira's brother's god-son holding 80% of the Puma Air airline in which one of Carneiro's businesses (Angola Air Service) reportedly holds the other 20%.⁴²⁴

MetroEuropa and Brafrikon both have extensive linked business in other sectors.⁴²⁵ Vieira also has a link with Somalibo (timber). In collaboration with Veira, there were two other co-owners that often partnered in business deals, namely Gerson Antonio de Sousa Nascimento and the prominent Brazilian businessman in Angola Valdomiro Minoru Dondo. Nascimento and Dondo appear to have begun business in Angola in the 1980s from their position at the Disco

⁴²¹ My account is drawn from field observations, state news items, websites, and the commercial registry.

⁴²² See Wren-Lewis (2013), World Bank (2011), Hostetler (2011), Kenny (2010), Benitez (2010).

⁴²³ Reportedly able to produce 520 tons of asphalt per hour.

⁴²⁴ It's not clear to me yet when this was established, whether before or after the roads contract.

⁴²⁵ MetroEuropa, for example, is linked with Metro Mining & Minerals, Metro Industrial, and Metro Madeiras (timber).

supermarket in Rio de Janeiro supplying food to the Angolan government, and then later “products” to Kapanda.⁴²⁶ MetroEuropa also appears to have been involved in demining, security services, and bridge building.

The stark inequalities, suspect practices, and international connections and financial flows associated with road construction were apparent to many, even in the villages. One day a villager said they knew of a certain Brazilian Reinaldo of Metroeuropa who had built an 18-story building in Brazil with the money that he made in Angola, according to other Brazilians that came. “They rob a lot,” the villager remarked. Reinaldo was a manager, and perhaps had pocketed some salary money. They mentioned another manager who also got rich. “Bazam” they said, resignedly, waving their hand (slang for ‘they take off’ or ‘they split’). ‘Yeah, Cacusó’ – where MetroEuropa has its asphalt plant, and which is the municipal capital for the Kapanda project area – ‘has electricity 24 hours. And lots of women,’ they remarked. In other words, the class and social inequalities within and between places were apparent in both infrastructure and sexual and gender relations.

Brafrikon was formed in May 2003 by the Mozambican Renato Herminio (and an associate or two). Herminio is discussed further near the end of the dissertation in section 7.4.2 with regard to a large plantation in Malanje not far from the highway. He appears to have long-standing significant links with diamond mining, transport and trade in Angola, including with Brazil. Brafrikon has been involved in a range of other projects, including other road work in northern and eastern Malanje, and luxury houses, apartments and condominiums in Luanda (including a swanky 20- floor complex in the heart of downtown Luanda).⁴²⁷ Another of his transport companies, TransAfrik, is also briefly mentioned in Chapter 6 related to its risky flights of food and humanitarian relief to Malanje during the war years in the 1990s when UNITA ground and air attacks had cut off road transport as well official UN plane trips.

They clearly are elite, and they clearly have gained great profit from various business projects. However, it is also incontrovertible that they have long been involved in a great deal of explicitly spatial economic work shaped by colonialism, war and liberalization. To read these Angolan MetroEuropa and Brafrikon’s Joint Venture road construction projects in Malanje only in terms of road officials’ discretion in awarding profitable contracts to ‘regime cronies’ ignores the actual grounded material practices that matter to why they got the contracts, what they did with them, and what the effects have been.

Such logic would not suffice to explain why and how a shorter bypass segment was rebuilt once the entire route was done, allowing traffic to get to Malanje without having to first detour south through Dondo. This span was not done by standard ‘creole elites’ or ‘regime cronies,’ but rather by two Portuguese companies, M. Couto Alves, and Vias XXI, who were also involved in a range of other road construction contracts in Angola (what sort of impropriety they involved, if

⁴²⁶ Otavia, C. and A. Jupiaira (2011) ‘Valdomiro Minoru, o brasileiro sinônimo de poder em Angola,’ *O Globo*, Dec 17. (2007) ‘Brasil participa de 10% do PIB de Angola,’ *Valor Econômico* Nov 6; (2009) ‘A corrida por um espaço em Angola,’ *Gazeta do Povo* July 12. (2011) ‘Durante a guerra civil, Minoru aproveitou negócios em Angola,’ *O Globo* Dec 17; (2002) ‘Bolsa de Empregos,’ *Jornal do Comércio* Aug 14; (2010) ‘General de Angola é sócio de empresa aérea brasileira,’ *Folha de São Paulo* April 4.

⁴²⁷ See *Diário da República*, III Série, n38, May 16, 2003, pp. 1009-1012; <http://www.brafrikon.com/>.

any, is not clear).⁴²⁸ Rather, in order to understand the emphasis on roads generally, especially the primary highway network, and the particular approach to road reconstruction and contracting, one has to understand the roots of contemporary reconstruction logistics in the way the spatial dynamics of military logistics became important – possibly crucial for the regime’s survival – during the period of Cold War proxy conflict.

4.5.4 Motorcycle Proliferation

The contemporary government’s focus on expensive paving of inter-provincial highways has spurred a boom in small motorcycles that are able to better navigate dirt roads, though their cheap flexibility is also an anathema to the efforts at the policed formalized transit.⁴²⁹ During my traffic count at the Lombe junction, for example, I counted 469 motorcycle trips, which constituted 16% of all vehicles, and the second largest category after cars; 280 of these motorcycles came through the nearby checkpoint (see Appendix O). These motorcycles illustrate one recent way in which international trends in transport industry are shaping peoples’ responses to the limited colonial structure of reconstructed roads, but such trends are also nonetheless part of ongoing contests over the securitized regulation of the use of roads. This proliferation of cheap motorcycles means that the socio-economic effects of road investments in Africa are unlike those ever experienced in the past.

This moto-boom in turn has been enabled by a qualitative transformation in the international motorcycle industry, away from more costly and limited production in Japan. With concentrations of factories in Chongqing and Guangzhou, China has over recent years cranked out more than 20 million new motorcycles each year. The massive scale of low-cost labor manufacture has enabled low-cost motorcycles on an unprecedented scale. Such global shifts and dynamics are not considered ‘gatekeeper’ models that focus only on the external/internal interface.

In addition to a range of taxis, buses, minivans, and trucks, plying the road to and from Luanda at almost all hours of the day and night, Malanje province has seen a boom in relatively cheap small ‘KTM’ motorcycle ‘kupapatas’ driven by young men as taxis or means to move rapidly on unpaved municipality roads to visit family and farms, and carry goods or commerce to and from villages.⁴³⁰ Some indication of the extent of what could be called a ‘kupapata revolution’ in Angola is given by the motorcyclists’ own Association of Transport Motorcyclists of Angola, which reportedly saw its membership more than double from 102,000 in 2010 to 250,000 in 2014.⁴³¹

⁴²⁸ Vias XXI was only registered in Angola in 2006, though the firm started in Portugal in 1986. The firm expanded with works in Portugal, and in 2004 started to do international work, and formed the Angolan company. The first project it did was 120 Alto Dondo, and then the Caxilo project. It operated pedreiras at Cambinga and Canhoca. Manuel Couto Avles (MCA) is much more established in Angola, working on several dozen road and construction projects throughout the country. MCA apparently split off from a firm of a brother, Alberto Couto Alves (ACA), established in Portugal in the 1990s, and operating in Angola since 2003. See the websites www.jmangola.com, <http://viasxxi.com/>, www.mcoutoalves.com.pt.

⁴²⁹ See, e.g. Lopes (2009).

⁴³⁰ ‘K TianMa’ is a knock-off acronym of the different established motorcycle brand KTM.

⁴³¹ Lusa (2014) ‘Trinta mil mortos na estrada em dez anos,’ RedeAngola, Oct 31.

Drivers would drive a ‘KTM’ for about 8 hours up from Luanda, where they can be purchased for around \$700. In Malanje, they can then bring in roughly \$20 per day. In roughly several months of taxi work, the taxis can pay for themselves. Thereafter, they provide income to the owners, and subsequently are transferred to the drivers.⁴³²

Part of this proliferation in motorcycles plays out in regionally segmented way, due perhaps to agglomeration effects in parts and mechanics – 125 cc Bajaj motorcycles from India dominate in the central highlands, while the Malanje market is dominated by 50 cc ‘KTM’ motorcycles from the relatively minor Chinese town/village enterprise Guangzhou TianMa (also in Indonesia). Competition between cheap Indian and Chinese production as also meant a surplus of cheap *parts* necessary due to the high frequency of failures and breakages.⁴³³ Part of the segmentation can be explained by the fact that the motorcycles are not high quality, and hence require a supply of spare parts and skilled mechanics. What plays into the need for maintenance is also the heavy use of the motorcycles for taxi and transport. In addition, however, there exists a complimentary market in adornments, since taxi drivers can with time come to own the motorcycle that they drive for the original purchaser.

These adornments signal a driver’s originality, sense of style, wealth. They can include colored or designed themes, of grips, stickers, mirrors, foot pegs, bar ends, inner tube caps, mud guards, seat covers. Other adornments include chains dangling from the muffler onto the ground. Some add zip-ties. Still others might ad lights, loud turn signal sound effects or jingles, or music speakers. In addition, some drivers also outfit themselves in special clothes, for the cold mornings and dusty streets, including stylish or outlandish jackets, hats, and glasses, which can be bought relatively cheaply in the used clothing section of the city’s main informal market.

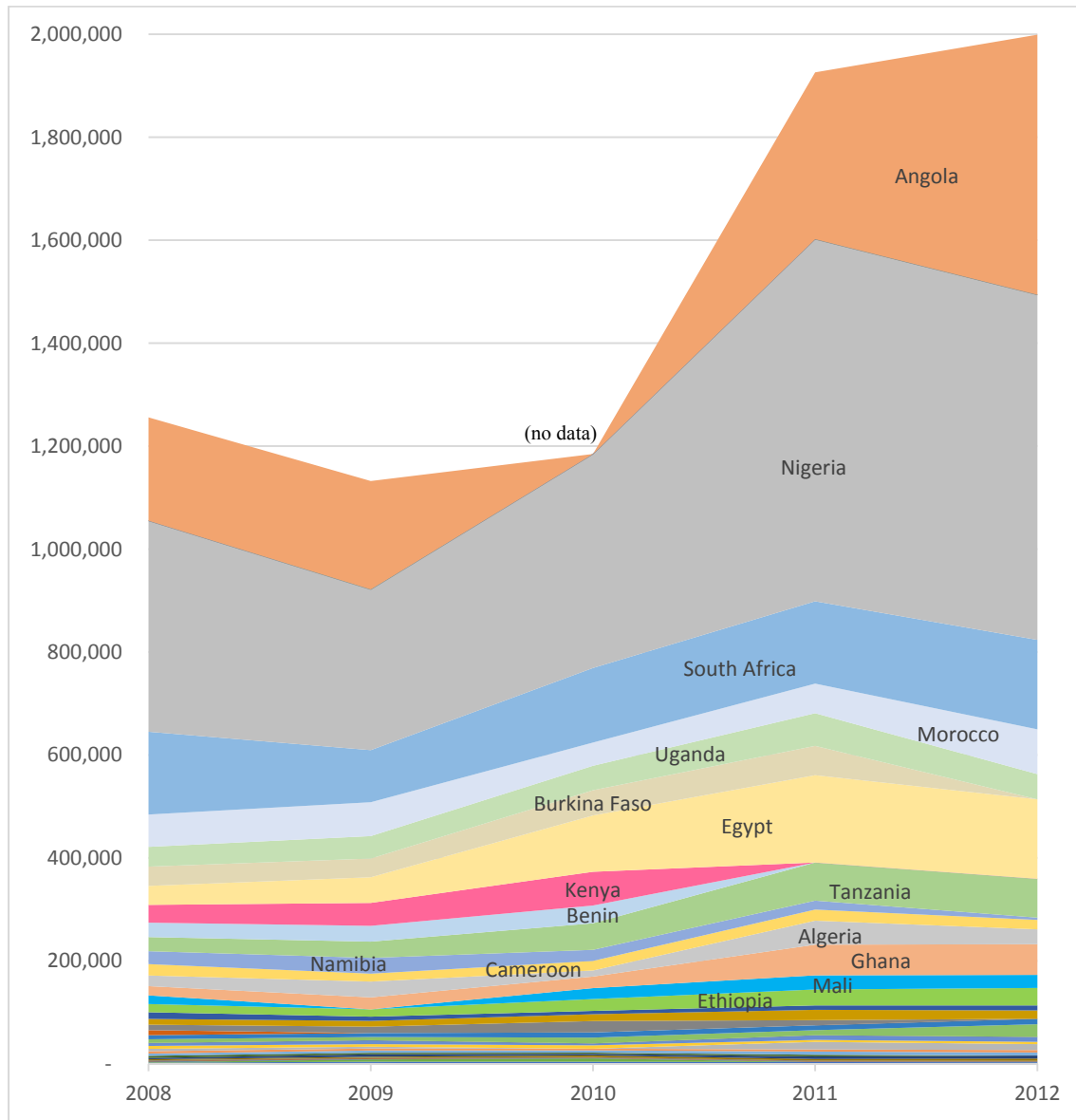
In very public, visible examples of the literal limits of state control of transport, police sometimes mount license and helmet-enforcement traps on the main bridge through Malanje city. Spectators gather to watch as unsuspecting motorcyclists, one after another, recognizes the ‘harvest’ too late and attempts to turn around flee (usually unsuccessfully) before a mix of police, variously exasperated, eager, and ranked, try to apprehend, club, cuff, and interrogate them. Overall, the increase in traffic has also meant an increase in injuries and deaths due to accidents, with nearly 30,000 people killed in accidents over the ten-year period 2003-13.⁴³⁴ The government has also responded by hiking the import tariffs on motorcycles, and, of course, mounting more traffic road blocks.

⁴³² Rates in the city of Malanje were \$1 for a most rides across the city, and \$2 for particularly distant rides. Taxis begin at daybreak, and continue until just after dusk, working seven days a week. They fuel at any of the several gas stations in town. They often are apportioned to their own fuelling line, so as to not congest the fuelling for cars. These lines get crowded at certain peak times, such as in the evening, and can take 30 minutes or more to get through. The KTM motorcycles are automatic, and hence don’t require shifting gears, allowing the drivers to balance loads on their laps and hold with one hand. They include racks on the back and on the front, and in between the drivers’ legs, allowing them to be loaded down. When new and running well, they can go relatively fast, peaking at about 90 km/hour downhill.

⁴³³ On the periphery of Luanda, the taxi sector is dominated by the major Chinese producer Lingken, based in the Chongqi autohub area. Other models, such as Lifan, Dayun, Qongqi, Keweseki, etc, are present sporadically.

⁴³⁴ Lusa (2014) ‘Trinta mil mortos na estrada em dez anos,’ RedeAngola, Oct 31,

Graph 4.3: Est. Value of Motorcycle Imports in Africa 2008-2012 (\$1,000)



Source: Comtrade⁴³⁵

⁴³⁵ The values for Angola are roughly calculated estimates, but even if the assumptions are significantly changed one way or another, the value of Angolan imports remains relatively high. Angolan trade statistics give only the tonnage for motorcycle imports. I have tried to very roughly and conservatively convert these into monetary values based on an assumed average weight of 100 kg per motorcycle (the standard Yamaha 125 is 86 kg), and a value of \$1,000 per motorcycle, which represents a rough, conservative mid-point between the retail price of the Yamaha 125 (\$1,500) and the 'KTMs' (~\$700) (though wholesale prices should be used).

Figure 4.10: Impounded Motorcycles at Malanje Police Lot



Source⁴³⁶

In sum, what these recent development with proliferating motorcycles illustrate is the way that yet again fixed infrastructure is used for, and provokes, social changes in ways that are partly unexpected, undesired, and uncontrolled by the state. This however is not to say that the small-scale male-driven motorcycles represent some triumph however, as illustrated in the Chapter 6 about the ongoing inequities and exploitation that continues to characterize cassava marketing.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter contributes to the broader dissertation argument by focusing on the emergence of mechanized late colonial road building as counter-insurgency, as well as by showing how battles over the resulting infrastructure would give rise to an institutionalization of military logistics that shaped the course of post-2002 reconstruction and regulation of transport. Moreover, the chapter argues that the contemporary structure of highways shaped by administrative and colonial plantation priorities has been confronted by young men with cheap motorcycles.

There are serious implications for both the technocratic and functional politics perspectives. To see roads simply as a matter of control and corruption is to seriously underestimate their limitations. And to recommend reforms of legal and rational transport planning is naïve and voluntarist. Rather, we have to understand the specific transformations in domestic approaches to and uses of transport infrastructure, and do so in relation to transformations in international transport industries. In addition, analysis must not only consider the gendered practices *directly* involved in transport (traders, passengers, drivers, etc), but also the gendered aspects of broader social institutions – in this case, security forces, road construction companies, and government planning – that shape how transport infrastructure is conceived, portrayed, built, used and regulated.

⁴³⁶ (2013) 'Malanje a Morrer,' Sep 8, <http://malajenje25.blogspot.com/>.

Chapter 5 : Interlude – The Kapanda Agro-Industrial Growth Pole as a Microcosm of National Reconstruction Approaches

The 400,000-hectare Kapanda Agro-Industrial Pole (KAIP) in south western Malanje is a microcosm illustrative of the broader dynamics of national reconstruction in contemporary Angola because it emerged out of the same sorts of processes shaping reconstruction throughout the country.⁴³⁷ The agro-industrial pole – now figuring in the hundreds of millions of dollars – was initially launched in association with the Kapanda hydro-electric dam on the Kwanza River in southern Malanje.⁴³⁸ The dam itself was a massive undertaking. Now with a capacity of 520 megawatts (MW), the dam was announced in 1982, would take 25 years and roughly \$4 billion to complete, and was financed by Soviet aid and loans to Angola as well as by Brazilian lending repaid in oil shipments.⁴³⁹ The government aimed to produce electricity for the region and in particular the capital Luanda, as well as to provide agricultural irrigation.⁴⁴⁰ In 2004, the Minister of Agriculture announced new plans for reviving KAIP in the form of a range of projects and plantations, and now KAIP's four large plantations (built under sub-contract by Chinese and Brazilian firms) are producing corn, beans, and sugar for domestic consumption.

A key part of the projects' distinctly nationalist significance in the aftermath of colonialism and war is their siting. The Kapanda hydro-electric dam had been established amidst the geologic unevenness near the old Seventeenth Century rocky redoubt of the formidable Queen Jinga, who had led the Kingdom of Ndongo to victory over the Portuguese in 1647 in Luanda and at the Portuguese Massangano fort on the Kwanza River. Hence the symbolic potency – despite actual marginal production – of the plantations, named Pungo A'Ndongo Plantation [the Rocks of Ndongo Kingdom] and *Black Rocks Plantation*.

The structure of this brief interlude is to first analyze Kapanda, and then look more closely at the contemporary and colonial visions of regional development. The last section briefly

⁴³⁷ The project is better known in Angolan Portuguese as Pólo Agro-industrial de Capanda (PAC).

⁴³⁸ The frequent and different estimates, private investments, and announcements of re-financing make it difficult to get a precise figure for how much in total has been spent or is planned for the pole.

⁴³⁹ (1982) 'International Relations: Angola,' BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, Sep 10. The origins of the connection between Brazil's Odebrecht and Russian for Kapanda project may date to the year 1978, when the current Kapanda director, Carlos Fernandes, became ambassador to Russia after serving as Minister of Agriculture. Russia itself had also encountered Odebrecht that year while both worked on an irrigation scheme for Odebrecht's hydroelectric dam in Peru (to whom the USSR was also selling weapons) (Hazin and Baiardi 1997).

⁴⁴⁰ Another part of the significance of Kapanda is that large-scale oil for infrastructure deals are not entirely new (part of a historic practice of what is sometimes called "countertrade"), nor are connections with Brazil (one of the first countries to recognize Angola as an independent country), and that brokering of external finance well preceded the neoliberal era. Speaking that day, Angola's Minister of Petroleum could not have been more explicit: "Our petroleum sales to Brazil slightly exceed the volume of our imports from Brazil. However, this situation will change once the Kapanda is begun." (BBC (1984) SWB, Dec 5). The Kapanda scheme was made in the context of a number of other bilateral relations. The explicit trade – or what some accounts call "barter" – of oil for goods was termed "countertrade." See Santana (2003), Cunha (2002), Banks (1983), Marazzi (1986), and, more recently Rogers (2014). See also (1984) 'Oil prospecting contract for Brazilian firm,' *Jornal do Brasil*, Nov 22. With Brazil attempting to survive the debt crisis, it attempted to boost its exports. Odebrecht began two projects in Latin America, and Kapanda became its third outside the country. (1984) 'Debt Drives Brazil into the Arms of the Third World,' *Business Week*, April 2. For more, see Appendix F.

mentions some of the popular resonances of reconstruction, which can only be understood by undertaking the more specific analysis of reconstruction that comprises the following chapters on transport, markets, land and mechanization.

The three key specific aspects of logistical reconstruction that KAIP illustrates are (1) the active construction of space, (2) such construction in relation to the controlled movement of goods, and (3) the simultaneity in this construction-movement relationship of both political-military and socio-economic strategic significance. In these three aspects, contemporary national reconstruction also retains a distinctly modernist approach in its logistical character – clear, ordered (“disciplined”), controlled, integrated, technological, top-down, technocratic, large-scale, rational, masculine, prioritized, and planned.

Throughout Angola there are dozens of other similarly logistical major agrarian infrastructure reconstruction projects with work that is being funded through credit lines from Brazil, China, Spain, India, South Korea, and other countries. Each of these schemes include various projects formally premised on strong inter-linkages, including markets, irrigation canals, grain silos, mills, poultry farms, slaughterhouses, cold storage facilities, and/or tractor parks and so on. These in turn are part of broader explicitly spatial plans for industry, transport, housing, electricity and water.

Most of these projects – and certainly much of the guiding vision and historical influence – arose out of post-colonial engagement with the what the government inherited at independence in the form of regional economic landscapes built up explicitly and with great priority as a developmental plank of a broader counter-insurgency program launched in the wake of the armed liberation struggle that began in 1961. In this sense, in the colonial plans for a Kapanda hydro-electric dam were part of a regional development program in which electricity would support the growing cities, industries and livelihoods in Luanda and provincial towns and thereby assuage Angolans with the conservative hope of an assured decent life under continued colonial rule, as opposed to the uncertainty and risks of supporting nationalists.⁴⁴¹

As part of the late-colonial economic boom, with its urbanization and construction, electricity capacity was increased and studied throughout the country. From 1940 to 1954, the number of electricity consumers in Luanda quintupled from 1,241 to 6,314, and energy sales increased by about 10 times from 0.9 million kilowatts to 9 million kilowatts.⁴⁴² In 1962, a 144 MW hydro-electric dam at Cambambe on the Kwanza River outside Luanda was built with requirements for a follow-up study by 1966 on the rest of the Kwanza River. This led to a plan in 1972 by

⁴⁴¹ A range of other smaller public and private electricity generation projects were around the country, mostly small hydroelectric, and some steam-power turbines run on firewood, charcoal, and then diesel. For Luanda this was the Mabubas station. Some of these were concentrated in the North-East for the purposes of diamond mining and mine company employees. In Malanje, a small hydroelectric turbine had been installed on a diversionary canal just near the Kwanza River. See (1967) ‘Ceremonia da assinatura do contrato, Aproveitamento Hidroeléctrico do Cuanza,’ BGU, n390, p. 145-152; Leal (1960); SONEFE (1966, 1972) and the numerous SONEFE reports (1958-74) at: <http://arquivos.ministerioultramar.holos.pt/>.

⁴⁴² The industrial zone around Viana would be particularly important, and this has also been revived in the post-2002 reconstruction period.

SONEFE – the company operating the Cambambe dam – for the additional, larger Kapanda hydroelectric dam, though work was not begun before the transition to independence.⁴⁴³

The project was revived in 1982 as plans for the socialist transformation of the economy were deepening – Kapanda was part of broader and deeper efforts that had already been underway. SONEFE continued in the 1980s, and was where current Vice President Manuel Vicente reportedly ascended in the engineering department (see fn 250). By 2004, however, Kapanda was viewed as part of efforts to build new provincial centralities as means to reduce the concentration in Luanda of people, wealth, administration, and commerce – which had resulted from colonial inheritance, war and an increasingly oil-dependent economy.

Kapanda is significant not only as microcosm of the broader dynamics of post-colonial national reconstruction, but also because it is a key national referent. Images from the massive Kapanda Agro-Industrial Pole in Malanje Province – whether the symmetrical emerald rows or bright yellow tractor machinery against blue sky – grace the pamphlets distributed before the 2012 election, the popular budget report, hundreds if not thousands of state TV news programs and newspaper articles, and a plethora of other media. Despite its difficulties and problems, Kapanda managers were still emphasizing in 2013, “There don’t exist any other poles of this dimension in Angola. It is going to be the pilot project for the rest of the country.”⁴⁴⁴ This chapter argues that this high-profile project illustrates some tendencies of reconstruction that actually have much more important relevance throughout many areas beyond Kapanda – *despite* the lack of the project’s promised direct regional economic linkages – and hence potentially much greater importance for the vast majority of peoples’ lives throughout Angola. What is widespread and relevant is *not* the projects’ direct links with smallholders (these are relatively minute and insignificant), but rather the deeper logistical tendencies that have given rise of to the dysfunctional projects in the first place.

This chapter uses an analysis of the regional development pole at Kapanda for three purposes. Firstly, I use Kapanda to illustrate some of the prominent spatial dynamics that are discussed further in each of the subsequent three chapters. Kapanda is both a key referent and illustrative of a wider tendency in national reconstruction towards an emphasis on physical construction and logistics. This emphasis both resonates with popular concerns, and purports to address them, but does not greatly resolve such concerns in part because such a tendency does not address key budget, administrative and political issues, while it also reinforces some past colonial patterns of land holding and infrastructure. So, I also argue, secondly, that attending to these issues implies that there are interesting and important dynamics happening elsewhere beyond Kapanda.

⁴⁴³ SONEFE was the ‘National Corporation for Studies and Financing of Overseas Projects.’ An additional 2,067 MW dam at Laúca, four times the size of Kapanda, is now apparently being built by Odebrecht downriver from Kapanda, closer to Dondo. At \$4 billion, the planned completion date is 2017. See <http://www.miga.org/projects/index.cfm?esrsid=131>.

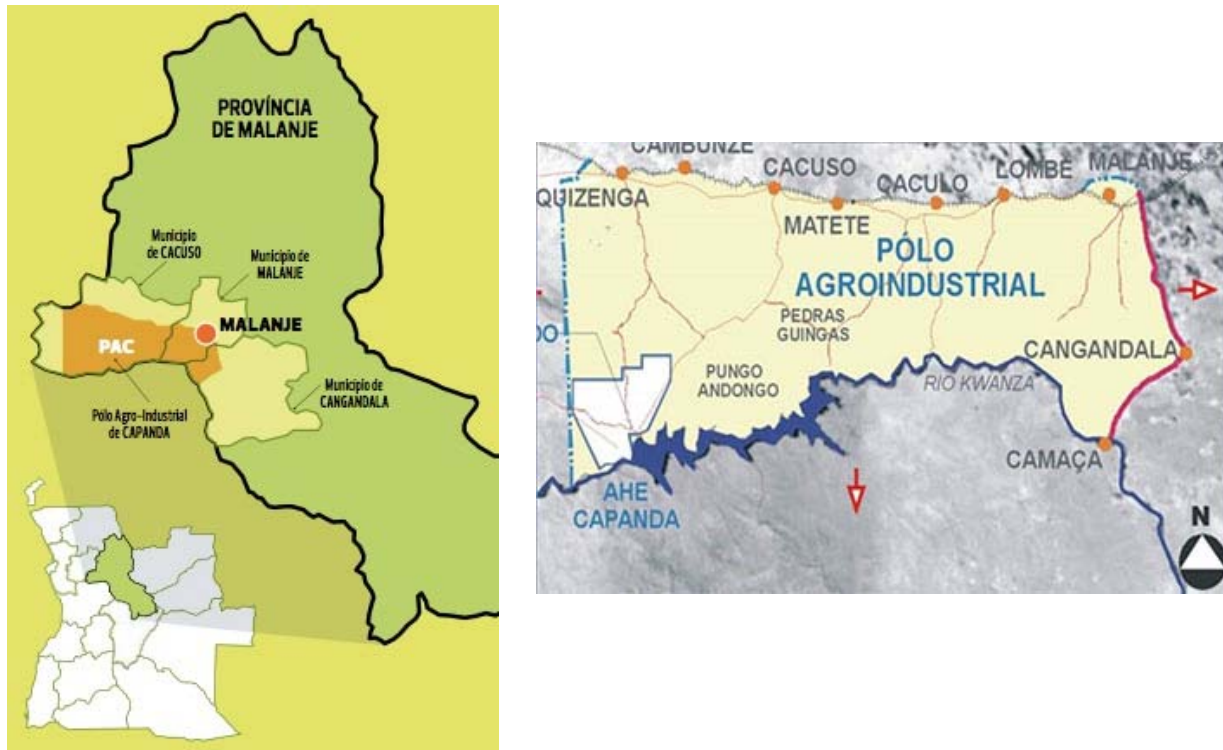
⁴⁴⁴ Exame (2013).

Figure 5.1: Hydroelectric Dam, Government Billboard, Central Garden Square, Malanje



Source: author; Note: ‘Grow in peace; more and more’; note also MPLA flags hanging above, and smaller UNITA ones inserted on lower right.

Map 5.1: Kapanda Agro-Industrial Pole



Source: Exame (2013), <http://sodepacangola.com/joomla/images/polipub/mapa.jpg>

Looking closely at the components that make up Kapanda prompts one to recognize that those components are part of broader dynamics that go far beyond Kapanda. An issue that is of utmost importance is to appreciate but not be limited by a narrow emphasis, particularly by crusading anti-corruption journalist Rafael de Moraes Marques (2010) and others, on the only corruption aspects of development projects in which the narrative focuses almost entirely on how distinct wealthy elites violate the law and harm the public good for their own enrichment and maintenance of power. Putting recent reconstruction practices in a broader history however, illustrates that these questionable dealings are part of a broader engagement and set of complex practices, histories and institutions related to national development. So, while Marques reports a past conflict of interest by (now Vice President) Manuel Vicente as head of Sonangol investing in a project in which he had a private stake through another company, Marques distinctly does not mention Vicente's longer 25-year history of engagement with Kapanda (discussed towards the end of this chapter). Kapanda was to provide the bulk of electricity for a growing Luanda, and thus be an absolutely strategic set of infrastructure for basic services and hence popular legitimacy of the regime, not to mention other goals such as industrialization. Without denying concerning dealings in Kapanda (as in other reconstruction projects) – and despite hard to come by specific concrete evidence of and figures on outright law violations – particular acts of individuals have to be understood in relation to the broader national strategic context.

5.1 The Kapanda Agro-Industrial Pole Today

The Kapanda Agro-Industrial Pole is today influential and part of an expanding set of projects, but its actual results are decidedly mixed and underwhelming in comparison with its scope and the plans and announcements previously made. In particular, the promised regional linkages to benefit smallholders appear relatively thin, aside from some construction jobs, some newly paved roads in the distant pole area, and some tractor companies with extra equipment in the area. Nonetheless, numerous other projects have been promoted through related or similarly modeled state-owned companies in which there are other shareholders. The most prominent is Gesterra, which reportedly has 18 other agricultural projects, many constructed by Chinese sub-contractors.

Administratively, the mechanism that the state has used to usher through the Pungo Andongo Plantation is the state-owned company Gesterra – Gestão de Terras Aráveis (Arable Land Management). Gesterra is itself owned (99%) by the state public enterprises institute, under the Ministry of Economy (formerly Finances), and is managed by two prominent agribusiness figures and a third administrator linked to the executive branch. The institute also owns a number of other state enterprises that were either colonial state institutions or nationalized colonial private firms.

The revival of the Kapanda Agro-Industrial Pole was announced in June 2004. Implementation would be begin in two years, and the ambitious but ultimately unfulfilled targets were nothing less than a series of integrated components that would transform the agro-industrial economy of the province, attract investment, and generate some 72,000 jobs. Maize and soy would be used for animal feed for dozens of revived pork, cattle, and chicken projects, which would in turn create jobs, lessen imports, and increase smallholders' stock. Plantation silos would store maize from the large schemes and from the surrounding areas, stabilizing prices and providing

a stable supply of for the project's mills to process and then sell via a network of thousands of clean, hygienic stores throughout the country. Tractor companies would plow the plantations and for a fee smallholders' fields too.⁴⁴⁵ Amidst global fervor in biofuels, the project promised to far surpass Angola's old integrated colonial sugar industry based that had been based on plantations and forced and cheap labor. That colonial sugar industry basically collapsed following independence despite efforts then to revive and restructure it along socialist lines. The new project proposed to use sugar to produce fuel, electricity and consumer sugar with links to smallholder out-growers.⁴⁴⁶

Although presented as a detailed, integrated plan with specific targets and tight coordination of different linked components, the Kapanda project and its parts have over the years been described by a range of people in sometimes disjointed and conflicting descriptions and numbers. The initial mix of crops changed significantly, and in 2006 a Vice Governor mentioned that public and private investors could even explore laundry, cleaning, consulting, film, shoes, and tailoring related to the KAIP, as well as mills and bakeries. But in practice there still appear to be very few direct backward or forwards linkages with the surrounding

⁴⁴⁵ It was initially said that it would be producing sunflower, tobacco and sisal (largely the same crops as the colonial period, though different crops would be shortly announced). At the end of that year, the revised land law was approved, and in March 2005 the formation of Gesterra was approved, and would be registered later that August. By June the state cabinet recommended a report on the technical-economic viability. Only after two years did the cabinet approve the pole's development plan, and authorize the Ministry of Agriculture to contract Odebrecht to help manage the pole. Several months later, in November of 2007, the land reserve was constituted. Later that month the Minister of Agriculture reported that the pole would involve \$300 million in public funding and \$700 million in private funding over three phases, and would create 72,000 direct jobs. By the next year, a new state organization – the Kapanda Agri-Industrial Pole Society – assumed the management of the pole, headed by the former director of Angola's private investment agency, Carlos Fenandes. Two years later, in May 2010, the president approved a new management contract for the pole at \$48.9 million, and six months later the Minister of Economy said the state would provide more financing (various ANGOP articles).

⁴⁴⁶ Colonial sugar production peaked at 84,000 in 1972 tons, and production had become oriented towards Angola's domestic refined sugar market (internal consumption was then 78,000 tons). Sugar in Angola has a long and complicated history (even though sugar production was less significant in Angola than it was in other countries such as Mozambique or Brazil.). Colonial rum trade and sugar production, disruption with liberation war, settler exodus, and independence transition, post-colonial attempts at national production, so that by 2007 Angola was importing nearly all its sugar, mostly from Brazil. Rum, or *aguardente* or *cachaça*, from Brazil was imported early on and used in the slave trade. Local sugar production grew after tariffs on imported sugar rose following the Berlin Treaty in 1885 and the decline in rubber trade from the early 1900s, and sugar plantations began cropping up in various areas, including one in Quissol in central Malanje Province (not in the area of the current PAC), outside Luanda (Bom Jesus), and near Caxito (Tentativa). The sugar plantations – the two main ones were in the southern coastal area, Sociedade Agrícola do Cassequel and Companhia do Açúcar – would rely on forced labor, and then later on contract labor (Ball 2003). The government prohibited *aguardente* distillation in 1911, which hurt the local sugar industry, however production rebounded after several years given favorable export incentives to the protected Portugal market. Production boomed from 16,000 tons in 1931, more than tripling to 50,000 tons in 1946, passing 72,000 tons by 1966. After independence, sugar complexes were confiscated in 1976, one was closed in 1980, others were turned in to state enterprises in 1981, paralyzed by 1991, and in 1996 transferred to the Angolan Institute of Industrial Development. The problems mentioned were the 'political price' of sugar, lack of investment, limited areas, soil salinization, obsolescent technology, and destruction of the factories. In October 1995 a commission for the sugar sub-sector was nominated, but apparently with little result. Then, a June 1999 Resolution mentioned "the recuperation and relaunch of sugar projects with proven viability and eventual reconversion into agro-industrial development poles, as well as the installation and construction of one or more sugar factories in other regions of the country", and an Inter-Ministerial commission was formed to produce within 30 days a "Government Strategy for the Re-launch of the Sugar Industry." See Resolução 10/99 of August 27, and 23/00 of October 13.

agrarian economy. The KAIP's several current plantations (summarized in Table 5.1 below) span thousands of hectares, are heavily mechanized, and reportedly some use 'conservation tillage,' so little labor is used in land preparation, weeding, harvesting and processing. So, the total jobs to be created, for example, was initially mentioned at 72,000, and later it was announced to be 62,298, but the combined jobs of all three plantations and the pole appear to total to date at not more than a few thousand. Nonetheless, in June 2012, an Odebrecht director for KAIP still put out the much higher figure of 152,000 expected jobs. Outgrower links failed to materialize aside from a few charity show projects in some villages.⁴⁴⁷

And yet the vast scheme is better understood as a revived and expanded effort at logistical reconversion, rather than a land grab based on accumulation through current dispossession. The dam was justified by the government as serving an integrated development function, while the irrigation would help convert the colonial plantations in the area into socialist mechanized farms. So, by the time the project got going in 2004, centuries of local, national, and international primitive accumulation and violence had displaced much of the population from the area, and so the specific large plantation and pole did not displace a great number of people – reportedly several dozen villages and several hundred people. The region had been depopulated by slave trading, colonial forced labor and land appropriation, war, and, reportedly, tsetse flies near the Kwanza River. Pungo Andongo – a massive outcropping of granite rocks – was a military stronghold of pre-colonial kingdom from which major slave and commodity markets were controlled.⁴⁴⁸ After greater Portuguese territorial control by the late Nineteenth Century, and the construction of a railway to Malanje in the early 1900s, settlers began appropriating land near the railway.⁴⁴⁹ Large settler plantations around Pungo Andongo produced sunflower, cotton, tobacco and sisal, and depended on forced labor, contract labor, and then mechanized production. The post-independence socialist agrarian plans were disrupted by increasing armed conflict in the area around Kapanda, and by the 1990s more people fled as the area experienced intense conflict given its role as a key source of energy for government-controlled Luanda and a government military logistics airbase bordering UNITA's key lucrative diamond areas.

It is partly in relation to these long dynamics of regional exploitation and devastation that we can appreciate the major significance attributed by the Angolan government, media, and everyday people to the triumph of Fazenda Pungo Andongo as an independent Angolan state project, despite its multiple difficulties. Inextricably linked with nationalism and post-war reconstruction, the agro-industrial pole and FPA project featured prominently in the campaign content and advertising of the 2008 and 2012 elections, as well as frequent news articles, official visits, conferences, and various discussions.

The Pungo Andongo slave trading center was captured by the Portuguese in 1671 and turned into a military outpost for centuries. The construction of Kapanda at that location therefore serves as a potent symbol of African resistance and capability in Angola and beyond, since Pungo Andongo had also served as a defensive base for the fierce resistance organized by the noted

⁴⁴⁷ Out-grower plans were recently mentioned again. See also ANGOP (2015) 'Sodepac to Transform 186 Villages Into Agro-Towns,' Jan 27, which mentions converting 186 villages into 12 agro-towns. Fernandes was paraphrased as saying SODEPAC would "unite the villages and create better housing, sanitation, cultivation and drinking water conditions."

⁴⁴⁸ Miller (1988).

⁴⁴⁹ See Chapters 3 and 7.

Queen Jinga, who had been able to defeat the Portuguese. The islands around this part of the Kwanza had also served as key defensive refuges. A memorial to Jinga stands in the rocks of Pungo Andongo, enclosing a giant footprint said to have been left when she ascended into the sky (as well as, curiously, a foot print of her dog). The headquarters of the state oil company Sonangol that is a co-investor in the sugar plantation at Kapanda is, for example, located on Ginga Street that runs through the heart of downtown Luanda – a nationalist toponymy to replace the old colonial street name celebrating the Portuguese commander Salvador Correia who recaptured Angola from the Dutch in 1647. The heavy reliance by KAIP on foreign investment and managers is framed in terms of their subordination to and control by Angolans. Thus, to read the project simply as an opportunity for a few elites to make money and capture land would be to underestimate immense symbolic weight of nationalist revival after decades of war and centuries of colonialism.

Administratively, Kapanda and Pungo Andongo lie within the municipality Cacuso, which has become something of a pilot agro-industrial pole municipality, though it is further from Luanda than parts of Kwanza Sul and Bengo Provinces that have highly commercial horticultural plantations. The relatively small town has gained much new activity, with construction yards, schools, training centers, banks, hotels, and restaurants. The municipal administrator for Cacuso arrived from directing a training center in Luanda, the National Institute for Local Administrative Development, and municipal development planning has received a great deal of attention, not least on matters of agricultural development. The bustling road-side food market at Cambunze is indicative of the activity increasing around the agro-industrial hub that Cacuso is deliberately coming to be. Accordingly, the municipality has seen numerous private land claims, two of the most important of which are analyzed in more depth in Chapter 7.

However, in stark contrast to the staged publicity, and despite patchy and sometimes contradictory public data on the actual facilities, crop output, and area cultivated, the available statistics show the dreams of integrated agro-industry have clearly not materialized in the 10 years after plans to re-launch Kapanda were announced (see Table 5.1). To understand why, and to understand the significance of this in relation to broader tendencies of rural reconstruction throughout the countryside, we have to understand how the project came to take on its problematic modernist logistical aspects.

Figure 5.2: Presidential Plaque Commemorating First Harvest at Pungo Andongo, May 2007



Source: <http://gesterra-angola.com>; note Pungo Andongo rock outcropping in background

Table 5.1: KAIP Plantations' Details

	Crops & Product	Financing	Builder	Operator	Total Area (ha)	Reported Cost (\$ million)	Area Cultivated (ha)	Production (tons)	Jobs
Fazenda Pedras Negras	Corn, beans, soy for food and animal feed	China ExIm Bank	CITIC	Gesterra, and ?	10,000	\$124m (2010) +	Maize 2,300 (2012-3)	Maize 8,000 (2013-4)	270
Fazenda Pungo Andongo	Corn and beans, for food and animal feed	Odebrecht, etc	Odebrecht	Gesterra, Odebrecht	33,000	\$30m (2005) + \$77m (2009) +	Maize <3,000 Soy <500 (2013-4)* Maize >882 ⁴⁵⁰ (2014-15)		86 or 96
Biocom	Sugarcane for sugar, alcohol, and electricity (initially biofuel)	State loans, Odebrecht, Sonangol, Damer	Odebrecht	Gesterra, Odebrecht	25,000 arable, 39,000 – 42,000, or 70,000 ⁴⁵¹	\$750m	7,400 ⁴⁵² or 9,000 ⁴⁵³	Sugar 3,100 Electricity 20MW Ethanol 3,500m ³	1,600 expect 5,000
Quizenga	Corn, beans	Deutsche Bank, Spain	ABD, Globaltec Des-arrollos e Ingenieria	Gesterra	30,000	\$56m (2010) +	Maize <2,600 Beans <300 (2013-4)* Maize ~8,000? (2014-15) ⁴⁵⁴		33

Sources: ANGOP, Diário da Republica, www.gesterra-angola.com/, EXAME, *=projection⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵⁰ Only 882 há were mentioned as being planted for the second season, and a diminution in the first season due to “insuficiente agricultural mans” - ANGOP (2015) ‘Mais de 800 hectares de milho plantados na fazenda Pungo Andongo,’ March 24.

⁴⁵¹ Filho, A. (2014) ‘1ª usina de açúcar de Angola é do Brasil e tem até roubo de cana por macaco,’ UOL Aug 29.

⁴⁵² Canal Rural (2014) ‘Equipe do Canal Rural conhece instalações da Biocom em Angola,’ Aug 26, <http://www.canalrural.com.br/noticias/programas/equipe-canal-rural-conhece-instalacoes-biocom-angola-8205>.

⁴⁵³ Fiidalgo, Jaime (2015) ‘Odebrecht: 30 anos de obra feita,’ Exame, April 9.

⁴⁵⁴ ANGOP (2015) ‘Fazendas do Pólo Agro-industrial de Capanda ligadas por estradas,’ April 11.

⁴⁵⁵ <http://jornaldeeconomia.sapo.pt/infraestrutura/malanje-vai-transformar-se-em-celeiro>;

‘Angolan bioenergy company produces 3,100 tons of sugar,’ MacauHub, December 31st, 2014, <http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/2014/12/31/angolan-bioenergy-company-produces-3100-tons-of-sugar/>.

5.2 Elaboration of the Kapanda Growth Pole in the Socialist Period

Kapanda illustrates how the ambitious dreams of socialist agro-industrial transformation were formulated and then undermined for many years by war, only to be revived in new guises in the post-war period, giving the project a particularly logistical nature.

Kapanda began as a high-profile priority project illustrating the increasing importance of Brazil in Angola's development, and notions of regional development would emerge from the Brazilian side too. The man negotiating the oil deals with Brazil was Angola's Energy and Petroleum Minister (1981-1986), Pedro 'Loy' van Dunem, who was touted in the mid-1980s as the number two person in the MPLA.⁴⁵⁶ When the Kapanda contract was signed in 1984, Petrobras had recently won a bid to prospect offshore, and the joint hydropower and petropower celebrations illustrate that Angola's oil activities have long been bound up in complex, multi-stranded geo-political and geo-economic relations. The importance of the logistics aspects of Kapanda is illustrated by the fact that, on the other Russian side of the project, the 1984 delegation was headed by Lopo do Nascimento, the Planning Minister who had also been closely involved with internal trade since 1977 (see Chapter 6).

The integrated linkages aspect of Kapanda were also influenced by Brazil, which was growing increasingly influential in Angola as a purchaser of oil, supplier of credit, implementer of projects and services, and exporter of consumer and heavy goods.⁴⁵⁷ Brazil had important experience with studies and projects of regional growth poles, and it was apparently Brazilians who helped push this aspect rather than more modest earlier plans for upgrading the lines and generators at the smaller Cambambe hydro-electric dam closer to Luanda.⁴⁵⁸

It is in relation to this heavy emphasis in the 1980s on material and economic connections and regional development that current KAIP activities can only be really understood. The

⁴⁵⁶ In July 1982 van Dunem traveled to Brazil for the inaugural meeting of the 'Brazilian-Angolan Joint Commission,' and then announced a deal for continuing cooperation on oil prospecting in Angola. See BBC (1982) 'Account of Angolan Minister's Remarks in Brazil,' SWB, July 13. Several months later, Kapanda was announced. According to the Manager of the Kapanda project, van Dunem was "one of the great impellers for the construction of Kapanda." (2004) 'Interview with Jose Sonnemberg Fernandes, Director General of GAMEK,' Sep 6, <http://www.pressnet-dc.com/angola/intgamek.asp>.

⁴⁵⁷ As the New York Times observed in 1985: "In Angola, Brazilians are drilling for oil, repairing telephone lines, rewiring power systems, maintaining freight trains and selling food, films and trucks. This two-way trade jumped from \$4 million in 1973 to \$230 million in 1984. Brazil is now Angola's third largest trading partner, after the United States and the Netherlands ... Angolans are discussing the possibilities of contracting with Brazilian companies to set up a car assembly plant here, to rehabilitate housing, to repair elevators and to restore Luanda's garbage collection system ... For Angola's war effort, the Brazilian subsidiaries of Volvo and Saab-Scania sold about 750 trucks to the Angolan Defense Ministry in 1984 for \$32.6 million. The Angolans also bought 250 freight cars for the Benguela railroad in 1984 and have signed a contract for the maintenance of rolling stock." (1985) 'Angola's Brazilian Connection: Surging Trade,' The New York Times, January 6. In July 1986 Angola's trade minister announced three lines of credit, including \$280 million for Kapanda. In August 1987, Brazil granted Angola another \$100 million in credit to be repaid with 20,000 bpd in oil. This debt was rescheduled in July 1988, with Angola then signing an agreement for 20,000 bpd (again).

⁴⁵⁸ A Brazilian manager at Odebrecht noted "In that epoch, the Angolans were interested in the transmission line and improvement of the Camambe [sic] dam. To prioritize Capanda was an arduous political task, not only ours [Odebrecht] and the Soviets', but by the whole Brazilian government. In Angola, there wasn't actually an energy deficit and, for this reason, all the arguments utilized to call attention to Capanda were based in the question of the impact that the work would have for the country in terms of the multiplier effect, similar to what had occurred in the Brazilian NorthEast, with the Paulo Afonso [1955 hydro-electric dam] construction" (Hazin & Baiardi 1997: 116-7).

contemporary aspects that require contextualization include the involvement of high-level officials with personal financial stakes in some of KAIP's plantation projects. Most notable is the 30% share in the sugar plantation by a company held by key figures, comprising the current Vice President, Manuel Vicente (who at the time headed Sonangol), the General Kopelipa in charge of the National Reconstruction Office, and another General with extensive business interests. Questions about the illicitness of parts of Kapanda were raised in a few pages about Biocom in an online 26-page report 'The Angolan Presidency: Epicenter of Corruption,' by anti-corruption campaigner Rafael Marques in 2010. I briefly discussed Kopelipa in the previous chapter, but it is here worth considering the proposition that Vicente's involvement ought not be understood simply in terms of personal enrichment and legal conflicts of interest, but rather also in the sense of 30 years of close involvement in Kapanda and a realpolitik understanding of the high-stakes commitments necessary to leverage private investment.

What accounts such as Marques' do not mention or appreciate is that Vicente began work with SONEFE, the electricity agency involved in Kapanda during the height of the attempted socialist transformation long ago in 1981 at the age of 25, and saw firsthand the plans for the expansive project emerge and then be thwarted by war. He worked at the electricity agency for six years, starting out as an Engineer in the Projects Department's electricity transmission systems division. He then received his degree in 1983 in Electrotechnical engineering (on High Power Systems) from the University of Angola. Vicente's experience with oil also grew from this period, because from 1984 to 1991, arguably Vicente's formative years, a single Ministry encompassed both Energy and Petroleum.⁴⁵⁹ In 1985, after the Kapanda accord had been signed, Vicente went to Brazil for a training course on Substations and Transmission Lines with a Brazilian contractor for Kapanda.⁴⁶⁰ Vicente's work on transmission lines was all the more important given the UNITA attacks on dams and electricity lines during the 1980s.⁴⁶¹ Two years later, in 1987, he had become the Director of the Technical Department of the Ministry of Energy and Petroleum, and told the press that Kapanda would still indeed produce 520 MW.⁴⁶² Electricity was seen then as key not just for the growing population in Luanda, but also to revive and restructure the old colonial industrial factories clustered around Luanda.

Years later, Vicente subsequently became president of the state oil company, and in that capacity returned to approve Sonangol's participation in the Biocom sugar project at Kapanda, a project in which he was reportedly also a private stakeholder. Likely knowing that in the colonial era, the original hydro-electric dam likewise involved close connections between political figures and the construction and management firm, Vicente's personal involvement in the project may have also provided a signal to the technically competent Odebrecht that state

⁴⁵⁹ The nationalization of Sonefe had recently been completed with compensation payments in oil to Portugal and with promises of purchases of dam equipment from Portuguese firms. The Energy-Petroleum organizational linkage was perhaps justified on the basis of some practical linkages also. Both sub-sectors involved large foreign cooperation projects, petroleum employee and industrial compounds required electricity, and gas turbines were also mounted in Luanda, Cabinda and elsewhere to provide cities with electricity.

⁴⁶⁰ Furnas, a division of the state's electricity holding company Electrobras.

⁴⁶¹ UNITA attacks cut power to Luanda from the lines from Cambambe in October and November 1984 and March 1985 (supply of electricity for Luanda's water pumping and refinery had to be shifted towards the closer Mabubas station 60 km north of Luanda, also to be upgraded with French aid).

⁴⁶² There were talks of the Angola-USSR joint subcommission for energy – talks on Kapanda dam, which was reported to permit other agricultural and industrial projects. The joint commission would also discuss cooperation in energy systems and a report on the national enterprise for electrical construction, Encel.

support could be counted upon and it should go ahead and invest. The point is not to say that illicit activities did not occur, let alone to excuse them, but rather to better understand the broader dynamics of which it might be one part.

KAIP's current incarnation has been shaped by the ways that war both disrupted the fulfillment of Kapanda's promised agricultural schemes in the 1980s and 1990s, and also influenced a generation of agricultural officers in Malanje province that had been trying to revive and restructure colonial agro-industry and who are now prominent in the Kapanda project.

Kapanda's current emphasis on large-scale modern mechanized plantations harkens back to these times. As a result of the wide and long experience with mechanization in the province in the late colonial era after the 1961 revolts (discussed in Chapter 7), as well as during the period of socialist cooperation in the 1980s, many of the key figures in Malanje have experience with the issue, and many of the key figures in the agriculture sector in Angola have experience in Malanje and/or with mechanization. In addition, many of the positions dealing with mechanization in Malanje and the growth poles are staffed by high-level figures. For example, the provincial director of agriculture in Malanje, Joao Manuel, was formerly the Malanje Province director of the state tractor company Mecanagro. At a mid-level as well, many of the agriculture department and extension officers have education and training from Cuba (and more recently Brazil) in mechanization.

Likewise, the emphasis on capable transport from the Kapanda plantations also has older roots. The present manager of the initial Fazenda Pungo Andongo at Kapanda, had in the 1980s tried to use his colonial agricultural training in his new post-independence duties managing the Cacuso agricultural station supporting the socialist state units and cooperatives that had taken over the area's old colonial plantations. Whereas his work then was stymied by war – in 1985, for example, UNITA torched his Cacuso station's large East German IFA truck that had been used to distribute consumer goods and agricultural inputs and to pick up harvests – by 2009 he could rely on a Brazilian-Chinese fleet of trucks. Because of tractors' multi-functionality, nostalgia for transports is tied also to mechanization. The current head of Gesterra and the vast mechanization program had promoted mechanization largely in vain in various capacities in the 1980s, including as Malanje's Provincial Director of Agriculture in Malanje at the height of war in 1987. Pinto had tried to marshal the old colonial tractors and the new Eastern Bloc ones for state and cooperative fields, only to have them appropriated and destroyed by soldiers from both sides.⁴⁶³ These experiences are important, and should be seen in relation to – and not be underestimated or overshadowed by – these officials' related business interests.⁴⁶⁴

Angola was forced to seek a total of about \$300-400 million in additional oil-backed credit from Brazil for Kapanda after UNITA, in symbolically and materially important attacks over many years, destroyed some of the electricity lines and project infrastructure and captured and

⁴⁶³ The spectacular sorts of dreams of spatial models that have arisen from the sequence of revolutionary socialist independence disrupted by war and followed by petro-boom are illustrated nicely in Pinto's multipurpose "Dream Space" complex amidst the mango plantations on the outskirts of Luanda. See Chapter 7.

⁴⁶⁴ According to news articles and the *Diário da República*, Pinto also sits on the board of Campotec, which has provided Indian-made Mahindra tractors to Mecanagro, which is also a minority shareholder of Campotec. Pinto also serves as the Chairman of Gesterra, which is a major purchaser of tractors. Pinto participates in a number of other businesses, including some with a nephew of the President, as well as more than one with former Ministers of Agriculture, one of which has provided tractor services to the expensive state-funded Aldeia Nova project.

killed workers.⁴⁶⁵ In July 1997 major repairs began, but fighting continued in April 1999, with attacks on Kapanda workers and on 46 vehicles of material traveling outside Luanda the next year. And, after UNITA's siege on Malanje, in mid-2001 UNITA attacked government forces on the Kwanza River and a Kapanda convoy, leaving 12 dead and 10 injured.⁴⁶⁶

These narratives of the government rebuilding – or surpassing – the old problematic but promising colonial structures that were destroyed during the war are replayed on news almost constantly. Yet they are often dismissed or mocked by critics as misleading propoaganda (or covers for illicit enrichment). It is only by appreciating the extensive colonial presence, the efforts at socialist restructuring, and the war devastation – as I try to emphasize with a narrative grounded in Malanje – that we can understand why such efforts have taken on their problematic forms, and yet still resonate popularly.

Kapanda is also indicative of broader patterns of reconstruction in relation to the securitization during the war (on securitization of the economy and other projects more broadly, see Chapters 4, 6, and 7). The marketing arrangements for the produced maize flour were not clear, but subsequent announcements mentioned the state supermarket chain Nosso Super, the army and police, and mining and cattle projects.⁴⁶⁷

Finally, Kapanda is indicative of the way private investment has been embraced by still strong state agencies in order to implement projects that were both undermined and securitized during the war. A key figure here is the current manager of KAIP, Carlos Antonio Fernandes – a tall, intimidating barrel-chested figure, prone to wearing dark tinted glasses (an eye is extropic), he by now has distinguished bright white hair indicating years of experience. He is a serious worldly character, experienced in food, war, wealth, mobility and politics. What he could not accomplish 40 years ago in terms of reviving and restructuring Angola's colonial agro-industry, he now seems to seek, by hook or by crook, to get it done.

As director of the current Kapanda agro-industrial growth pole project begun in 2004 (which he helped broker), he has marshaled in new ways his experience and familiarity with military, transport, and agricultural logistics to a project that he originally helped initiate decades ago. Immediately after independence in November 1975, Fernandes became Secretary of State for Agriculture in the Ministry of Planning and Economic Coordination. Several years later, he left for Russia to become Ambassador, and then at the height of the Cold War battles in Angola in which logistics were economically and militarily strategic he served as Angola's Secretary of

⁴⁶⁵ In addition to its historic and symbolic importance, Kapanda's airport was used by the state oil company's aeronautics division (UNITA was also directly attacking onshore oil facilities on the coast). The capture also provided UNITA with a forward air base. Several Brazilians and Russians were taken hostage, and then later released.

⁴⁶⁶ In supporting Angola's reconstruction of Kapanda, Brazil also sought to ensure it continued receiving needed oil, which had stopped intermittently. In 1999, for example, Angolan oil shipments to Brazil were interrupted, prompting a trip by Foreign Minister Lampreia to Luanda. Angola had reportedly been sending eight shipments each year of 900,000 barrels each, under a 1995 agreement. (1999) 'Oil shipments to resume,' *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1. As construction on Kapanda continued, oil continued to play a strategic role in relations between Brazil and Angola. The MPLA government needed Brazil for support, first given the decline in Soviet support by 1989, then for elections in 1992, and then to survive and defeat the UNITA insurgency from 1992-1995 and 1997-2002. Angola sought revenue, credit, and infrastructure, and Brazil sought sources of oil as well as construction and diamond contracts. These various demands played out in uncertain negotiations.

⁴⁶⁷ See <http://www.sodepacangola.com/>.

State for International Cooperation and Minister of Transport. Then, remarkably, after another brief stint as Minister of Agriculture, he served briefly on sugar-industry commission and directed Angola's foreign and private investment agencies for more than a decade (1999-2011) during Angola's oil and construction boom. Promoting private foreign investment may have been *somewhat* of an ideological reversal, but it was a position in which he could draw on his high-level international experience to accomplish the grand old agrarian dreams, now through capitalist sub-contracting rather than the unsuccessful socialist countertrade of the lean Cold War years.

5.3 Conclusion

In order to distinguish popular awareness of, and appreciation of, elite spatial reconstruction plans and projects, such as Kapanda, from the projects' actual limited and mixed effects on smallholders' livelihoods, we have to understand the actual transformations in smallholders' livelihoods in more grounded detail – this is the task of the chapters that follow.

The other chapters in Part II complement this Chapter to help better understand not only the backgrounds and experiences of key figures such as Fernandes and Vicente, and projects such as Kapanda, but rather also much broader, diverse and specific popular social experiences of space. These experiences often appear throughout various cultural icons and discussions. To take but one example, the final contest of Angola's TV version of the talent show 'Pop Idol' featured renditions of one old classic song about land and another classic about the Benguela rail (translated in Appendix I).⁴⁶⁸

That this Benguela railway – like its counterpart to Malanje – was sabotaged by liberation fighters during the colonial war, and then by UNITA after independence (amongst numerous roads and bridges), also made for a broad resonance of the MPLA's 2008 election campaign slogan – 'The Sure Route' (*O Caminho Seguro*).⁴⁶⁹ This multivalent spatial slogan both looked forward to promise a reliable future and invoked the government's past recent years rebuilding of infrastructure attacked by UNITA and destroyed during the war, with such infrastructure featuring prominently in state news and MPLA campaign ads (see Figure 5.3).

Likewise, television and radio programs on reconstruction were introduced by a song about reconstruction by the Angolan singer Yuri da Cunha, who is generally popular with old and young, urban and rural audiences. The song does not appear to be on any of his albums and it is plausible that the song was commissioned by the government and/or party. The song, '*Sempre a Subir*,' or 'Always Rising,' was recorded in 2006 with a lively *semba* style and was played frequently on state television and radio spots and programs for many years, including around the elections in 2008:

⁴⁶⁸ See Appendix I. The neo-traditional rail song was 'Omboio,' made popular by the pop star Perola. See Perola, Omboio, 4:47, Posted on July 3, 2010 by Tru Africa, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Grc8rHTG81s>. The land song was 'Meninos de Huambo,' based on the poem by Rui Mingas. For the performances, see 'Angola Encanta Final Massissa (1/2),' <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iY0GfHe-F5M>, and 'Angola Encanta Final Rui (2/2),' <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CxmzoA7zXbE>.

⁴⁶⁹ Cf. Morier-Genoud (2012).

With all the difficulty
We return back to work
With all that willingness
We are overcoming

Com toda a dificuldade
Voltamos a trabalhar
Com toda essa vontade
Estamos a superar.

There are so many projects, I don't know where
we'll stop
The railroad's whistle has already started
working again
There's lots of track, lots of people working
The route is still long, it is
But we will arrive there.

É tanta obra, não sei onde vamos parar
O apito do comboio já voltou a funcionar
É muito trilho, muita gente a trabalhar
O caminho ainda é longo, é.
Mas vamos chegar lá.

It's already in Luanda, and in Benguela also
And later it arrives in Malanje and Huambo also
There are so many projects, Angola is changing
It's very healthy, industries are functioning.
Moreover in Cabinda, it's Angola in movement
It is the nation working,
It is the people confiding.

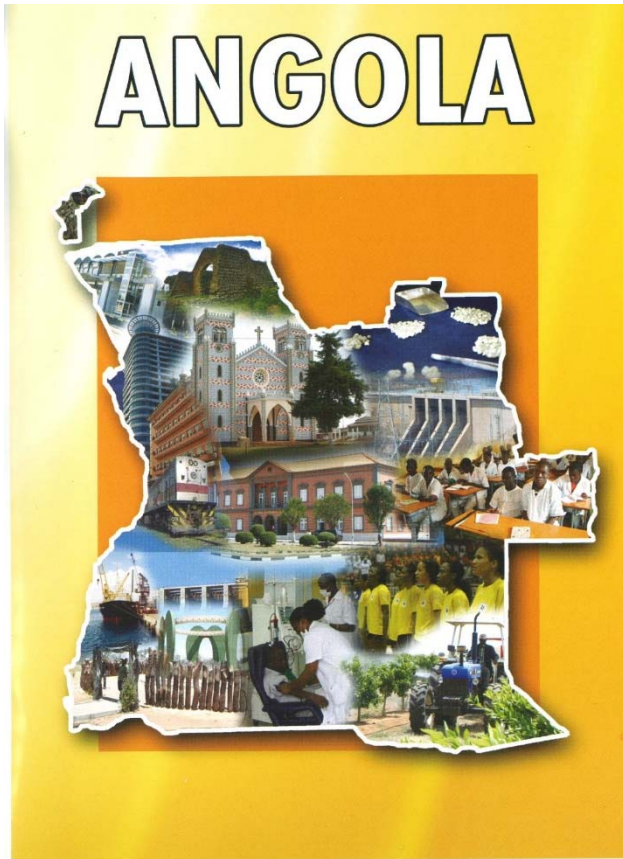
Já está em Luanda, e em Benguela também
E logo chega em Malange e no Huambo também.
É tanta obra, é Angola a mudar
É muito salubre, indústrias a funcionar.
Mais em Cabinda, é Angola em movimento
É a nação a trabalhar,
É o povo a confiar.

Our markets, schools and hospitals
Little by little, they're becoming nice!
For the people to use.

Nossos mercados, escolas e hospitais
Aos poucos, estão a ficar fixe!
Para o povo utilizar.

To understand the broad appeal and significance of this song throughout Angola, we have to understand the long and contested history of infrastructure use, construction, and destruction, which was introduced in the preceding chapter and is analyzed in the next chapter with particular regard to the vivid experiences of post-independence disruption and destruction of the extensive agro-industrial infrastructure and marketing established in the colonial period. Kapanda was likewise planned to feed in a formal, logistical way into the post-war reconstruction via the PRESILD shops that would reestablish the integrated agro-industrial markets obliterated during the war.

Figure 5.3: MPLA Images, Videos and Text Emphasizing ‘Sure Route’ (*O Caminho Seguro*)



MPLA, o Caminho Seguro para uma Angola Melhor



Sources: MPLA (2008); https://escolaprof.files.wordpress.com/2008/09/_outdoor-menino.jpg; MPLA Angola (2012) ‘Caminhos,’ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6AqGcb-SbtM>, uploaded June 17.

Chapter 6 : Real Cassava Markets from War Dissolution to the PRESILD Markets

The key argument in this chapter is that for cassava farmers in Western Malanje, contemporary state reconstruction efforts on the issue of agro-food marketing bear a problematic emphasis on formal logistics and unrealistic regulations because such efforts use military- and neoliberal-era contracting to resurrect socialist period goals of reviving and restructuring late-colonial integrated, nationally extensive agro-industrial markets that had been deliberately destroyed during the wars and then devastatingly abandoned during liberalization. In short, state approaches to agro-food marketing, and the problems with such approaches, are related to specific conjunctures of geo-historical processes, and not only simple domination by creole elite, as suggested by conventional interpretations of Angolan political economy.⁴⁷⁰

To illustrate some of the problems with the state's logistic and regulatory approaches to markets, I begin the chapter with an anecdote and considerations about cassava marketing based on my experiences around Kuzuka and Mwanya. The formal logistics approach lacks the flexibility in hours, layout, prices, locations and so on, while also not addressing the challenges of scale, credit, and predictability that smallholder farmers face in selling their cassava. Existing regulations are overly detailed and reinforce these formal aspects, while at the same time they don't address state deficiencies, abuses, and unequal burdens, and even exacerbate inequality by enabling only those with the capital, connections, skills, time, money, or knowledge to get through the bureaucracy. Some of these aspects are rooted in colonial approaches to agro-industrial markets and trade regulations, but these in turn were modified during the post-independence periods of socialism and war.

In the second section of this Chapter, I lay out a precise chronology focused on Western Malanje of how the post-independence government tried to revive and restructure the agro-industrial marketing system but was thwarted by expanding and intensifying war in the 1980s. The chapter's third section broadly charts how, after such devastation of Angola's economy, partial liberalization was leveraged through the use of international credit in a politically tumultuous context. The state's approach to markets was not, contrary to some views, just to superficially adopt liberalization after 1989 and then jettison it during the post-war oil boom as part of adaptive strategies of extraversion. The destruction of the agro-food marketing infrastructure was a deliberate strategy deployed by UNITA in order to put pressure on the MPLA and derive a more advantageous negotiating position.⁴⁷¹ During the Portuguese colonial counter-insurgency campaigns – in which UNITA had participated – the tactics of starvation as a weapon of war had been deployed.⁴⁷² Parts of UNITA were also perfectly aware of the importance and structure of the country's marketing infrastructure, with UNITA's key economic policy analyst and 'shadow'

⁴⁷⁰ See Chapter 2 for a statement of this general approach. My argument and the interpretations for Angola overlap but also differ from classic works on these issues. Cf. Harriss-White (1999) and Crow (2001), while key contributions for Africa include Clark (1994), Berry (1993), MacGaffey (1987, 1991), Guyer (1987, 1997), Jayne et al. (2002), Ponte (2002), Watts (1983) and Oya (2001). Cf. Bates (1981), van de Walle (1990), Lipton (1976), Varshney (1993), Baker (1990), and Bernstein and Oya (2014).

⁴⁷¹ Weigert (2011).

⁴⁷² On the spatiality of colonial counter-insurgency tactics, see Brinkman (2005). On collaboration, see Minter (1994) and Gleijeses (2002).

Finance Minister Fatima Roque, having served in the colonial administration's last years as national director of internal trade.⁴⁷³ From the get-go then, in UNITA's charge towards Luanda in November 1974, Savimbi had declared, "Luanda will be completely isolated ... without food, electricity or water."⁴⁷⁴ Likewise, during the return to fighting after 1992, Human Rights Watch (1994: 108) observed that "UNITA has consistently used starvation of civilians as a method of combat." Such years of experiences during war and liberalization are key to understanding the logistical and regulatory post-war reconstruction efforts on agro-food marketing that I briefly mention at the start of the Chapter, and which I discuss more fully in the last section of the Chapter through an analysis of the PRESILD project.

This chapter on markets builds on the previous one on Kapanda in order to show how contemporary marketing arrangements also result from conjunctures of colonialism, war and liberalization, but in different, specific and complimentary ways than with roads. The current chapter builds on chapter 4 on roads by showing how the war-related disruption of socialist plans as well as the security forces' involvement in logistics and reconstruction have shaped marketing. Conversely, I illustrate how experiences with real markets have also shaped infrastructure use and construction, namely through the shift to night trade, the squeeze on actual local commercial reinvestment in physical markets, and the subsequent renewal of state efforts to build more physical markets. The current chapter also contributes to the discussion of agrarian structure in Chapter 7 in four ways by showing: how contemporary marketing has emerged out of experiences with colonial settler-based agricultural marketing, how marketing is still shaped by persistent inequalities in land, how marketing structures were part of a broader administrative spatial hierarchical classification, and how the capture of surplus in contemporary unequal marketing structures also reduces smallholder re-investment in land.

Some aspects of the apparent paradox of unequal trade despite decades of efforts to strengthen agro-food markets became salient to me on an otherwise boring evening when a middle-aged woman from Luanda who was purchasing cassava in the villages around Kota was stuck overnight in the town as she waited for her rented truck to return from the countryside.⁴⁷⁵ We sat and chatted across the street from the newly built small covered market in Kota, which in this situation was of no use at all. This predicament suggested to me pertinent issues of mobility, gender, age, class, and social networks that were glossed in the National Rural Commerce Program's abstract logic that marketing would flourish once the program had built more physical covered markets like the one in Kota (which was actually locked at night and had only small unfinished areas for bulk storage).

A description of the very small trade conducted at the covered market built in Kota for the commerce program illustrates its limitations. A handful of women sold very small amounts of food at the market during the day-time. They had moved there from their previous location

⁴⁷³ Roque states that she had been a member of the MPLA but switched to UNITA in 1974 after conversing with Agostinho Neto and having "felt that the model of construction of Angola that I wanted was not what was being implemented." See (2013) 'Fatima Roque,' Sabado, Dec. 13, http://www.sabado.pt/Iframes/detalhe_multimedia.aspx?contentName=Multimedia&contentID=10107, accessed April 2015.

⁴⁷⁴ Gleijes (2002: 314).

⁴⁷⁵ It was not clear to me why she had left the truck in the first place, but I was told elsewhere that traders would often travel to different villages to try to line up sales in advance, so it is possible that she was doing that while the truck was stopped in one particular village awaiting people to load their sacks.

spreading their goods on cloths on the ground a few meters away under the shade of a small old tree along the side of the road. This was not a major cassava or horticultural marketing point by any means. In the morning in Kota, I would often go to the market to buy some food for breakfast – there might be one woman there with a few bunches of bananas and perhaps small bags of dried hot peppers, or a young girl with some freshly baked bread, someone with a bucket of avocados, or often a large senior woman selling dough, fish or chicken that had been fried. But that’s it. Some students from the nearby primary and secondary school would also often come for a snack during break. A bustling center of revived rural commerce it was most definitely not.

The covered market was built in Kota presumably because Kota was seen as a priority location since it was the comuna capital and therefore was accessible and centrally located with regard to the surrounding villages. There was, then, a spatial-administrative logic to establishing the market there. However, what this did not take into consideration was the fact that Kota had been established as the comuna capital during the era of colonial settler plantations, and it was centrally located with regard to these plantations (relatively small in number compared to smallholders’ thousands of fields) that were situated on the main roads. Constructing the market at Kota was not based primarily for purposes of patronage and profit, but instead followed the priorities of the administrative and commercial plantation structure set in the colonial era. It thereby was of very limited use for the present needs of numerous smallholders in the area. Rather than one relatively large central market for facilitating exchanges, what the vast number of poorer smallholder farmers required was a network of more accessible, numerous small secure warehouses served by purchasers with predictable times and prices.

Likewise, the contrast between the state’s other major rural commerce effort – the massive but failed formal PRESILD supermarket network – and the actual ways that cassava marketing was in practice shaped by political regulatory connections also became evident to me as the trader repeatedly glanced at her phone to check the time, remarking that she had been hoping to accompany the cassava back to Luanda that night in order to avoid the police check points. I sensed some unease from her and amongst people around the bar about her having to find a last-minute place to stay overnight, but also a recognition that she was wealthy enough to be a trader and reside in Luanda and should be accorded respect, and anyways likely had connections in the area to prevent being harassed too much. Her contradictory and precarious position was further indicated as she walked around trying to get a better signal on her mobile phone to try to call the driver. Although wealthy enough to hire the male drivers, she was not wealthy enough to buy her own truck and was still reliant on the men, and hence subject to the risk that they could flee with the thousands of dollars’ worth of cassava that she’d paid for. So there we sat, waiting on all these issues, across from the new locked market, despite the millions of dollars spent on supermarkets.

In sum, this anecdote illustrates some of difficulties in cassava marketing, which have been unresolved and even exacerbated by the state’s rural commerce program and supermarket project PRESILD (Restructuring Program of the Logistics and Distribution System). The next sections of this chapter first analyze in more depth the mechanisms by which the current unequal and exploitative marketing system operates in relation to the structure of trade, infrastructure and state interventions in rural commerce. The following section examines the rise, reform, and decline of socialist efforts during the war years in order to root both attractiveness of the recent PRESILD supermarket logistics model, and the early beginnings of the partially liberalized but

unsatisfactory and unequal marketing system that also fed into PRESILD dreams. The third section illustrates how the PRESILD supermarket project revived older socialist logistics models in a new guise in order to purportedly address the inadequacies of marketing, but in practice did not remedy the problems, possibly exacerbated them, and then collapsed.

This chapter on marketing contributes to the overall broader argument of the dissertation by asserting that, rather than a continuity of domination by coastal creole middlemen, there have actually been widespread and important experiences with efforts to restructure markets, quite serious challenges posed by war and colonial agrarian legacies, and a great deal of complexity in the actual practices of marketing.

6.1 Real Cassava Markets, Regulation and Evasion

Official national statistics show only an unclear and relatively smaller increase since the Luanda-Malanje highway and railroad were completed in late 2008 (see Graph 6.1 below). Prior to this, the statistics show cassava production increasing greatly since the end of the war, but the statistics are aggregate and somewhat dubious, and much of this increase has been due to stability, rural repatriation, and the resumption of farming, rather than increased market incentives related to road construction. What I argue here is that the lack of greater cassava supply response is partly due to the fact that smallholder cassava farmers receive relatively less when they sell their cassava due to the unequal economic structure of the sector and the political-security regulation of cassava transport, which I describe in the pages below.

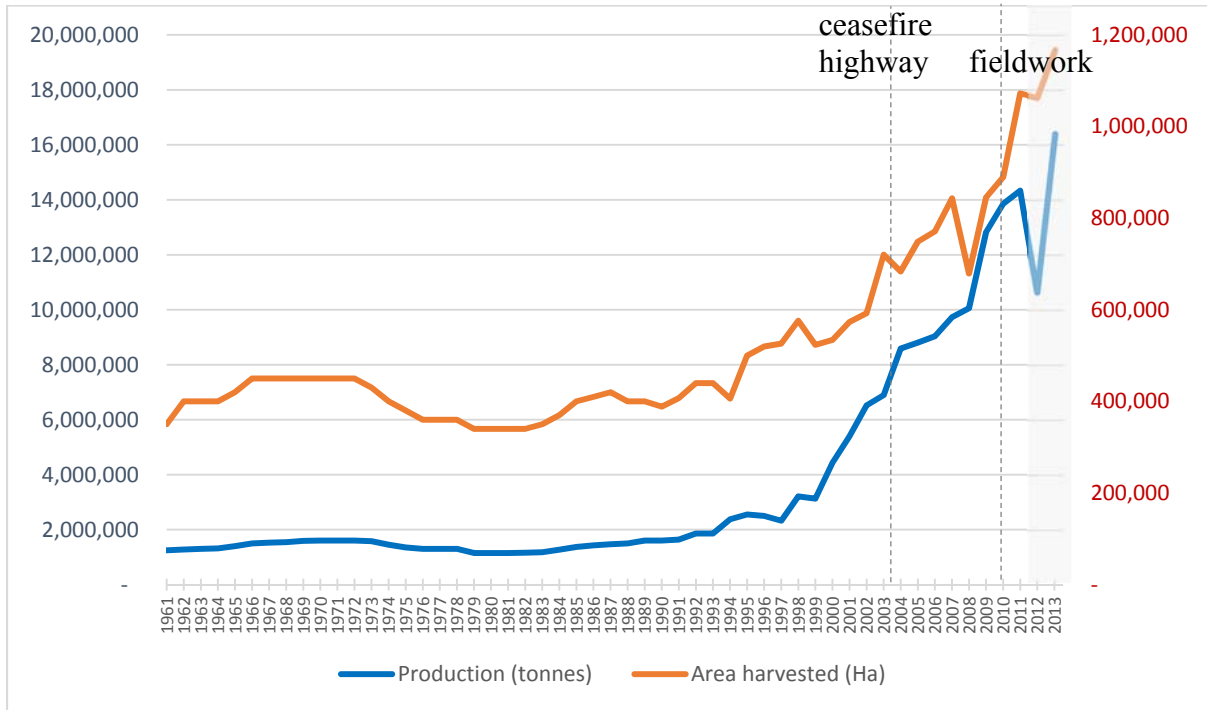
My argument stands in contrast to the frequent claims made by the government and international development agencies that the re-building of transport infrastructure will spark major increases in agricultural production. Such long-standing claims have also been part of academic debates about ‘vents for surplus,’ as well as policy debates about the ‘structural’ constraints hindering farmers’ supply responses to improved prices during structural adjustment.⁴⁷⁶ But the claims are also part of the broader Angolan state propaganda described in the last chapter around transport reconstruction, which center on the notion of better transport fostering agricultural marketing, as illustrated in the following newspaper cartoon about the Luanda-Malanje train, published on the 50th anniversary of the 1961 events in the Baixa de Kassanje. Part of the captions reads, “traders are already thinking ahead, because with the regular train trips, the business perspectives are excellent.”

Yet when smallholder farmers wish to sell their cassava, they encounter an economic structure of cassava marketing that favors buyers with capital and business connections, as well as favoring large sellers. In the area around Kota, nearly all (96%) of cassava sales were made to intermediary traders, rather than direct market sales by farmers or farmer associations.⁴⁷⁷ When a

⁴⁷⁶ On vent for surplus, see Hogenson (1976) and Austin (2014). On supply response, see Delgado and Mellor (1984). With regard to the US, see also discussion about Cronon’s (1991) work (Page and Walker 1994), as well as more conservative railroad impact studies (O'Brien 1977).

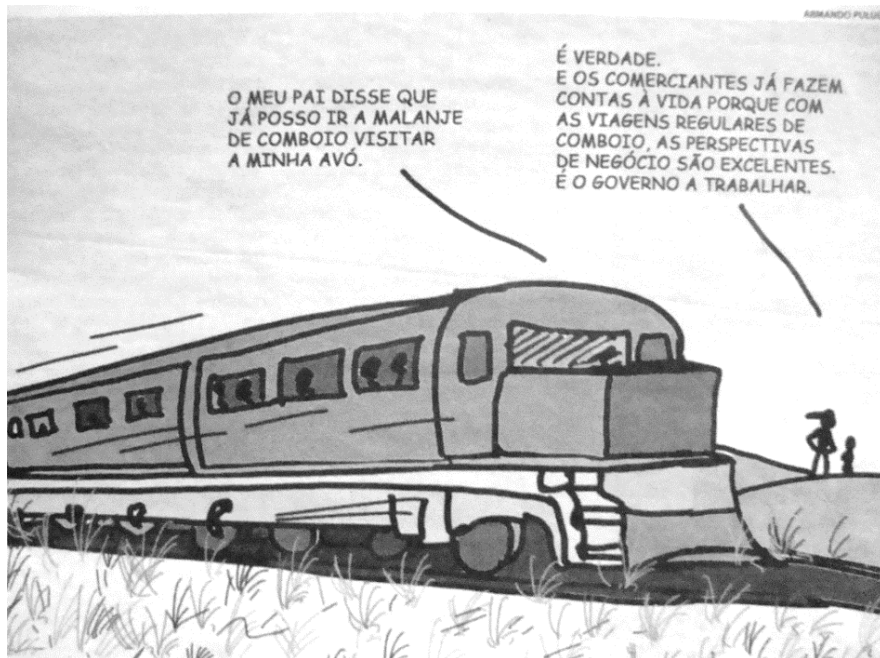
⁴⁷⁷ Baptista (2013). If farmers urgently need extra cash they can and sometimes do simply put a sack or two on their bicycle, or in the back of a taxi trunk, and take it themselves to the city markets where prices are higher, but such time and costs are significant in relation to the sale price they receive for that small quantity.

Graph 6.1: Official National Cassava Production (tns) (blue, left axis) and Area (ha) (orange, right axis)



Source: FAOSTAT

Figure 6.1: Luanda-Malanje Railroad Comic



Source: Jornal de Economia, Jan 4, 2011

purchaser can be found, the farm-gate price around Kota was equivalent to roughly between 33 and 44 kwanzas per kilogram in the low season of May-June and high season from September to March, respectively.⁴⁷⁸ Farmers could fetch better prices *if* they were able to organize their own bulk transport to the main markets.

However, while cassava flour is widely sold in the retail stores and main open markets in cities, as well as informal markets in smaller towns, there appears to be some concentration in the bulk purchasing, transport, and milling of cassava for the cities. In Malanje or Luanda the purchase price can be double or more that of the Kota farm-gate price, ranging around 60-70 akz/kg in Malanje and 72-89 akz/kg in Luanda. So, in the villages where I worked, cassava farmers would wait for purchasers from Luanda or Malanje to pass through the village with trucks and drivers that purchasers had rented. Sometimes these purchasers could be called by cell phone if there was enough cassava ready to fill the truck.

In essence then, the rural cassava markets were buyers' markets. A major part of the reason seems to be the heavy capital needed to coordinate shipment. Coordinating a truck often requires a significant chunk of capital up front – roughly \$550-600 for the standard Mitsubishi flatbed to Luanda, and coordinating the 40 sacks, worth roughly \$3-\$4,000, to fill it up. To avoid the up-front requirement, if a village seller has good relations with the truck owner and joint cassava suppliers, they can pay the driver and other farmers *after* all the cassava has been delivered to Luanda and sold over time. That in turn can enable direct retail sales by the bucket-full (rather than the entire sack) and fetch an even higher price. So, greater profits can be had by larger or more frequent sellers, and those who have access to a telephone and good relations with truck drivers and owners and an ability to buy and store cassava from other villagers. Baptista's (2013) survey shows quantitatively that wealthier farmers in the Kota area reported getting bettering prices when selling a given amount of cassava. In addition, for all farmers, sales of larger quantities of cassava fetched better prices – in the villages, when farmers sell large quantities they got prices an average of 27% higher compared with small sales.⁴⁷⁹ For the majority poor, infrequent selling, and often female cassava producers, the market is a buyer's one in which profits go to brokers.⁴⁸⁰

In conjunction with this economically unequal and exploitative structure of cassava marketing, the actual transport of cassava from the countryside to the town and city markets is shaped by

⁴⁷⁸ With regard to the actual sale price of cassava in relation to competing imports, the farmgate and retail prices can also vary considerably, by location, season, year, and by seller and buyer. The actual price at consumption however depends also on milling and cooking costs. Prices reportedly ranged from 15-20/kg in Sept and Oct in Uige, to 85/kg in Luanda in December 2005. In the central region, prices likewise ranged from about 30 in March and April in Bie, to 90 in December in Moxico. Farmgate prices for 2006/7 reportedly averaged 50, and 30 in 2007/8. Ministry of Commerce data reports informal retail prices varying for subsequent years, with national averages of 80 (September 2007), 75 (March 2008), to 97 (April 2009). See: <http://www.minagri.gov.ao/>.

⁴⁷⁹ See Baptista (2013: Table A.5), and see Appendix P for the price-quantity figures. Prices for sales over 500 kg in the villages were 27% higher than prices for selling quantities below 500 kg. The same distinction had an 8% price difference in the city of Malanje.

⁴⁸⁰ People that I spoke with in Muhungua mentioned that they would arrange sales to the city usually only two or three times a year, but it of course varied depending on the size of one's field, among other factors. Also from field observations, there appear to be similar dynamics with selling fresh sweet cassava (directly edible low-cyanide varieties, which are consequently more susceptible to pests). Fresh sales require the means and connections to tightly coordinate with traders so as to ensure that the cassava gets to market without spoiling. It also requires having money, credit or trust to be able to pay or mobilize labor to quickly harvest enough fresh cassava to be accepted by the trader or transporter.

complicated regulations on marketing and transport that allow police at frequent check points to extract bribes, and hence favor traders with political or security force connections, while also prompting some traders without such connections to operate at night in order to avoid check points (and the small benefit of avoiding traffic).

What the trader in Kota that I mentioned in the beginning of the chapter had told me about traveling at night to avoid police was also reiterated to me by other traders, by drivers, by NGO and agriculture staff, and by cassava sellers in the markets in Malanje and Luanda. When I asked the a store clerk at the cassava section of the main Estalagem market in Luanda about cassava transport to the market, she said they came at night, starting from about 6 or 7pm until 3 or 4am. I asked why and she perhaps the roads were more ‘clear’ then. Likewise, when I had visited Mwanya shortly after Christmas, the issue of transport came up in conversation. As I lunched on a bowl of pasta and smoked fish, one man said that motorcycles and small trucks could get to the village – even the pasta that I was eating was from the city! – but, he explained, the problem was the police patrolling the streets. As a result, he went on, the traders were reluctant to come to the villages, because the police could take your vehicle and arrest you if you didn’t have the proper documents in order. I was able to get more confirmation and a different sense of this phenomenon by conducting a systematic count of about 3,000 vehicles over 24 hours at the Malanje highway intersection at Lombe. While results would be expected to vary by day and season, what I saw clearly showed the majority of flatbed trucks carrying goods from Malanje to Luanda did so at night (represented, in the graph on the next page, by the solid red squares).

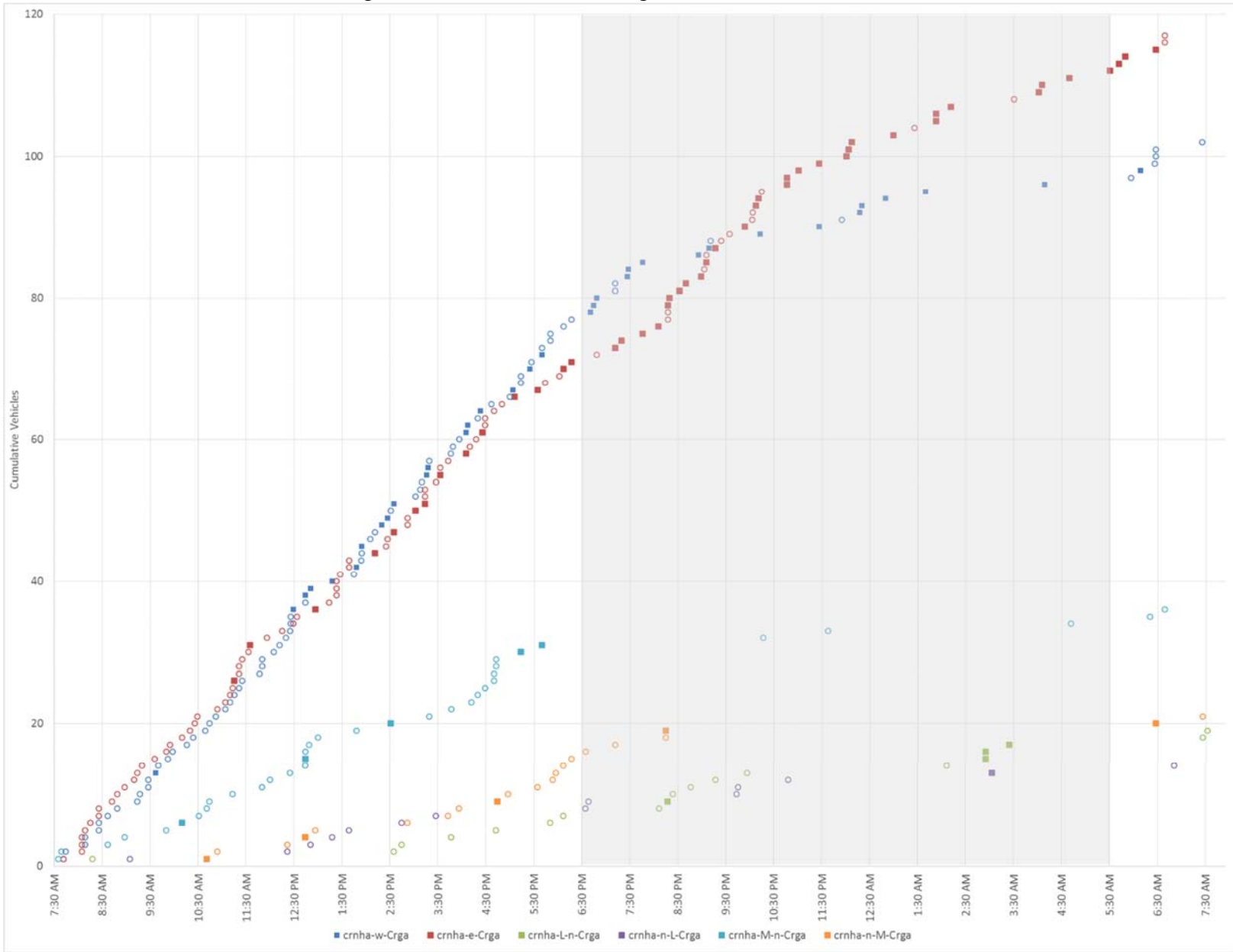
In addition to the ‘normal’ transit papers discussed in the previous chapter, what is also important for traders is that police can check for the required commercial permits or licenses. To transport merchandise – cassava or otherwise – one is required by law to have a license, an “alvará,” specifying the type of merchandise transported. This license is supposed to be obtained from the Ministry of Commerce, but requires costly, uncertain, time-consuming, and complicated paperwork and bureaucratic processes. In addition to having an identification (ID), one must be registered as a business, have a tax ID card, be registered with the statistics office, have a copy of one’s criminal record, and have a letter from an administrative authority.⁴⁸¹ Any of the many forms may or may not be in stock, and must be completed correctly.⁴⁸² The tangled mass of revisions, ambiguities, exceptions and loopholes meant that a pretext for police delay, if not threat, harassment, extortion or detention, could almost always be found.

The effect is several fold. First, it allows police at regular check-points to negotiate with traders lacking official paperwork in order to extract significant bribes and hold up the transit process. Second, it restricts traders to those with the resources to complete the formal paperwork processes. Third, it also allows people to practice trade if they have security or political connections that they can use to get through the license-checking stops.

⁴⁸¹ See World Bank (2014: 22), and see Decree 40/12.

⁴⁸² The government has attempted in recent years to stream line the process through a number of ‘one-stop shops,’ and one can now purportedly get an immediate provisional license for 180 days.

Graph 6.2: Kota Area Truck Trips over 24 Hours



6.1.1 Colonial Roots of Agro-Industrial Markets and Trade Regulations

This form of basic regulation of agricultural trade in Angola results partly from several legacies: lingering socialist measures, reforms of the post-socialist liberalization period, Portuguese colonial regulations stretching back to the early Twentieth Century, and colonial efforts at promoting and regulating commercial trade (often in civilizational rhetoric about overcoming the stranglehold of the debt-barter trade of the Nineteenth Century, as well as the continuance of barter in the 1950s and 1960s as an element fostering subversion).⁴⁸³ Colonial officials believed, for instance, that “Normalization of trade will take away from the enemy’s propaganda the argument that an exchange system is being maintained to which the African is submitted and from which he loses in favor of the merchants of white origin.”⁴⁸⁴ Contemporary legislation refers back directly or indirectly to colonial regulation – the new regulations on commercial licensing in 1998 replaced the early liberalization period ones from 1992. Those, in turn, replaced the regulations from 1982 that built on and responded to legislation from the mid-1960s that emerged in the wake of the post-1961 revolt reforms.⁴⁸⁵ Earlier legislation had also set rules for which sorts of locations were classified as commercial, and how to manage the warehouses for the increasing amounts of agricultural products.⁴⁸⁶ Indeed, some of the colonial laws on public hygiene, mobile hawking, and open-air markets in Luanda and Benguela were introduced well back in the Eighteenth Century.⁴⁸⁷ In sum, although the socialist period differed in key aspects of state marketing and price control, it also rested upon a huge set of colonial regulations and approaches that were variously adapted, ignored, rescinded, and/or continued.

The late colonial period 1961-74 was a particularly key era for the promotion, formation, and expansion of agro-industrial markets in Angola. This growth drew on the already extensive pre-1961 rural commercial economy, which I documented for Malanje in Chapter 3. The promotion of regulated rural markets after 1961 was part of a deliberate state policy of supporting the settler plantations and promoting regional economic development for indigenous Angolans as part of counter-insurgency. Practices of regulatory control of the sale and movement of food was also a key plank in the colonial military’s strategy of combatting the armed liberation movements by trying to ensure they were not being provisioned by local or regional farmers, traders, and/or markets.

As a consequence, the late colonial expansion in rural markets upon which the post-independence socialist period drew was accompanied by careful surveillance, regulations, bureaucracy, and a plethora of paperwork and forms, and not least through statistics that were often publicized. The total number of licensed traders in Angola rose steadily from roughly

⁴⁸³ See esp. Simoes (1972). The 1888 Commercial Code still forms the basis of Angola’s commercial law (e.g. Dias 2011).

⁴⁸⁴ They note also, “Country markets have been very useful for the reorganization of trade in the interior. But we know that the farmer continues to be robbed, although to a lesser extent. He is aware of this, but refrains from saying anything because for the basic necessities of life he needs credit, which he has to pay back at harvest time with usurious interest charged.” (Reuver-Cohen and Jerman 1974: 176).

⁴⁸⁵ See Despacho 49/97, and Resolução 12/97. See Decreto 35/98, 30-1/92, and 28/82, and Diploma Legislativo 3671 of August 27, 1966, and 3543 of March 13, 1965. The immediate post-1961 pieces of legislation were the Diploma Legislativo 3179 of November 1961 and Portaria 12788 of June 1963.

⁴⁸⁶ Henriques (2000). See Diploma Legislativo 945 of 1937, amended in 1948. See also the 1927 Regulations for the Commercial Service in Diploma Legislativo 637, of September 23 1927.

⁴⁸⁷ See Candido (2013), Venancio (1996), Amaral (1968), Pantoja (2000).

20,000 in 1966 to roughly 30,000 by 1973 (in Malanje, the figures were 1,122 to 1,811).⁴⁸⁸ In the provinces, these traders were distributed throughout small towns – as illustrated by my descriptions of Kota and Amaral. The statistics for 1973 also illustrate, for example, that 43 of the 100 new traders registered that year in Malanje Province were located outside of Malanje city. The Portuguese government prominently published its statistics on the thousands of rural markets operating – an attempt to illustrate the fair playing field for black Angolans and the progress of colonial economic development. By 1967 there were some 8,820 rural markets reported to be operating across Angola, disproportionately but not exclusively in the coffee and cotton regions, and many of these were then consolidated so that the total number declined to 6,300 by 1973 (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Licensed Traders and Rural Markets in Malanje and Angola, 1959-73

Year	Rural Markets		Licensed Traders	
	Malanje	Angola	Malanje	Angola
1959			707	11,463
1960			792	12,562
1961			828	13,304
1962			876	14,853
1963	69		922	16,016
1964	223	3,412	979	17,479
1966			1,122	19,906
1967 ...	507	8,820	1,189	21,297
1971 ...	635		1,574	26,946
1973	1,105	6,300	1,811	29,138

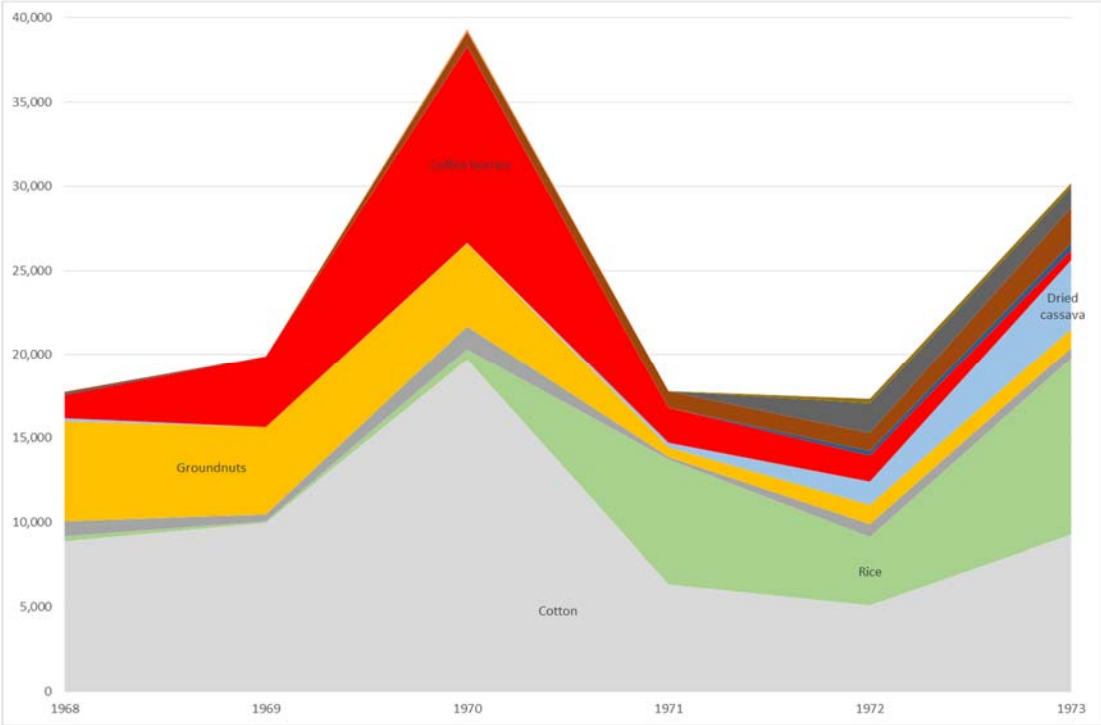
Sources: Anuário Estatístico, *Actividade Económica* 1964, p. 178; Dilolowa (1978)

It was this set of spatial administrative logics and relatively extensive infrastructures that shaped the young Angolan bureaucrats who would fill the post-independence government as it tried to revive and rework this uneven network of agro-industry.

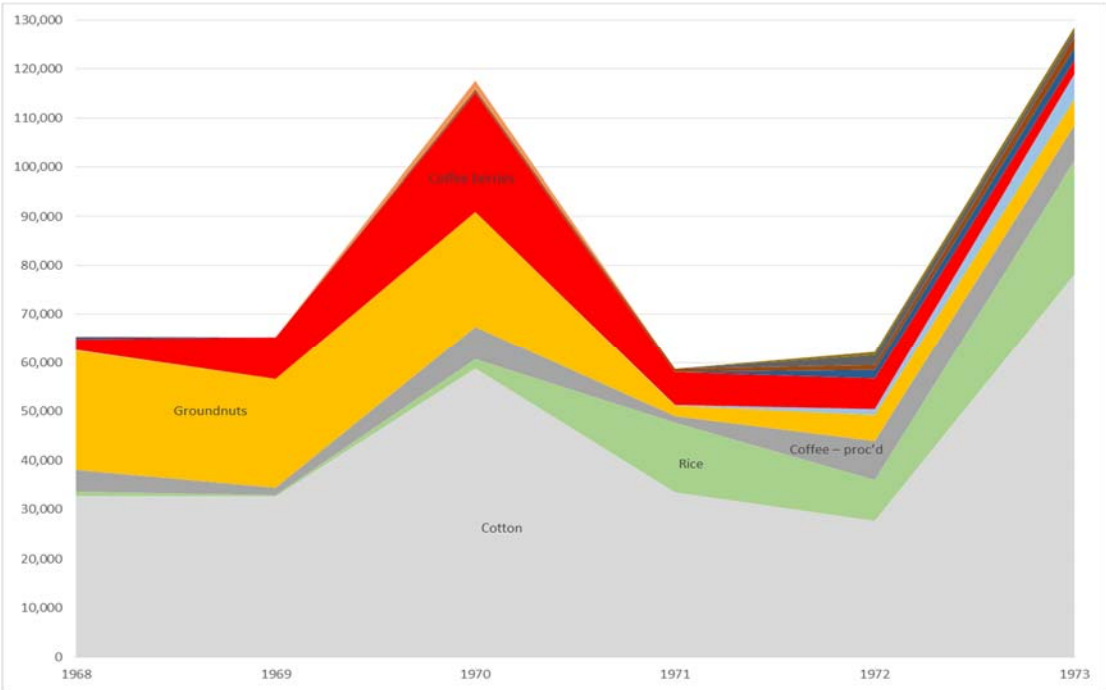
In Malanje, rural markets more than doubled over the periods 1964-1967, and doubled again 1967-1973. These markets in Malanje spanned various agricultural products, including cotton, peanuts, rice, coffee, coconuts, beans, cassava, corn, and tobacco. What is key is that although extensive markets were established in Malanje, and did include significant amounts of cassava and groundnuts, the state-coordinated rural markets were clearly organized hierarchically in the sense of generally reinforcing sales of crops such as cotton, coffee, and rice produced by the settlers' large and usually mechanized plantations (see Graph 6.3 and Graph 6.4).

⁴⁸⁸ Anuário Estatístico, 1973, pp. 234-5.

Graph 6.3: Tons of Products Sold at State Rural Markets in Malanje, 1968-73



Graph 6.4: Value of Products Sold at State Rural Markets in Malanje, 1968-73 (1,000 esc.)



Source: Anuário Estatístico, 1970, p. 244; 1973, pp. 241-2.

With lasting influence for post-independence Angola, the colonial rural market and trade regulations covered numerous issues, particularly for strategic industrial and export crops such as sugar, cotton, sisal, coffee, rice and tobacco. Regulations included a range of careful subsidies and fixed prices to ensure that certain crops were remunerative. The regulations also controlled which crops could be sold in which markets held at which times, which sorts of trading shops could be opened under which conditions in which locations, and which transit routes could be used by which traders. The regulations additionally specified which zones were permitted for growing which crops, and when the start of the planting and harvest seasons would be. And for marketing basic food items, wholesale margins and retail prices were carefully specified and updated, including different prices for some dozens of different types of fish.⁴⁸⁹ Restrictions on profit margins were therefore nothing new in the 1980s, and had been introduced since at least the 1940s with the establishment of a unit for Inspection of Internal Commerce, long before the socialist period, and were revamped again in 1972 and 1973 at least.⁴⁹⁰

Although the regulations were definitely couched in terms of general interests, and to some degree sincerely tried to address in a paternal way the interests of indigenous Angolan small farmers and average consumers, the overall set of regulations effectively were biased in support large, input-intensive, mechanized plantations that had access to better prices via marketing cooperatives and were subsidized with state agricultural research and facilities, cheap labor, cheap credit, and fixed prices.⁴⁹¹

The continued inability of the complex and stringent regulations on trade to actually foster equitable marketing rather than prompt bribes and underground trade have led to, and been compounded by, a succession of ineffectual minor and complicating reforms and programs. In late 1997, for example, during a lull in the turmoil of war and liberalization, the Ministry of Agriculture created a Permanent Rural Commerce Program, and the Cabinet launched a number of programs designed to “reactivate the rural commercial network,” including an Agricultural

⁴⁸⁹ On fish prices, see the Anuário Estatístico. Otherwise see the legislation listed in Ramos (1970), as well as in Reordenamento and the regular bulletin *Actualidade Económica* for the post-1969 period.

⁴⁹⁰ See, e.g. Diploma Legislativo 1848 of 1946, and Portaria 5721 of 1946, and see Portaria 174 and 262 of 1972 and 1973, respectively.

⁴⁹¹ Cf. Simoes (1972) and Dilolowa (1978), though there really is no good single overview of the regime of fixed prices for settler plantations. Prices for cotton are in Pitcher (1993), while Heywood (2000) briefly touches on some maize prices. From the articles in *Actividade Económica* in the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, there were nonetheless price pressures facing sisal cultivation. The set prices for other crops prevalent in Malanje – namely corn, sunflower, tobacco, beans, and potatoes (and rice in the south) – may be found in the *Boletim Oficial* (Series I & II), but there is no index and so locating the announcements is laborious and will require more time in future research. The same goes for prices of inputs such as gasoline, tractors, fertilizer, and agro-chemicals (insecticides, fungicides, and herbicides), as well as storage and transport rates and general taxes. Up until 1969, some of the levels can be gleaned from Ramos (1970) (e.g. on seed prices see Despacho 23-1-1965, 1-3-1967 and 8-10-1968; on corn prices see Despacho 10-5-1968 and 25-3-1969; on beef see Despacho 31-5-1962, Despacho de 17-3-1965, and Despacho 6-8-1969; on rice see Despacho 17-3-1969; on sisal, see Diploma Legislativa 3,801 of 1968; on tobacco, see Despacho 25-2-1969; on sapling prices see Portaria 14568 of 1966; and on gasoline see Despacho 28-2-1962, Despacho 3-11-1964, and Diploma Legislativo 3719). Records on cheap credit can be found in, for example, the 1968-69 reports of the Cooperativa Agrícola de Malanje, which had over a hundred settler agribusiness members. Also, on the colonial Agricultural and Livestock Credit Fund, established in May 1961 (Portaria 11658), and managed by the settler agribusiness’ group The Angola Association of Farmers, see the Malanje colonial archives of the National Bank of Angola for specific Malanje records, as well as the Credit Fund’s annual reports in the BNU archives. See also various articles in *Actividade Económica de Angola*, *Actualidade Económica*, and *Reordenamento*.

Inputs Distribution and Promotion Program and a Commercialization Infrastructure Recuperation Program. Over the next 10 years, various regulations and Ministerial units were set up, reorganized, reformed, and reorganized again, culminating in a new 2007 Commercial Activities Law and associated regulations in 2010. However, these generally kept intact the same core practices of commercial licensing, as well as fixed profit margins. As war waned, and petroleum revenues and imports grew in the early 2000s, informal markets expanded in Luanda and other large cities, often linked to a number of large-scale foreign importing businesses, and a select group of domestic traders with capital and connections enabling them to sell in the provinces.

In response, in 2009 another effort was launched to reduce imports and stimulate agricultural development via rural marketing to the cities. The Rural Commerce Promotion Program 2009-2012 was approved in April 2009, following the 2008 elections, progress on road construction, renewed concerns about 'economic diversification' during the global economic crisis and the decline in oil prices, and early serious problems with the state PRESILD supermarket network (discussed shortly in the next section). Under the tutelage of a liberal economics professor from the independent Catholic University as Minister of Commerce, it aimed to foster trade through the construction of new covered markets and some stream-lining of commercial registration.

But it had similarly mixed results, and was in turn replaced after the appointment of a new Minister of Commerce, Rosa Pacavira, a Portuguese-trained agronomist more attuned to statist logistics, and also the daughter of a former MPLA stalwart and Minister of Agriculture during the socialist period. The government supplanted the previous programs in 2014 by a new Commercial Policy, a \$54 million National Strategy for Rural Commerce and Entrepreneurialism, and a more than \$250 million Program for Acquiring Agricultural and Livestock Products (PAPAGRO) with specific production and commercialization targets by crop and province.⁴⁹²

Though I do not have firsthand fieldwork on this latter program, it appears in to attempt partly to draw from and revive the PRESILD supermarket experience, to yet again attempt a state logistics initiative due to the failings of the rural commerce programs. Clients buying the agricultural goods from the state purchasers are mentioned as the Ministries of Defense and Interior, and oil and construction companies.⁴⁹³

To really understand the enduring attractiveness and deep resonance of this sort of approach, we have to also understand what PRESILD itself was attempting to revive, which was nothing less than dream of reviving the vibrancy of the integrated colonial agribusiness but restructured along socialist lines. It was about nothing less than affirming one's dignity and independent selfhood by reclaiming the nation after centuries of colonial rule, of putting the nation's wealth, infrastructure and people to work for its own people.

⁴⁹² See Decreto Presidencial 28/14 and 104/14. The strategy is focused mostly on infrastructure in the central and southern provinces.

⁴⁹³ Rufino, José (2014) 'Executivo constrói milhares de lojas,' *Jornal de Angola*, Feb 21, p.2.

Figure 6.2: PAPAGRO Headline: ‘Thousands of Stores in the Rural World’



Source: Jornal de Angola, Feb 21, 2014

6.2 War and the Defeat of Socialist Restructuring of Colonial Agro-Industry

Monday September 5th, 1983, indicated a key shift in Angolan history. UNITA had arrived in Malanje, and with a vengeance. A major UNITA attack on a strategic bridge and military brigade in southern Malanje Province while the President was kilometers away in Malanje city really signaled the northward arrival of UNITA into the province.⁴⁹⁴ It thus also signaled the start of the unraveling of the socialist agro-industrial development plans to revive and restructure this massive hinterland and breadbasket of Luanda. President dos Santos was in Malanje to inaugurate a new Regional Military Council, designed to stem a push by UNITA up from the south that intended to disrupt the northern agriculture areas upon which Luanda depended, and to seize the lucrative diamond areas north east of Malanje. This push was supported by the South African air force, which had days earlier made an unprecedented major incursion to bomb one of the government’s strategic outposts at Cangamba near the capital of Kuando Kubango Province, following upon the reported arrival of several thousand Cuban troops in the far north of

⁴⁹⁴ The bridge appears to have been near Cangando, north of the Salazar bridge over the river Kwanza (on which see ‘Data Heróica da Restauração de Angola,’ Angola Norte, Aug 18, 1951). In late 1982 UNITA had reportedly attacked in a province west of Malanje to cut the electricity and rail to Malanje. Moving up through the province below Malanje, UNITA had reportedly captured the key town of Mussende on the road northward in July 1983. By August 8-11, UNITA had also attacked some towns in Malanje, notably Matete in the Kota region. See BBC (1983) ‘Angola: UNITA Combat reports for early September,’ SWB, Oct 5. Also in September UNITA had also captured eastern towns; UNITA mounted an ambush at the Lui river bridge on an 18-vehicle bus convoy traveling from Malanje to Lundas. See (BBC (1983) ‘Account of attack on civilian road convoy in Angola,’ SWB, Sep 22; BBC (1983) ‘Angolan report of actions against infiltrators from Namibia,’ SWB, Sep 26.

Angola.⁴⁹⁵ In Malanje, President dos Santos spoke of imperialism, socialist revolution and the agro-industrial development of the province in Malanje, but stated

it is the regular army of racist South Africa together with mercenaries and Angolan traitors or poorly enlightened Angolans who have been compelled to join them, which carries out acts of terrorism and economic sabotage. They kill and kidnap civilians, destroy bridges, roads, railways, factories, and so on ... new actions have been taking place further north in our country. The Pretoria regime feels encouraged to carry out these actions by the passivity and the connivance of certain Western countries ...⁴⁹⁶

From September 1983 onward the state's plans and activities to revive and restructure the integrated colonial agribusiness in Malanje for socialist agrarian development would be seriously disrupted by UNITA attacks, and by 1986 effectively undermined. In order to better understand how contemporary post-war reconstruction plans revive older dreams and models made untenable by war (briefly mentioned in the previous chapter), this chapter section outlines the intensely political widespread efforts to restructure Malanje's colonial agrarian economy – how these efforts arose, deepened, were reformed, and then were disrupted and abandoned in the wake of conflict (see the periodization in Table 6.2). I anchor the following analysis by focusing on the study region around Kota and I build the chronological narrative from triangulated Angolan and foreign news reports, some interviews, and the scattered agricultural archives in Malanje province.⁴⁹⁷

Table 6.2: Periods of the Rise and Fall of Socialist Agro-Industrial Revival and Restructuring

Rough Dates	Period
1974 - June 1977	Independence turmoil, assessment, and initial plans
June 1977 – December 1980	Reported coup and active state efforts
January 1981 - September 1983	Reform and progress amidst deteriorating conditions
September 1983 - 86	Disruption by war
>1987	Plans abandoned, and a shift to survival

It is worth working in some detail through this admittedly somewhat potted history in order to emphasize the shifting pressures and reforms, and the precise chronology of war-related destruction. This is necessary because, despite the lack of any serious study of the countryside, the socialist period has sometimes been read erroneously by influential academics, journalists and analysts as one of Stalinist dirigiste planning in which a purportedly oil-frenzied coastal creole elite-dominated state treated the countryside with either authoritarianism or neglect, resulting in the decline of agriculture and the spread of war (see Figure 6.3). For example, in his

⁴⁹⁵ On Cangamba, see Bridgland (1986: 409-11), Blandino (2006); Castro (2008), Scheepers (2012), and the film Cangamba.

⁴⁹⁶ BBC (1983) 'Angolan President on Regional Military Councils and S African Aggression,' SWB, Sep 8; BBC (1983) 'Dos Santos on Role of the Cubans and Angola's Socio-Economic Situation,' SWB, Sep 8.

⁴⁹⁷ As mentioned in the Introduction, I was cautious during field research about discussions that could have some relation to experiences of war. Therefore this section admittedly has some character of 'history from the top' because it draws on Western media reports of state and official statements. I have tried where possible to point to the popular social dynamics, and this outline is I think a good basis for future research drawing on sensitively conducted oral histories.

influential book, Tony Hodges, a former writer for the liberal *Economist* magazine, termed this *Afro-Stalinism* (Hodges 2001). Likewise, a lengthy 1989 World Bank report on agriculture in Angola railed on, as was the fashion then, about bloated and inefficient bureaucracy and state spending. In this view, creole elites who used Cold War support from the Soviet Union to maintain their own privileged positions in power either neglected peasants or forced them into simplistic and heavy-handed mechanization schemes copied from Eastern-Bloc countries (and their own problematic experience), as a means either to assuage the peasants or benefit themselves, friends, family, or political supporters. Ultimately, such purported exploitation, some argue, generated the rural resentment that pushed peasants to support UNITA (Messiant 1992).⁴⁹⁸

The stories and archives that I encountered in the field in Malanje however present some differing perspectives. Bureaucracy, patronage and corruption existed, but state presence was much greater than a few enclaves or self-interests, and authoritarian aspects were not as overwhelming as remarked, particularly not so much to induce joining the ranks of UNITA fighters. Indeed, a careful reading of the 1989 World Bank report on Angolan agriculture shows that the main source of deficit spending by agricultural state enterprises were the nationalized coffee plantations, which had been hit by the exodus of contract labor and skilled managers, low coffee prices, destruction of equipment, and neglect due to war-related insecurity.

Some people remarked with admiration about how well organized and equipped some of the cooperatives had been in the 1980s. Over snacks in Mwanya, someone mentioned the large truck owned by a nearby cooperative, which enabled them to take their own produce to market when they wanted and negotiate prices there, cutting out the middle traders. By 1976, for example, there were already in Malanje 104 cooperatives with some 11,407 members.⁴⁹⁹ Although many of these were surely rather weak, shell organizations, and even these numbers declined significantly the following year (to 78 coops and 8,424 members), they do at least indicate early widespread efforts at organizing the countryside in Malanje (the number of more elaborate class 2 coops jumped from 4 to 35) (see Appendix T).⁵⁰⁰

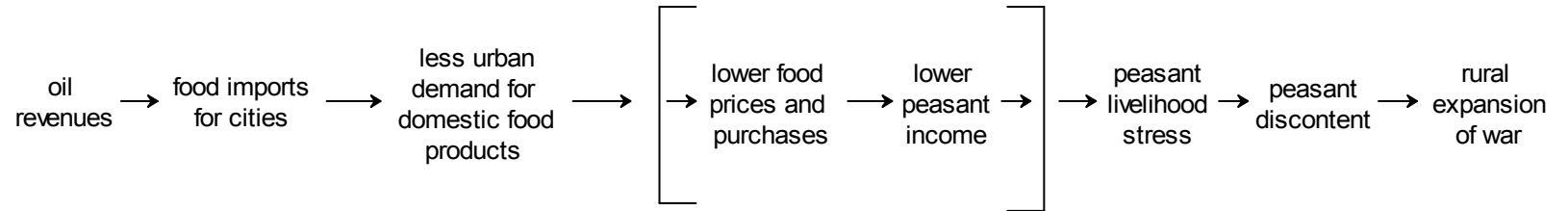
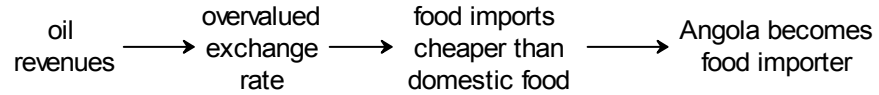
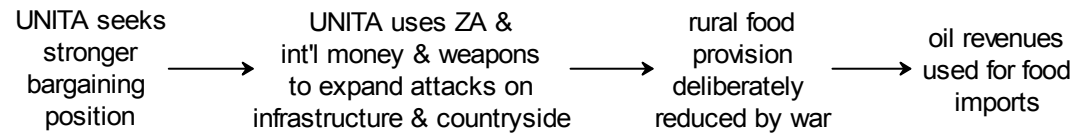
Many of these associations had explicitly political names, indicating a politicized countryside, rather than an ignorant, disconnected and disaffected one. The names varied, some were the village location of the association, such as Mandel and Kanda Toquessa. Village names were sometimes in turn named after past political or historical figures, such as Ngola Kiluanje or Nzinga Mbandi. Other associations included Karl Marx and Lenin. Some took names for important political dates, such as February 4th (the 1961 nationalist revolt in Luanda), October Revolution (from Russia), and September 17th. Slogans formed the names of still other associations, such as Productive Forces, National Hero, Forward Production, and Courage. To understand the politics of the Malanje countryside requires understanding the spatiality of agro-industry in the turmoil of the transition to independence.

⁴⁹⁸ Cf. also Scott (1988).

⁴⁹⁹ CIDAC (1980: 78).

⁵⁰⁰ Specific figures on farmers' associations from 1986-7 also indicate both state interest – in registering some 18,000 people across 141 different associations throughout much of the Province. The archival report differentiates between prioritized and unprioritized associations, with the latter generally but not exclusively in out-lying districts, which at that time were experiencing conflict if not under outright control by UNITA. This indicates the states' inability to service all of the known and intended associations – not a neglect or disinterest in rural areas by the state.

Figure 6.3: Abstract Models and Historical Sequences of Oil, War, and Food Imports

Messiant's (1992) abstract model:**Aguilar and Zejan's (1992) abstract model:****Actual historical sequence:**

Period 1 - 1974-7: Independence Turmoil, Assessment, and Initial Plans

Regarding the period 1974-7, studies of the precise origins of Angola's early post-independence socialist approaches to agriculture have not yet been published. Much of the official analysis and approach came from the Central Committee, and likely emerged relation to cooperation projects with Eastern Bloc countries, and with Angolans who studied there, but a large part of the technical practical expertise on the ground drew from Angolans that had served in the colonial agricultural development activities (described briefly in the previous chapter) that were part of the broader counter-insurgency program.⁵⁰¹

Initially a UNITA representative to the unity transition government was responsible for agriculture, and much attention subsequently focused on the armed battles to control Luanda. Once the MPLA had secured Luanda and declared Independence, Carlos Fernandes took over as Secretary of State for agriculture. A few months later, an assessment of the agricultural situation and main problems was made in February 1976 by the National Reconstruction Department of the MPLA Central Committee. What they found was rather staggering: 80% of the European plantations abandoned, 130 bridges destroyed, only 6,000 of the national fleet of 28,000 trucks functioning, and most of the 25,000 small trading shops run formerly by Portuguese were empty, closed and abandoned.⁵⁰² And so much of the practical attention was focused on continuing in some form the production by the former colonial coffee and sugar plantations. Rhetoric was aimed at mobilizing workers to harvest coffee and sugar as a contribution to the revolution. By the December 1976 MPLA meeting, overall approaches to agriculture were being outlined.

Period 2 - 1977-80: Reported Coup and the Turn to Active State Efforts

From mid-1976 to early 1977, however, serious political pressure was mounting for the government to intervene much more actively, urgently and widely in agriculture and food distribution, particularly after a reported attempted coup d'état on May 27, 1977, whose organizers reportedly appealed to widespread popular discontent with food distribution. Six days before the reported coup, the lead organizer, Nito Alves, spoke at a rally in Luanda, saying "The problem of food supplies is serious. There is no cassava, no potatoes, no groundnuts, no palm oil. There is nothing on the market. No fish ... This situation pleases no one. It pleases no one."⁵⁰³ The fact, ignored by almost all writing on the event, that the political rebellion also played out

⁵⁰¹ Interviews. See Marcum (1978); Neto (1999); Gomes, Artur Vidal (1982) 'Testemunho,' *Lavra & Oficina*, Luanda: União dos Escritores Angolanos, n46-51: 26-27. More information may be found also through SWB.

⁵⁰² See Neto (1999: 60).

⁵⁰³ ACR 1978, p. B497. Birmingham (1978: 558) describes the situation: "The scapegoat needed to carry the blame for the disintegration of essential economic services was found in Aires Machado, known as 'Minerva', the Minister for Internal Trade. A whole thesis of economic sabotage was erected around the ministry complete with a named Portuguese destabilization agent at the centre of the web. The Minister was alleged to be seen by the Nitistas as a man loyal to their ideals of the revolution who refused all the pragmatic compromises of the cabinet. To his colleagues he became responsible for deliberately creating shortages in order to foster enough discontent to facilitate the overthrow of the government. Improbable though the conspiracy theory may be, the reality of the food crisis must certainly be accepted as a fundamental cause of the political fission and an attempted coup d'état."

violently in Malanje province, and had significant agrarian dimensions there, will be described below.⁵⁰⁴

Amidst the fervor of revolution, transition turmoil, and impending independence, newly assertive workers had emerged as early as late 1974 and early 1975 in the form of strikes at the Port of Luanda, and prompted both responses and repression, feeding into the reported coup attempt of May 27, 1977 that in turn would greatly spur further state interventions in food provisioning.⁵⁰⁵ By January 1976 a Labor Discipline Law was issued, for example. And, in a subsequently controversial move, on June 7th, 1976, the Malanje Provincial Commissar restricted the transport of cassava flour out of Malanje Province since “in Luanda, this product was being sold at speculative prices” due partly to “indiscipline” at the cassava mills.⁵⁰⁶ And after a coffee bag factory strike two weeks later, on June 22nd, the government issued an Economic Sabotage Law, then a Central Committee Economic Policy Resolution, and a further ‘General Principles on the Circulation of Goods’ was elaborated on in January 1977 by an Inter-Ministerial Council.⁵⁰⁷ At that point, Prime Minister Nascimento simply took over authority of the Luanda port in order to clear it out, and put Ciel da Conceição in charge of the task (who we will meet again in Chapter 7).⁵⁰⁸

All these measures however were insufficient to prevent the reported coup attempt, and the quite real threat spurred the government to further action. Food imports boomed over the next few years. Three weeks after the reported coup attempt, a Food Distribution Plan was laid out by Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento and the then Secretary of State for Agriculture, Carlos Antonio Fernandes.⁵⁰⁹ Also, “a single state-run trading circuit for meat and milk products was set up; standard prices were fixed for all meat products, rice, milk, sugar, flour and soap; and a National Supplies Commission was established.”⁵¹⁰ The massive old colonial agro-industries were absorbed into these state enterprises (see Table 6.3 below).⁵¹¹ Colonial private supermarkets were absorbed into a network of state-run supermarkets, laying the basis for post-war revival decades later of such sorts of projects in the PRESILD network built by Brazilians.⁵¹²

However, and this had not really been sufficiently appreciated, discontent went beyond the Luanda port. The discontent about food and basic goods provisioning was also part of the turmoil of the reported coup attempt in Malanje as well. There were reported attacks in Marimba (in the Baixa de Kassanje), and the Provincial Commissar João Manuel da Silva was ousted and detained, accused of “hiding food goods that were to serve all of the people.” Several other prominent people were also arrested as agitators, having held night-time meetings with peasants,

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. Pawson (2014).

⁵⁰⁵ See Heimer (1979), and see *Actualidade Económica*.

⁵⁰⁶ (1977) ‘Malanje: Autorizada a saída de fuba da Província,’ *Jornal de Angola*, c. April.

⁵⁰⁷ The Resolution was at its meeting on 23-29 October, 1976.

⁵⁰⁸ E.g. Despacho 1/77, Despacho Presidencial 2/77. It was also managed by a commission of six people. Part of the issue was poor coordination and unclear responsibilities, given that some workers at the port belonged to the Ministry of Agriculture, rather than the Ministry of Transport.

⁵⁰⁹ The plan was based on a protocol for cooperation between the Ministry of Internal Commerce and the Ministry of Agriculture - Protocolo, in *Diário da República* 148, June 24, 1977.

⁵¹⁰ ACR; The port was soon returned to the Ministry of Transport.

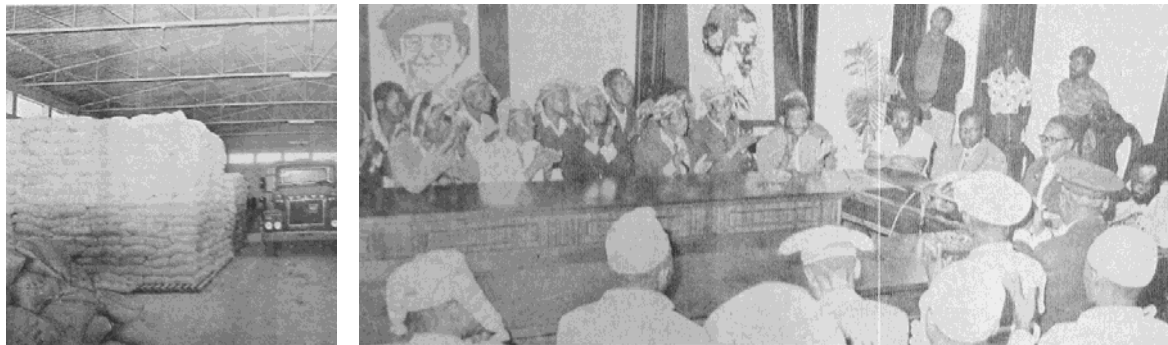
⁵¹¹ It would be useful to have an inventory precisely of which colonial companies were absorbed. Cf. Ferreira (1999).

⁵¹² EREMIL absorbed Nova Lusa, Manuel Herniques Godinho, Piri Piri, Plásticos de Luanda, Xabanu, Discolândia, Jona Mex, Armazens Caido, José António Colim, for example.

particularly the Malanje branch of the MPLA youth wing, headed by a Mr Kitumba who was accused of hiding hundreds of boxes of fish.⁵¹³

Days later, 34 sobas from the Baixa de Kassanje were called to meet with President Neto in Luanda to discuss their grievances, and a plan was launched to bring basic goods from Luanda to Malanje in exchange for agricultural products.⁵¹⁴ Emphasizing the lack of cassava flour flowing from Malanje in Luanda,⁵¹⁵ Neto pointed to saboteurs, and said that he'd removed the disloyal government officials. A work campaign at the wholesaling state enterprise was organized by students in Malanje to unload food from Luanda, and a high-level commission by the Minister of Transport Manuel Pacavira and the MPLA's head of National Reconstruction, Pinto João, went to Malanje to sort out how to get goods from Luanda to the distant municipalities of Malanje, particularly in the Baixa.⁵¹⁶

Figure 6.4: June 1977: ETP Volvo Trucks Unloading in Malanje 200 Tons of Food from Luanda; Malanje Sobas Meeting in Luanda⁵¹⁷



⁵¹³ (1977) 'Malange: A vigilância revolucionária do provo neutralizaou os traidores infiltrados,' *Jornal de Angola*, June 15; (1977) 'Como foi desmascarada a camarilha nitista em Malanje,' *Jornal de Angola*, July 3; «Michel» sobrevive ao inferno do 27 de Maio,' 09-06-2007, Lusa, <http://www.angonoticias.com/Artigos/item/13895>; (1977) 'Malanje: Esclarecimento popular,' *Jornal de Angola*, c. June 7.

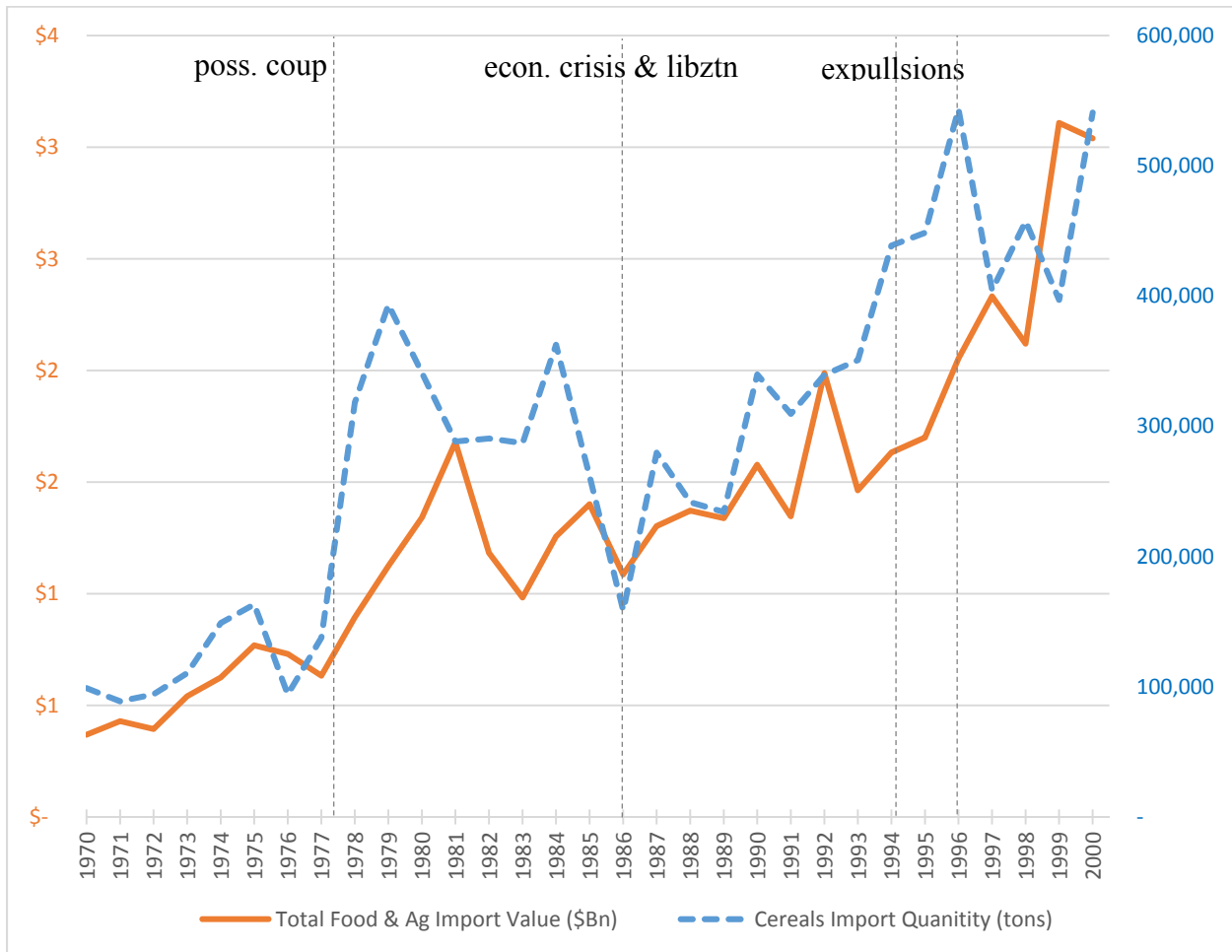
⁵¹⁴ Neto noted "It is clear that one of the problems is that of provisioning, provisioning for diverse provinces. We here give instructions, we want to know, we want to resolve material problems of the People, but the instructions are not always followed ... We know that there are some provinces, such as Malanje for example, where they don't let cassava flour through. When they see a truck with cassava flour they say it can't go to Luanda ... in Malanje to get to the Luanda port, there's a train every day. Every single day there is a train ... Why does the cassava flour not come?" See: (1977) 'Experiencia-piloto ultrapassa as carências criadas pelos fraccionistas aos camponeses de Malanje,' *Jornal de Angola*, July 5; (1977) 'Sobas da provincia de Malanje vieram trazer ao Camarada Presidente o apoio das massas populares da região,' *Jornal de Angola*, June 1, p.1-2; (1977) 'O Camarada Presidente foi ontem saudado por Sobas da Província de Malanje,' *Jornal de Angola*, June.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. 'Malanje: Autorizada a saída de fuba da Província,' *Jornal de Angola*, c. April, 1977. Transport of cassava flour was allowed, up to 25 kg/person, and only with a dispatch authorizing it. Taking cassava flour out of Malanje Province had been restricted since June 7, 1976, because "in Luanda, this product was being sold at speculative prices," but the situation had subsequently improved due partly to better "discipline" at the cassava mills.

⁵¹⁶ (1977) 'Malange: A vigilância revolucionária do provo neutralizaou os traidores infiltrados,' *Jornal de Angola*, June 15; (1977) 'Tomam-se medidas em Malanje para garantir o escoamento da produção agrícola ali bloqueada: Neutralizados os sabotadores,' *Jornal de Angola*, June 26, which mentioned Kaombo, Mucambo, Xa-Muteba, and Kela. The 'saboteurs' were also accused of blocking coffee shipments to Luanda, and not using the new docks of the train station.

⁵¹⁷ Sources: (1977) 'Experiencia-piloto ultrapassa as carências criadas pelos fraccionistas aos camponeses de Malanje,' *Jornal de Angola*, July 5; (1977) 'O Camarada Presidente foi ontem saudado por Sobas da Província de Malanje,' *Jornal de Angola*, June.

Graph 6.5: Economic Crises and Food, Agricultural, and Cereals Imports (FAOSTAT)



Over the next few years, in order to fulfill the aim of reviving and restructuring the colonial agro-industry into a developing socialist one that linked farms run by the state, cooperatives and peasants to industries and consumers in the cities, a range of measures were taken. These included a series of state farm and cooperative measures (discussed in the next chapter), state marketing institutions (see Table 6.3 below), some liberalization of construction and trucking, and repeated high-level Presidential acknowledgement of the problems of provisioning and state efforts to resolve them.⁵¹⁸ Although much has been made of the formal workerist and vanguardist rhetoric and membership of the MPLA after the December 1977 Congress,⁵¹⁹ state rhetoric also consistently emphasized the *worker-peasant alliance* as crucial to the survival of the country under the imperialist onslaught, and hence that privileged workers and urbanites

⁵¹⁸ The December 1978 Central Committee meeting allowed liberalized construction and business, and (ACR 1979, p. B487). Lopo do Nascimento was dismissed, as was Paulo Pinto Joao in Internal Trade, and José Eduardo dos Santos was given Dilolowa's position in Ministry of Planning. Neto said in a speech in Uige on August 22, 1979, 'Food supplies are poor ... Sometimes there is no salt, no sugar, no soap, and agricultural produce is not available. These are all problems that we must all try to solve' (ACR 1980, p. B685).

⁵¹⁹ Vidal (2002); Chabal and Vidal (2007).

should put the interests of the poor and the peasantry ahead of their own.⁵²⁰ The state newspaper featured front-page photographs of President Neto cutting sugar cane with other revolutionary workers, and Neto was also to make a trip to the Baixa de Kassanje to inaugurate a memorial there. Likewise, the concerns about agro-food logistics preoccupied dos Santos when he became Minister of Planning at the end of 1978, and after Neto passed away in 1979, dos Santos as President made high-publicity personal inspections of the Luanda Port and broadcast speeches emphasizing the need to address the “delay and sabotage” that was hindering “distribution and marketing,” even as food constituted a quarter of all imports and hence significant drain on foreign exchange.⁵²¹

Table 6.3: Main State Agro-Food Marketing Organizations

Abbreviation	English Name	Date est.	Function
EGROMISTA	Enterprise for Wholesaling Food Goods	1977	Wholesaling food goods
EDINBA	National Distributor Enterprise for Food Goods	1977	Distributing food goods
EREMIL	Luanda Enterprise for Mixed Retail	1977	Supermarkets in Luanda
DINAMA	National Distributor of Material Provisions	1978	Agricultural inputs – fertilizer, hoes, insecticides, etc
DINAPROPRE	National Distributor of Livestock Products	1978	Meat distribution
ENCODIPA	National Enterprise for Agricultural Products Purchasing and Distribution	1978	Purchasing of agricultural goods
EREMISTA	Enterprise for Retailing Food Goods	c. 1980	Retailing food goods
ANGOSEMENTES	Angola Seeds	1982	Selling, purchasing and distributing seeds

Period 3 - 1980-1983: Reform and Progress amidst Deteriorating Conditions

In the aim to revive and restructure agro-industry through a series of intensive state interventions, the period 1980-83 saw some actual improvements and progress, due partly to

⁵²⁰ (1977) ‘O Camarada Presidente disse: Sem Aliança Operária-Camponesa a R.P.A. não poderá sustentar-se nem resistirá ao imperialismo,’ *Jornal de Angola*.

⁵²¹ See his 1980 May Day speech in Luanda. He visited the port on April 5th and 17th – some 46,000 tons of freight was stuck on the docks, as well as 28 ships with 100,000 tons in the harbor (ACR 1981, pp. B644, B653, B656). He also visited the port, warehouses and supermarkets in January 1981; BBC (1981) ‘Angolan President Finds “Negligence” at Projects and Luanda Port,’ SWB, Jan 17.

adjustments made and increased international cooperation, but also saw severe constraints showing due to the expenses of increasing war, consequent food imports, and plummeting oil prices after 1981.⁵²² Consolidating his power, dos Santos scrapped ill-suited plans (the 1981-5 Development Plan) and purged some 'hardline Stalinists' from his Cabinet, and restructured responsibilities.⁵²³ The Ministry of Agriculture had its political minister Manuel Pacavira replaced by the police chief, and its responsibility for purchasing agricultural goods moved to the Ministry of Commerce.⁵²⁴ The point of this description and that which follows is to show the intensive efforts that went in to constructing this integrated agro-industry development efforts, in order to better appreciate their destruction during the war, and then their revival in new forms in the post-war period financed by booming deep-water oil.

The experience of Malanje both illustrates the broader efforts at this time, and also served as a key referent at that time. President dos Santos, for example, made a four-day visit in April 1982 to state agricultural units in Malanje to emphasize the state commercialization of consumer goods exchanged for agricultural goods in the countryside. The emphasis on integrating agriculture and industry, and Malanje with the rest of the country, was illustrated by the President's remarks that "if we work well, we will rapidly have, in two or three years, guaranteed the self-sufficiency of the Province in food goods and we can support industry, not just in the Province but in the whole country." Malanje was the "pilot-experience" for the country in agricultural development and commercialization, in which the hydro-electric dam at Kapanda would be a key part, and for which dozens of Eastern Bloc technicians had also come to Malanje (from Cuba, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Russia, etc). After seeing persistent problems in Malanje, dos Santos fired the Minister of Internal Trade days later, and efforts were redoubled to promote agricultural cooperatives as commercial intermediaries between limited state agencies and peasants.⁵²⁵

While I was in Malanje three decades later, I was told with pride of how President dos Santos had visited the 650 workers and listened to their complaints about the poor supply of consumer goods reaching the state Kissol plantation, which had been established a hundred years earlier by

⁵²² There was also drought in 1981, with some \$60 million worth of food imported from Brazil (ACR 1982, p. B594). See also "The direct mission of the South African racists, supported by US imperialism, is to continue the destruction of installations and infrastructures, to make more difficult the circulation of goods between the various parts of the country, and to sabotage and destroy factories and installations within the framework of a policy directed consciously against vital targets. Thus in 1982 alone more than 40 bridges were destroyed, Lopo do Nascimento reported." See BBC (1983) 'Speech by Angolan Representative Lopo do Nascimento,' SWB, Oct 23.

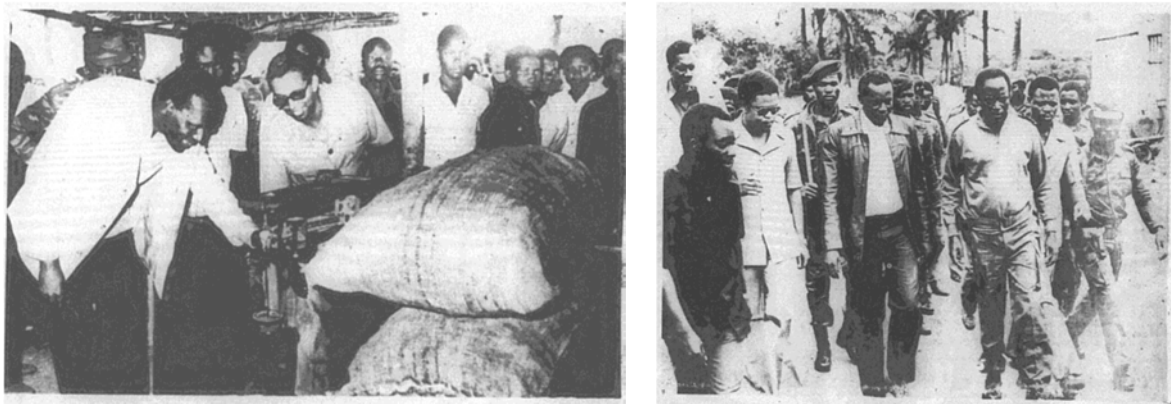
⁵²³ The plan was scrapped in November 1982, and the purge was in December 1982.

⁵²⁴ Petroff was the new Minister. The shift to the Ministry of Commerce was around April.

⁵²⁵ See (1982) *Jornal de Angola*, May 4, 6, May 6 – 'Malanje: Campanha de comercializacao Agricola incia-se em 25 de Maio,' *Jornal de Angola*. See 'Seminário Nacional sobre Cooperativização: Apartir de amanhã em Luanda,' *Jornal de Angola*, which was followed by months of articles on cooperatization, E.g. Eduardo, David (1982) 'Os Caminhos da Cooperativazao em Angola (2): Entusiasmo pelo grande e impossivel fez esquecer o concreto e necessário,' June 30; Eduardo, David (1982) 'Os Caminhos da Cooperativazao em Angola (Conclusao): Comercializacao: A Grande Alternativa,' July 8. 'Malanje: Aberta a Segunda Campanha de Comercializacao Agricola,' *Jornal de Angola*, June 9 (Subtitled 'More rural markets and enthusiasmm by farmers indicates better results'), which noted, "Everything indicates that the commercialization of products between peasants and the state (by way of ENCODIPA) runs this year with an accelerated pace, once products displayed in the stores (the markets) correspond to those that have been preferred by peasants, such as dried fish, salt, palm oil, cooking oil, suits, cloths, motorcycles, corogated zinc, among others." See, 'Malanje: Maior Disciplina na Producao de Bens de Consumo,' *Jornal de Angola*, July 9, where these issues were discussed in the 5th ordinary session of the Provincial Popular Assembly.

leading early colonial agro-industrialists in Malanje (see Chapter 7).⁵²⁶ That these efforts continue to have resonance is illustrated by the manager of Kissol, a well-known mestiço man (originally from São Tomé) that had worked on some of the colonial smallholder agricultural development programs around Kota. He would soon see the state Kissol unit destroyed by UNITA in the war, but then acquire the privatized land. He continues to this day in agricultural development work for the state and NGOs, using his income to re-invest in attempting to rebuild Kissol into a commercial viability.

Figure 6.5: President dos Santos Inaugurates Commerce Program & Tours Farms, Malanje, 1982



Source: Jornal de Angola

As war in the south mounted and oil prices continued to slide, the government initiated a Global Emergency Plan. But the adapted agricultural efforts in Malanje had begun to show some success by 1983, despite some continued difficulties and some ‘black market’ trade.⁵²⁷ They had reportedly made some gains by lessening the attention on state production units and turning them into their own companies, and by distinguishing proactive agricultural cooperatives from others.⁵²⁸ The state sector had increased its provision of agricultural goods from 2,000 tons in

⁵²⁶ The relationship between António da Conceição Pinto and António dos Santos Pinto, who both apparently grew sugar cane around Kissol, is not yet clear. BBC (1982) ‘Agriculture in Malanje Province,’ SWB May 11; (1982) ‘Presidente Jose Eduardo o Inteira-se do Processo para o desenvolvimento economico da região,’ Jornal de Angola, April 28; (1982) ‘Visita do Presidente José Eduardo a Malanje: Conhecer os problemas no terreno foi uma preocupação constant,’ Jornal de Angola, May 1.

⁵²⁷ The Adjunct Provincial Commissar, Cristovão da Cunha, for example, noted ‘The movement of candongueiros, at this moment, is uncontrolable. Some even use side paths to escape the controls. But, the Provincial Commission on Provisioning has bent over itself about these situations, whose orientations were transmitted to the Municipal Comissars’, and, as proof, authorities in Kalandula arrested candongueiros there. See (1983) ‘Camponeses mobilizados ...,’ Jornal de Angola, May 14. See also (1983) ‘Mercados da Cangonga – Um mal que tem de acabar,’ Jornal de Angola, June 8.

⁵²⁸ See e.g. (1983) ‘Entrevista de Lopo do Nascimento à Revista “Terceiro Mundo,”’ Jornal de Angola, June 23. “State enterprises require a more complex management, the resolution of some technical problems and a greater investment ... In Angola, the peasant produces more than 60% of the food products. Our error in this terrain was that of us having remembered little of this situation. If we had, since the beginning, concentrated more resources in support of peasants, we would have greatly improved the food situation of the country. Between 60-80% of the food that is consumed in the country is produced by the Angolan peasant. And the peasant is there, they didn’t abandon

1978 to 11,000 by 1981, while peasant production had increased from 8,000 in 1980 to 22,000 in 1981.⁵²⁹ A key agricultural official in Malanje then, Fernando Pacheco, noted that “we started practically from zero, well the colonialists in their fleeing destroyed all that had been done, including the soil, with the use of herbicides un-adapted to the diverse terrains.” In Malanje, he said, “we continue to be the bulwark of agriculture, despite the little production that we actually register.”⁵³⁰ At the opening of the harvest season, 11 state trucks were sent from Malanje to supply the super markets in Luanda.

Period 4 - 1983-86: Disruption by War

In early 1983 Malanje began to experience attacks by UNITA, which had just increased its weapons, finances and forces, and modified its strategy. These attacks came after a formal decision at UNITA’s July 1982 Fifth Congress to move north and attack Malanje, Cuanza Sul and Lunda. The issue of space was key in UNITA’s military strategy. The aim was a war of attrition, not victory, to force the MPLA into a weaker negotiating position more favorable to UNITA. Earlier, in 1981-2, UNITA had been able to extend its supply lines across the Zambian border. 1983 saw UNITA launch a nation-wide campaign. Again, mechanization was key to military strategy, as UNITA was able to capture hundreds of (reportedly Soviet Bloc) trucks, and use these instead of porters. The next few paragraphs show how UNITA’s attacks, control and threats would expand through Malanje in late 1983 and in 1984 to such an extent that by 1985 agricultural development efforts were becoming seriously disrupted.⁵³¹ I try, where possible, to anchor the analysis by focusing on the study area around Kota, but I also try to situate this within the broader course of the war in order to gesture at the broader sorts of undermining of agro-

Angola. So, why did he reduce production? Because we weren’t able to create the circuit of commercialization, bring to him that which he needs and bringing, simultaneously, from the countryside, the things that he produced. It is necessary to reactivate the link between the city and countryside ... We have to resolve the problems of commercialization in order to mobilize the peasant mass of the country.” Lopo do Nascimento also said: “Our mistake was not to have remembered this well enough,” he said. “If we had concentrated more resources on supporting the peasants we would have greatly improved the food situation in the country.” He said establishment of collective farms would continue,” in Frankel, Glenn (1983) ‘Poverty Grips Potentially Rich Marxist Angola,’ Washington Post, Oct. 7. See also “One of dos Santos’ allies on the Defense and Security Council is Planning Minister Lopo do Nascimento, who acknowledges that the party made enormous economic mistakes after independence, and who says the present regime must improve things by decentralizing and emphasizing efficiency, particularly in agriculture. ‘We are considering ways to give more decision-making power and resources to the provincial governments, and to let provinces keep part of the foreign currency earnings they generate to encourage enterprise there,’ do Nascimento says. ‘We have to be more flexible than we have been’ in providing incentives and encouraging the private sector. He describes the state marketing board set up to handle coffee sales as ‘a monster’ and acknowledges: ‘We cannot solve our problems without the help of our farmers.’,” in Hoagland, Jim (1984) ‘Dreams of Revolution Lie Broken in Angola; Wounded Country Struggling to Recover,’ Washington Post, Oct 28.

⁵²⁹ Diogo, Eugenio (1983) ‘Agricultural em Malanje: Enorme trabalho de reorganização esta agora a dar frutos,’ *Jonal de Angola*, May 26; (1983) ‘Malanje – Prosegue em Malanje Campanha de Comercialização,’ *Jornal de Angola*, May 29.

⁵³⁰ See also the major plans for regional agro-industrial development in Malanje outlined in the consultant study CESO (1985).

⁵³¹ It is possible that the precise chronology of this disruption may be modified upon further archival and oral history research.

industrial development plans also happening elsewhere throughout the country (but which are not documented here).

UNITA's advance into Malanje took the form of a two-step attack-occupy expansionary dynamic, in which attacks on transport and logistics were followed by enlarged presence and control of key towns and territory, then from there more attacks on logistics, and then further expansion. Eventually, by the mid-1980s, UNITA would spread through much of the countryside in all directions around Malanje city, with some towns and areas being re-taken and lost again by the government, for some 25 years until 2002.

The ability to conduct this nation-wide expansion was less related to rural discontent with purported authoritarian agrarian policies and more related to international Cold War tensions (though rural discontent with war-related depredations on the government side likely existed later). Anti-Soviet and anti-communist support increasingly flowed to UNITA, particularly after intervention in Ethiopia in 1978 by the USSR and Cuba, and after the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. UNITA received arms and training from China in 1979, and an \$18 million fund was set up by France, Iran, and Saudi Arabia, supplementing support from Morocco, South Africa and Zaire. South Africans facilitated illicit arms sales from Eastern Bloc countries.⁵³² From 1977 to 1982 UNITA reportedly received \$1 billion worth of weapons. Against UNITA's expansion, by mid-1983 government forces were being mobilized to carry out counter-offensives, and the government was transporting equipment and personnel throughout the country that would be key in countering UNITA forces. This counter-offensive was backed by increased Soviet support, with about \$2 billion worth of weapons from 1982-1984.⁵³³

However, throughout the end of 1983 UNITA's hit and run attacks on government logistics lines severely weakened government responses, both around Malanje and in major confrontations in the east, near UNITA's supply lines and the Zambian border. After UNITA's major September 5th attack in southern Malanje (emphasized at the beginning of this section as a key signal of UNITA's presence in Malanje), the government reported capturing some UNITA soldiers in Malanje, but in early-mid November UNITA again reportedly attacked a military train convoy between Matete and Cacolo near Malanje using remote landmines, claiming to have killed 112 soldiers and some Cubans, and captured materiel.⁵³⁴ In a further blow to the logistics of government's counter-offensive, UNITA reportedly took Andulo, one of the key links between UNITA's stronghold in the southern highlands and Malanje.⁵³⁵ The Luanda-Malanje railway was

⁵³² Weigert (2011: 72-4).

⁵³³ The counter-offensive included the major battles Mavinga and Cangamba, that latter of which was the subject of a Cuban film by the same name. See Weigert (2011). Simultaneously, the President nominanted a new Minister of Agriculture, Evaristo Kimba, who replaced the apparently ineffectual former Minister after only two years. Artur Gomes was a Russian-trained liberation fighter who had served in the Moxico before doing a veterinary course in Romania and then managing the pork state enterprise, the northern Malanje Camabatela cattle project, and the Aldeia Nova scheme; see Gomes, Artur Vidal (1982) 'Testemunho,' *Lavra & Oficina*, Luanda: União dos Escritores Angolanos, n46-51: 26-27.

⁵³⁴ In the September 5th attack, UNITA reported killing 107 soldiers, including 12 Cubans, and destroying 32 vehicles, 2 tanks, 5 tons of materiel, and 1 Cuban Mi-8 helicopter. See: BBC (1983) 'UNITA Combat reports for early September,' *SWB*, October 5. It's not clear if next event was November 7th or 16th; see (1983) 'Angolan guerrillas claim downing of plane,' *The Globe and Mail*, November 11; BBC (1983) 'UNITA' claims for 'first week of offensive' in early November,' *SWB*, Nov. 29; BBC (1983) 'Angolan government and UNITA military claims for mid-November,' *SWB*, Dec. 7.

⁵³⁵ BBC (1983) 'UNITA's reports challenge and military claims,' *SWB*, Nov. 28.

also reportedly disrupted with an attack on the line in Kwanza Norte.⁵³⁶ In November and December UNITA captured further towns near Malanje and hit more convoys.⁵³⁷ As UNITA expanded into the north-east diamond areas, the critical supply route from Luanda through Malanje would become ever more important and contested.⁵³⁸ The government reported some gains in Cacuso municipality, but UNITA nonetheless reported another attack on the Luanda-Malanje train line and more attacks on motorized convoys and columns east of Malanje on the road to the diamond town Saurimo.⁵³⁹

As UNITA hindered the government's logistics and hence counter-offensive, UNITA was able to hold its expanded positions and expand further in the north of Malanje and increasingly in the west of Malanje, around Cacuso. UNITA attacks in the north and east also became bolder. By February 1984 an attack at a base north of Malanje destroyed the power station, armored vehicles, troop carriers, and four caterpillar tractors, while 100 expats were captured in another attack in the diamond areas north east of there.⁵⁴⁰ Fighting intensified in this area around the Baixa de Kassarje and the diamond mines just east of the Malanje province border.⁵⁴¹ Over the next few months, UNITA reported shooting down a military transport plane and helicopter in eastern Malanje, capturing a key town west of Malanje (Lucala), attacking the government's

⁵³⁶ BBC (1983) 'Angolan government and UNITA military claims for mid-November,' SWB, Dec. 7.

⁵³⁷ The towns were Cangando south east of Malanje, and Catapeta (Katepa?) between Cangandala and Malanje. See BBC (1982) 'Claims about the military situation in Angola,' SWB, Dec. 3. UNITA claimed to have attacked a motorized column traveling from Cacuso to Saurimo (BBC (1983) 'UNITA military claims,' SWB, Dec. 20.). There was an ambiguous government report on December 20, after noting captured UNITA paraded in Malanje, that Mussende may have been retaken (BBC (1983) 'Angolan Defence Ministry statement and UNITA's claim of capture of foreigners,' SWB, Dec. 22.)

⁵³⁸ On 23 February 1984, a UNITA brigade of 2,300 had attacked Cafunfo and taken 100 expatriates (Weigert 2011: 83). More chronology of UNITA's push into the Lundas is needed. In order to help stem UNITA's operations in the north east, the government would deploy to the Zambian border 13 brigades and new MiGs and helicopter gunships (Weigert 2011: 81). Another possible reason for the UNITA attacks in Malanje may have been the presence in Malanje of camps of fighters training and fighting from of South Africa's African National Congress' armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Kwhela 2003). The camp – Hoji ya Henda/Camalundi and then Caculama – ran from 1981 to 1989 (see Appendix One, in 'The ANC's second submission to the TRC,' <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2646>, accessed April 2015). Incidentally, there would later be related talk of discontent there, also in relation to Thabo Mbeki (Marques, R. (1999) 'The Lipstick [Baton] of Dictatorship,' *Agora*, July 3, <http://misa.org/news-feeds/item/1613-rafael-marques-the-lipstick-of-dictatorship>).

⁵³⁹ Cacuso was guessed in the BBC article as "Muta" and "Lucal"; BBC (1984) 'Angolan report of successes against UNITA in Malanje,' SWB January 4. See BBC (1984) 'UNITA communique for 5th to 16th January operations,' SWB, January 31; BBC (1984) 'UNITA Communique on 16th-31st January operations,' SWB, February 14; BBC (1984) 'UNITA's 26th February communique on military activities,' SWB, March 15. These latter included: a January 31st attack on the Caculo bridge on the Cacolo-Capenda Camulemba road, an attack on a large Cuban column from Luanda on February 1st between Capenda Camulemba and Xinge, a February 21st attack on the Caculama-Quela road, a February 26th attack in Camulemba on westward diamond trucks, a February 26th landmine hit a lorry from Malanje to Cafunfo, a February 29th attack 20 km from Malanje on a military column traveling to Kafunfo, and the March 5th capture of Mona Quimbundo (between Saurimo and Cacolo). BBC (1984) 'UNITA battle report for week ending 5th March,' SWB, March 29.

⁵⁴⁰ Reportedly at the 'Brito Godins' base. BBC (1984) 'UNITA communique on 31st January – 9th February military operations,' SWB, February 23. The diamond area was attacked and a brigade had attacked Cafunfo and captured 100 expats.

⁵⁴¹ This included a UNITA attack on Xa Muteba, and on the road between Xa-Muteba and Xandel, a UNITA attack on Iongo and Chicuita. BBC (1984) 'Angolan government accounts of the military situation,' SWB, March 29; BBC (1984) 'UNITA military claims for 1st-15th April period,' SWB, May 7. There were also reports of capture of UNITA soldiers in southern [check] Malanje (Cambundi Catembo and Mucussuenge). (BBC (1984) 'Angolan government and UNITA claims,' SWB, July 9.). A few months later UNITA was to capture Xa Muteba.

Brigade 179 near Pungo Andongo, and shooting down a Soviet MiG plane in the area.⁵⁴² By early November they had reportedly moved as close as 17 km north of Malanje.⁵⁴³

This conflict had come to severely exacerbate the problems in provisioning. That October of 1984, farmers association representatives gathered for a meeting in Malanje, and “Every peasant who addressed the Malanje provincial congress spoke of the lack of tools, salt, soap, cloth, oil for lamps, and of the breakdown of transport.”⁵⁴⁴ The high-level central political official Lucio Lara had presided over the meeting, and heard of these problems in his visit to Kota as well.

The transport situation would only grow worse in 1985, and soon agricultural equipment and supplies around Malanje would be requisitioned and turned into weapons of war. As the MPLA prepared in early 1985 a major Cazombo operation in the east of the country, UNITA sought to defend itself from the onslaught by cutting the railroad line by which government military supplies would come. UNITA was reportedly assisted in its defensive attacks against the Cazombo operation logistics by a South African drop of 40 tons of materiel in Malanje around May. Consequently, there were UNITA attacks on the Luanda-Malanje railroad in February, March and June and by early August UNITA had captured the key train-station town Kanhoca in the hills leading up to the central plateau.⁵⁴⁵

The February rail attack happened between Cacuso and Malanje, and around that time Cuban troops requisitioned without authorization (again) six wagons from the Nzinga Mbandi cotton AUP in Cacuso. A month later, two tractors would again be requisitioned by the army.⁵⁴⁶ Simultaneously, the nearby state agriculture unit, the Cacuso Agriculture Enterprise in Cambunze, had its tin roof and fuel requisitioned by the army’s radio unit there, and would fall into major debt with the state oil/gasoline company. Workers had serious trepidations, given that UNITA had by March 1985 occupied part of the nearby large Esperança plantation (which had belonged to the colonial agri-business conglomerate Santos Pinto discussed in Chapters 3 and

⁵⁴² The government had however reported: “total of 28 bandits were killed on 18th June when their group was moving to Mussolo in Malanje. Various pieces of war equipment were also captured. Some 13 UNITA gang-sters were killed at a place 25 km from the headquarters of the municipality of Cuanda and (?Artaza) in Malanje province on 15th [as heard] June”. AP (1984) ‘Angola and rebels issue conflicting casualty claims,’ July 13; BBC (1984) ‘UNITA military claims for 31st July – 5th August period,’ SWB, August 28; BBC (1984) ‘Angolan and UNITA reports on military operations,’ SWB, October 20.

⁵⁴³ At Canda (Ganda?), where buildings and trucks were destroyed. BBC (1984) ‘Conclusion of UNITA congress: Military claims,’ SWB, November 13. In addition, UNITA reported, “In Malanje province on 13th December a FAPLA column was attacked on the Samba Lucala (?Mussapo) road, 7 km south of Terra Nova; 25 FAPLA soldiers and two Cubans were killed. Four vehicles, including a bus for transporting officers and Cuban and Russian advisers were destroyed”

⁵⁴⁴ Brittan, Victoria (1984) ‘Angola learns to live with perpetual war,’ The Guardian, Oct 19; (1984) ‘Malanje: Camponeses decididos a aderir a formas organizativas colectivas,’ Jornal de Angola, Oct 7.

⁵⁴⁵ Weigert (2011: 83-4). In July of 1985, the MPLA launched a two-front offensive aimed at Cazombo in the east and another in the south designed to prevent reinforcements re-energizing UNITA. Faced with MPLA threats against its territory in southern Angola, South Africa stepped up its support to UNITA. But the MPLA was able to take Cazombo, with this offensive being greatly bolstered by numerous trucks and armored cars in order to bring supplies with them without extended vulnerable supply lines.

⁵⁴⁶ The tractor requisitions only heightened Nzinga Mbandi’s problems in producing cotton and corn, and hence debts to the marketing boards and lack of material for the oil mill in Malanje city. The previous season it had been able to harvest 362 out of a planned 1,000 hectares, using fertilizer, tractors, degraded Delta Pine seeds, and herbicides and insecticides. It had planted 130 hectares of corn, 24 hectares of which were too late, and harvest some 118 tons. A further 5-22 ha were planted with cassava for workers.

7).⁵⁴⁷ By the start of the planting and rainy season in September, there were more rumors of UNITA around Cambunze and the Cahombo and Union plantations. Then an army sergeant and lieutenant requisitioned more material from Cahombo, including a generator, motors, gasoline, barbed wire, and tin roofs from the chicken yards. Workers continued on through mid-October, despite some attacks by UNITA. In the next month, November, however, two people were killed after a vehicle hit a land mine in the area. There was also fighting and casualties near Soqueco, and on November 9th about 10 tractors and 30 tons of corn were burned, with workers sent to the army unit to request help. The next week there were more attacks, deaths and kidnappings there. Without the machinery, the weeding of corn was not done later that year in December, since nearby villagers had by then left the area due also to land mines, which had already blown up a tractor a few months prior while fetching workers.⁵⁴⁸ By 1986, only 6 of the Cacuso Agriculture Enterprise's 61 tractors would be operational, and only 23 of 141 operational at Nzinga Mbandi.

As rail traffic slowed with the attacks in 1985, FAPLA moved to the road, and these road convoys were also targeted. In mid-August, for example, UNITA attacked a highway column east of Cacuso, at Quizenga, and then that same month attacked the EDA warehouse at Kota, burning several tons of corn, bean and groundnut seeds, as well as farming and office equipment and files. In the next month, September, with UNITA having consolidated its position in the north of Malanje, fighting again increased in the area east of Kota, around Cambunze and Soqueco, and the Luanda-Malanje highway was shut to civilian traffic.

And so by 1985 transport difficulties were of great importance in various reports on agricultural development and commerce. The Malanje assembly noted transport between municipalities had been canceled due to insecurity, and lamented "the frequent mobilization of trucks for work in support of defense services." The Kota EDA director complained in 1985 that the lack of gasoline for the fulfillment of the plan for preparing the soil, as well as the lack of accessories for the machinery has provoked great upset in the associations, so we think it convenient in the next years to work by hand or with animal traction." Indeed, in 1986, there was a tractor brigade in Kota, but it only yielded 800 tons of corn, and 400 tons of cassava, being restricted to 45 liters of gasoline. By August 1985, the state unit DINAMA halted its supervision of seed distribution, leaving it to each agricultural station to try to collect the seeds due to be reimbursed from loans in the previous 1983-4 and 1984-5 seasons. Likewise, DINAMA ceased distributing fertilizer in exchange for harvested goods, and would leave it to each agricultural station to sell fertilizer to farmers. But with consumer goods unavailable, farmers had little reason to sell to the few war-tattered trucks that could make it to the fields, heightening the chain of debt to the state agencies, Ministries, and ultimately the national treasury.⁵⁴⁹ In Malanje and the bulk of the country, the tight links and coordination necessary to the work of post-independence integrated socialist agro-industrial development were literally being blown apart.

⁵⁴⁷ Esperança, or 'Hope,' plantation was a former early short-lived penal settlement intended to put convicts to agricultural work. See Patraquim (1966).

⁵⁴⁸ It noted also that in 1985 "the enemy had penetrated inside the Enterprise, having burned operating machines as well as part of the production."

⁵⁴⁹ For example, Malanje EDA was in debt to DINAMA 22 million kwanzas for fertilizer for the 1984-5 season.

Period 5 - After 1986: Plans Abandoned, and a Shift to Survival

The period after 1986 saw war deepen and spread further, and the macroeconomy remain wobbly even as liberalization measures were introduced, but together these facts meant that the integrated socialist agro-industry dreams had to be effectively abandoned in favor of the sheer necessity of securing of food for survival and attempting a modicum of political and administrative control.

Malanje became a crucial contested connecting point as UNITA had stepped up its activities in the north west and central highlands of Angola, and the government had launched a major operation in the West, 'Iron Fist,' on May 27th, 1986.⁵⁵⁰ UNITA had been strengthened by SADF support, newly arrived stinger missiles and anti-tank weapons from the US, and it hit government supply lines. With UNITA consolidating and active all around Malanje Province, in 1986 the President replaced the Malanje Commissar with a trusted military man, Jose Ernesto "Liberdade" dos Santos, who promptly established committees to protect the railway.⁵⁵¹ But by November that year the highway was still unpassable by civilians, and in December UNITA destroyed 80,000 liters of gasoline and captured Kalandula.

The fighting and transport difficulties had disrupted not only the socialist projects, but also a World Food Program project that sought distribute inputs and food to farmers in exchange for farm output. For example a WFP tractor was attacked by UNITA in November in the Baixa and the inputs seized and burned. With the railway damaged in places and the highway closed due to risks, the WFP project complained of "the constant lack of transport, principally between Luanda and Malanje, which has given rise to great losses and declines." In late 1986, for example, 6 rail carriages with 224 tons of rice from Luanda had been diverted by the army in Kwanza Norte. Transport problems also caused project fish and flour to sit spoiling in Luanda warehouses.

Much the same occurred the following year, 1987. UNITA appears to have engaged in battles to keep its positions in the municipalities around Malanje city, and the railroad was still not running, though Luanda-Malanje highway convoys started to circulating again in July. After UNITA received an airdrop of weapons in Malanje in March 1988, Cuban reinforcements arrived in Malanje a few months later, and the fighting continued. With the destruction of more fuel storage, and widespread road ambushes (including near Kota in September), transport problems also remained persistent.

This low-level pattern of conflict would continue more or less for the next decade until the major but ultimately unsuccessful UNITA onslaught on the city of Malanje from mid-1998 until mid-2000, and then the end of the war in early 2002. But the damage had been done. Not much could be done by the new Minister of Agriculture appointed in 1987, Faustina Muteka, despite his experience fighting UNTA in the south and as a former Minister of Transport. The attempt at resuscitating the old colonial agribusiness in a socialist guises was now completely untenable. The government had been forced to adapt, with reforms that loosened local discretion, if albeit only to find creative way to try to make ends meet under impossible conditions.

⁵⁵⁰ Government forces moved westward from Luena, and from Cuando Cubango towards Mavinga.

⁵⁵¹ Liberdade was coming from his post as Commissar of Huambo where he had gained much experience fending off UNITA.

In late 1987, for example, EDAs were supposed to submit their own budget to the national one, yet the directors could not figure out what to do. Only by renting out the state cars could they bring in money, and soon the trucks lacked parts. While three IFA trucks in Cacuso had been burned by UNITA, Kota continued to use its truck and sell seeds to get income. At the Lombe EDA, one IFA truck had been requisitioned by the military command in the previous year until it broke down, while another IFA truck there was also burned in 1987 by UNITA.

A report for the first trimester of 1988 noted that the Kota EDA “was an area where the enemy’s action is constant. It so happened that even some documentation linked to accounting and ATM came to be damaged.” No financing had come through, and the workers were without salaries. The EDAs didn’t have sufficient revenue, and weren’t in a position to get bank credit, due to “the military situation that is happening in its areas of action.” The budget for the first part of 1988 was only enough cover salaries, and even that mostly went to Cacuso, Malanje, and Kalandula. For bulk acquisition of basic food and goods in 1988, the provincial government was forced to rely on a private trader, who would in turn become one of Malanje’s largest traders.

The deliberate Western Cold War campaign to destabilize of the newly independent socialist Angolan government had effectively worked. With oil markets also glutted amidst battles between OPEC national and Western private oil companies, Angola was forced to seek further external credit tied with conditionality for economic liberalization. The next section documents how the privatization of food marketing emerged under such pressure, and shows that the problems with such privatization during the period of war lead to the post-war approaches to food marketing. The end effect, however, was also to institutionalize a distinctly militarized set of people and approaches to transport, mobility, and the distribution of food and goods, as we shall see in the following sections, which returns to the contemporary era and the state’s sub-contracted supermarket project.

6.3 War, Leveraged Liberalization, and the Privatization of Food Marketing

In order to help explain the state’s post-war emphasis on the logistics and regulation of food, and the involvement of the military therein, this section documents the severe problems of food provisioning during the war, caused by general destruction and by UNITA’s use of starvation as a weapon of war. I focus on Malanje in the periods of war 1993-95 and 1998-99, and situate these in relation to the rise of private food imports and supermarkets in Luanda that occurred during the tumult of partial liberalization leveraged upon war-torn Angola by international creditors while oil prices were low, described above in sub-section 2.3.3.⁵⁵²

⁵⁵² The next several pages draw mostly from these sources: Aguilar (various); Mallet, Victor (1987) ‘Angola wants to join IMF,’ *Financial Times*, Aug 19; BBC (1988) ‘USA causing difficulties over IMF membership application,’ *BBC Monitoring Service*, March 22; Speilmann, P.J. (1988) ‘U.S. Official Says No Diplomatic Recognition for Angola Without UNITA Talks,’ *The Associated Press*, Dec 21. For the period 1991-2, there are a number of informative articles by Anita Coulson reporting for Reuters, see (1990) ‘Angola devaluation up in air with currency chaos,’ Oct 21; (1991) ‘Strikes by Angolan oil workers hit production,’ July 16; (1991) ‘Angola finance minister ponders devaluation timing,’ July 18; (1991) ‘Angola faces economic paralysis as labour unrest mounts,’ July 19; (1991) ‘Striking Angolan oil workers face possible dismissal,’ July 19; (1991) ‘Angolan government raises wages to counter strikes,’ July 24; (1991) ‘Angola devalues currency amid sweeping reforms,’ Nov 18; (1992) ‘Angola plans new economic measures, devaluation,’ March 16; BBC (1991) ‘Angola minister announces devaluation of currency

The following description illustrates how critical during the 1990s war were the practical issues of food provisioning in provinces outside of Luanda for civilians, refugees, government and the military. The state ration stores were closed in November 1991. In January 1992 new regulations for importers were issued, and the state marketing enterprises were disbanded that February.⁵⁵³ In Luanda private shops and markets for imported food and goods grew in number, size, and concentration during the 1990s, but the already devastated provinces were hit hard again by war and in contrast relied relatively less on private imports and more heavily on emergency food relief from humanitarian organizations. By 1993, both sides were also reportedly using humanitarian aid as a weapon of war.⁵⁵⁴ When the war concluded in 2002, what had solidified in Luanda was a large-scale concentrated food import industry, and it was those large imported food companies that would extend their tentacles to the provinces in the post-war period. Those concentrated companies took over the old colonial warehouses that had been used by the humanitarian organizations during the war years of the 1990s – warehouses that had, before them, belonged to the socialist state marketing enterprises in the 1980s before they were disbanded during liberalization measures.

So, to understand the significance of PRESILD, a Luanda-centric analysis cannot suffice. PRESILD was not simply about getting rural food to Luanda, but rather fundamentally about the national strategic importance of restoring equitable trade throughout the provinces and thereby countering the inequity and instability of the neo-colonial private companies controlling food imports going from Luanda to the provinces after the destruction of the war and the socialist project.

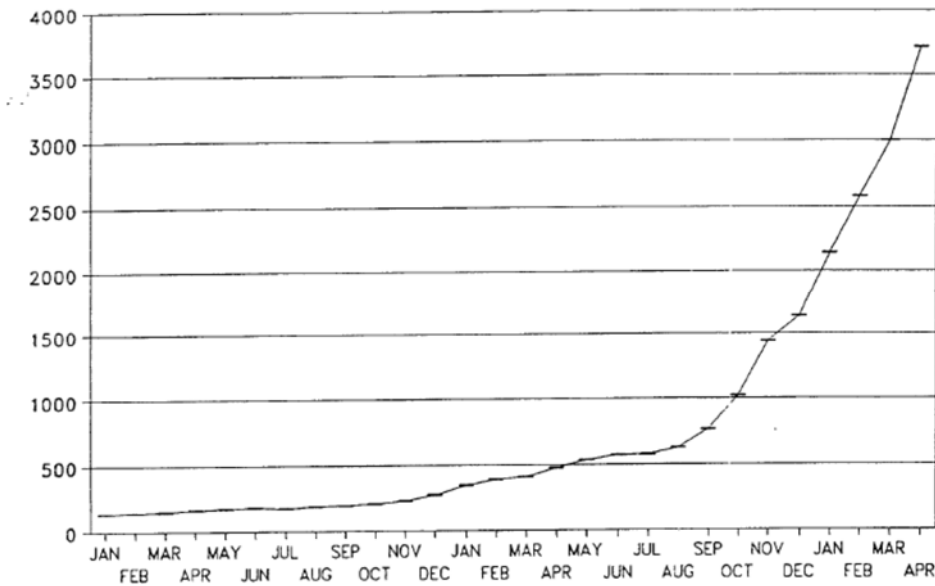
The mangled liberalization measures combined with renewed conflict, and the result was to precipitate in Luanda greater reliance on imported food, but also greater insecurity about it, not least given skyrocketing inflation and costs of living (see Graph 6.6). Foreign exchange for imports was devoted to largely to arms, which were financed on costly short-term loans and mortgaged oil. Military expenditure and wage and subsidy adjustments were financed by printing more money, which further exacerbated inflation. The issue of wages and food for the army was particularly important as the government sought to retain morale and loyalty of troops and officers – many of which had been incorporated over the years from UNITA – amidst extremely heavy fighting. The situation in Luanda would remain precarious over the next several year, as further described in section 6.4.1 below. In September of 1995 tensions ran high; there were several attacks on WFP food warehouses in Luanda by people who had been mutilated during the war, and some 27 other people were killed while breaking in to an army food warehouse. A general strike was threatened – but then defused – over big jumps in the prices of basic goods.

by 100%,’ SWB, Dec 30; (1992) ‘Angola raises prices for many basic goods,’ Reuters, Jan 3; Matloff, Judith (1992) ‘Angola appeals for food aid as UNITA advances,’ Reuters, 18 Nov; Sayagues, M. (1995) ‘Angola-Politics: Diamonds, poverty and discos,’ Inter Press Service, Sep 25.

⁵⁵³ See Decretos 1/92, 15/92, 18/92, 19/92.

⁵⁵⁴ Spielmann, P. (1993) ‘Security council tells Angola rebels to let food shipments through,’ Associated Press, June 30.

Graph 6.6: Consumer Price Index in Luanda, January 1991 to April 1993



Source: Aguilar (1994: 5)

In Malanje, food had become tight by early 1993 (half the UN's 300 ton stock there had been looted after the elections), prices were rising, refugees were increasing, road access was blocked, and risky WFP flights were stepping up.⁵⁵⁵ "Almost every day I get a gun stuck in my face by some crazed soldier yelling, 'Give me food! Give me food!' ... It's an impossible situation to deal with ... And I'm sick of it. I've got 18 more days to go, and I'm out of here," exclaimed a Brazilian WFP worker in March.⁵⁵⁶ WFP was then flying five flights per day to get rice, corn, and cooking oil to Malanje.⁵⁵⁷ They flew at altitudes over 20,000 feet to be out of range of UNITA's old US-supplied stinger missiles, and, when the planes were safely over the city, they then spiraled down in a corkscrew to reach the runway. A range of mostly international NGOs in Malanje – Concern, World Vision, WFP, ADRA (Angolan), Caritas, UNICEF, Oikos, MSF, and Red Cross – came to coordinate the feeding centers and food aid supplies stored in various warehouses of the former state marketing enterprises (and, before those, colonial agribusinesses). By July 1993 food aid flights to Malanje resumed but were then halted after one was hit by one of UNITA's American missiles.

It was at this point, in May 1993, that the United States, in the form of a declaration by President Clinton, recognized Angola as a sovereign country, some 18 years after its independence.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁵ McGreal, Chris (1992) 'Desperate city gets ready for UNITA onslaught,' *The Guardian*, Dec. 1; (1993) 'Life is cheap, but price of food on the rise,' *AFP*, Feb 6; Simpson, Chris (1992) 'UNITA forces advance towards key provincial city,' *Inter Press Service*, March 5.

⁵⁵⁶ Quoted in Nobel, K. (1993) 'Soldiers battle for food in besieged Angola city,' *New York Times*, March 20.

⁵⁵⁷ Taylor, Paul (1993) 'Angola's Potentially Rich Economy Still Limping from War Wounds,' *Washington Post*, March 27.

⁵⁵⁸ E.g. Gosko, John (1993) 'U.S. recognizes dos Santos's Angola government,' *Washington Post*, May 20.

Demand for food increased as refugees in the city topped a hundred thousand, including some 10,000 orphaned children.⁵⁵⁹ Some of the food was reportedly going on to black markets, with accusations blaming government soldiers and high-level officials, including the governor Flávio Fernandes.⁵⁶⁰ Story after story recounts violent fights over grains spilled from relief shipments, and victims of starvation and landmines overflowing the hospital and clinics.⁵⁶¹ By October 1993, reports estimated roughly a hundred people per day were dying in Malanje city due to lack of food. Hundreds upon hundreds of women trying to collect food from nearby areas disappeared or were killed, shot, stabbed, and injured.⁵⁶² This was only one indication how bad the food situation had become throughout the country – by December 1993, a year after fighting had resumed, some two million people in Angola required emergency food aid.⁵⁶³

By the start of 1994, aid flights had begun to continue and address the food shortages in Malanje city, with sometimes 10 flights per day, but the planting season was missed, and flights were still disrupted by UNITA attacks, including two attempted high-level visits by members of the US Congress.⁵⁶⁴ Some flights were operated by TransAfrik, the company of the businessman Herminio that I mention in Chapters 4 and 7 in relation to his involvement in the late 2000s in rebuilding the highway to Malanje, and acquiring a nearby plantation. In April, UNITA stepped up its attacks on the Malanje airport in response to what it called “the warmongering, bloodthirsty and unpopular nature of the Futungoland Creoles,” and in May the WFP again ceased flights after repeatedly being targeted and hit.⁵⁶⁵ “You see children licking milk powder off the floor outside our stores,” said one NGO worker in Malanje in August 1994.⁵⁶⁶

In Luanda, as the government reduced its direct role in state marketing of food and imports increased, beginning in the early and mid-1990s, a number of large private food importers and supermarkets were established. Among the first of the supermarkets was a branch of the Brazilian company Disco, which had plans for a supermarket by 1988, and was soon followed by 1994 investments in poultry by another Brazilian company, Pão de Açúcar which apparently had

⁵⁵⁹ Shaw, Cindy (1993) ‘Angolan civil war creating starvation and orphans,’ NPR Weekend Edition, Dec 19. See also the study on refugees to Malanje city by de Carvalho and Cohen (2000).

⁵⁶⁰ (1993) ‘At least 50 civilians reportedly killed in central Angolan town,’ AFP Sep 6. Maier, Karl (1994) ‘Aid puts Angola famine on hold,’ Jan 31; Brogan, Benedict (1994) ‘The agony of Angola,’ The Herald (Glasgow), March 16; Sayagues, Mercedes (1999) ‘The poor don’t matter, and their misery persists,’ Mail and Guardian, Oct 1.

⁵⁶¹ Maier, Karl (1993) ‘Angola war victims close to famine,’ The Independent, Sep 15. McDougall, Chris (1993) ‘Devastation, death in African nation’s heartland,’ Associated Press, Sep 17; Kiley, Sam (1993) ‘Siege turns proud granary of Angola into city of hunger,’ The Times, Oct 29; (1994) ‘Children starve in city of orphans,’ The Observer, Feb 20.

⁵⁶² (1993) ‘Govt.-UNITA talks to start Monday; Fighting continues,’ Associated Press, Nov 14; (1993) ‘Emaciated women and children bear witness to ravages of war,’ AFP, Dec 4. (1993) ‘Women bayoneted to death in search of food for their children,’ PR Newswire Europe, Dec 8; Maier, Karl (1994) ‘Bitter harvest from killing fields,’ The Independent, June 6.

⁵⁶³ Shaw, Angus (1993) ‘Two million need food aid in Angola,’ The Times, Dec 11.

⁵⁶⁴ McDougall, C. (1994) ‘UNITA rebels, government allow aid flights to resume,’ Associated Press, Feb 14. (1994) ‘Shelling halts UN relief flights,’ The Globe and Mail, March 4.

⁵⁶⁵ BBC (1994) ‘Luanda says Malanje under fire; “Futungoland Creoles” accused of air attacks,’ SWB, April 1; BBC (1994) ‘World Food Programme aircraft hit near Malanje,’ SWB, May 23; Maier, Karl (1994) ‘UNITA batters siege town,’ The Independent, May 28; BBC (1994) ‘World Food Programme aircraft shot at in Malanje,’ SWB July 16.

⁵⁶⁶ (1994) ‘Angola-Food: Out of sight, out of mind, aid officials despair,’ Inter Press Service, Aug 8; Shaxson, Nicholas (1994) ‘Besieged Angolan city struggles for food,’ Reuters, Aug 29.

some sales in Angola by the late 1980s through its subsidiary Planco.⁵⁶⁷ Soon thereafter, the supermarket businesses Marcar (1995) and Cash & Carry (1997) were established, with the South African chain Shoprite following suit in 1998. The Jumbo supermarket had existed in the 1970s, and was re-registered in 2001. In addition to these large supermarkets, large food importers were formed, including Arosfram by 1994, Golfrate by 1996, AngoAlissar and Afri-Belg by 1998, and Atlas in 2000.⁵⁶⁸

Presaging some of the PRESILD plans, the government announced in July 1997 a program to spend \$30 million on a new rural trading program covering 10 provinces.⁵⁶⁹ Simultaneously, as reporters noted in 1997, “Farmers in UNITA areas, the most productive zones in the country, are often prevented from bringing their goods to Luanda and government-held provincial capitals for sale.”⁵⁷⁰

Nationally, the situation would calm significantly from 1995 to 1997, but there were still frequent sporadic attacks. By the end of 1997, however, UNITA troop and arms movements were reported. By mid-1998, outright UNITA attacks – including on UN convoys near Cacuso and a nearby relief NGO – signaled the return to war in Malanje Province.⁵⁷¹ UNITA temporarily seized Kalandula in September, and the December 18th shelling of Malanje city signaled the return of several more years of hunger, death, destruction and insecurity, with the most intense period for Malanje city lasting until late 1999.⁵⁷² After UNITA shot down several UN flights elsewhere in Angola, WFP flights to Malanje ceased until May.⁵⁷³ However WFP was then again attacked on the highway up from Luanda in June, and food aid ceased for two months, with subsequent reports of several people dying each day from hunger in Malanje city.

In sum, the 1990s saw very serious problems of food provisioning as food was used as a weapon of war and state marketing structures had been abandoned during the partial liberalization of agro-food marketing in Angola. Such liberalization resulted not only from recognition with management problems in the 1980s but also largely from the use of international credit pressure upon an economy devastated by war and confronting low oil prices. By sketching Malanje’s experiences from the 1970s through the 1990s, the preceding sections have provided the first in-depth documentation and overview of the dynamics and extent of food insecurity and agro-food

⁵⁶⁷ See (1988) *Diário de Notícias*, May 28.

⁵⁶⁸ *Diário da República*, Series III, various. Interviews with these companies would provide more detailed histories, but some have since closed or been reshuffled.

⁵⁶⁹ BBC (1997) ‘Government funds 30m-dollar revamp of rural trade network,’ BBC Monitoring Service: Africa, July 8.

⁵⁷⁰ Fleming, John (1997) ‘Angolan agriculture may be key to economic gains,’ Reuters, May 8.

⁵⁷¹ BBC (1994) ‘UN Mission confirms presence of UNITA troops in five provinces,’ *Worldwide Monitoring*, June 4; BBC (1994) ‘UN vehicle ambushed in Malanje, translator killed,’ SWB, May 23.

⁵⁷² (1998) ‘UNITA Savimbi loyalists seize key Angolan northern town: army,’ AFP, Sep 28; Muanza, Manuel

(1998) ‘UNITA shells northern Angolan city, fighting elsewhere,’ AFP, Dec 18; Muanza, Manuel (1999) ‘Angola slides back into all-out civil war,’ AFP, Jan 4; (1999) ‘UNITA forces start siege to northern Angolan province,’ Xinhua, Jan 5; Sayagues, Mercedes (1999) ‘The poor don’t matter, and their misery persists,’ *Mail and Guardian*, Oct 1; Namadar, A. and I. Costa (1999) ‘War brings famine and pestilence to Angolan province of Malange,’ CNN, Aug 15. BBC (1999) ‘Angolan bishop reports starvation in Malanje Province, calls for peace,’ SWB, Aug 21; UN (1999) ‘Despite food aid, Malanje remains an emergency,’ UN IRIN, Nov 3; Richardson, Anna (1999) ‘Trucks relieve Angola’s saddest city, where children fight for ears of corn,’ *The Independent*, Aug 14; (1999) ‘World Food Programme: Relief food arrives in besieged Angolan town of Malange,’ M2 Presswire, Aug 6.

⁵⁷³ BBC (1999) ‘Aid agencies to leave Malanje as fighting continues,’ *Worldwide Monitoring*, Jan 6; BBC (1999) ‘Malanje siege ends, airlifting of food resumes,’ *Worldwide Monitoring*, May 19.

marketing transformation, and this perspective is essential to any understanding of the state's post-war marketing efforts, which I examine in the following final section.

6.4 Post-War Nationalist PRESILD Supermarkets Revive Logistics but Backfire

While military and reconstruction logistics have been largely top-down affairs, they have also been enmeshed in wider popular agro-food marketing initiatives. The post-war efforts at developing Angola's agricultural marketing system have been influenced by both the general logistics tendencies, and the specific involvement of figures from the military and police. Food provision for the army has long been a subject of importance in Angola (as elsewhere à la Tilly 1990). Due to war, economic crisis, and some mismanagement, finding adequate food in Luanda in the 1980s became an extremely difficult, contested task (Morice 1985). Much of the army food and other provisions came to be supplied through the state enterprise EMATEC established in the early 1980s, and its successor Simportex in the 1990s. A more recent small but high profile example of the continuing importance of military (and oil sector) food provisioning is the Terra Verde farm just outside Luanda that was supported by one of the 'Angolagate' figures (Shaxson 2007).⁵⁷⁴ More importantly, after decades of war-related hunger and periodic shortages and price volatility, a system of assured, stable-priced food was seen to be a key test of the benefits of peace and a measure of confidence in the government's 2008 electoral victory. So when post-war plans emerged to develop food marketing in Angola, the heavy emphasis was on logistics, including an emphasis on ensuring food for the police and military. In practice, it was to the police, military, and civil servants that would go the corn and beans from the new agricultural plantations established through construction by sub-contracted Chinese and Brazilian firms. But the whole saga has broader relevance.⁵⁷⁵ Colonial supermarkets of the 1970s were transformed into state socialist supermarkets in the 1980s that were then privatized in the 1990s and then emulated and supplemented with state-financed but privately run supermarkets in the 2000s.

Specific plans for the post-war supermarkets emerged in September 2005, when the Council of Ministers approved the 'Executive program for the implementation of the restructuring of the logistics and distribution system for essential products to the population' (PRESILD), with a coordination group that included representatives from Commerce, Administration, Transport, and Communication ministries, and of course Kopelipa at the Military House.⁵⁷⁶ About a year later, after other management groups were established, an Implementation Coordination Group was established with representatives from the Ministries of Finance, Commerce, Economy, and Agriculture, and assessors from the President and Prime Minister's offices, but also, importantly, Kopelipa, the Ministries of Interior and Defense, and representatives from the National Police and the Armed Forces (the army had reportedly established its own Specialized School of

⁵⁷⁴ Cf. Ferguson's (2006: 38) notion that 'Capital does not "flow" from New York to Angola's oil fields ... it hops, neatly skipping over most of what lies in between.'

⁵⁷⁵ Another aspect worth considering is the practice from the colonial era of state provision for civil servants (subsidies, discounts, etc), in order to reward and entice governmental service. This included subsidized housing, for example. And one can find also find resonances in the contemporary subsidized work-place canteens for employees. In 2012, Angola's civil service had roughly 300,000 workers, a substantial number for whom to coordinate housing and food.

⁵⁷⁶ Despacho Presidencial 15/05.

Logistics in 1999).⁵⁷⁷ The head of Internal Commerce at the Ministry of Commerce at this time, Gomes Cardoso, was reportedly an economist and long-time director, and an MPLA activist after having left UNITA.⁵⁷⁸

Construction and management of the PRESILD network was sub-contracted to Brazilian and Portuguese firms. In February 2007, Gomes Cardoso announced that the government would spend \$1.7 billion on PRESID by 2012.⁵⁷⁹ The flagships would be 31 ‘Nosso Super’ supermarkets, covering all of Angola’s 18 provinces. Painted in the national colors of black, gold and red, bedecked with flags and built at prominent sites, the ‘Our Super’ stores became common geographical referents and landmarks that reworked the old Portuguese imperial hymn ‘Angola é Nossa’ (‘Angola is Ours’). These would, according to the announced plans, be supplemented by 163 urban markets, 9 distribution and logistics centers, and 10,000 small retail stores called ‘Poupa Lá’ (‘Save There,’ which would be part of a ‘New Nearby Commercial Network’).⁵⁸⁰

Figure 6.6: The Nosso Super Market in Malanje



Source: <http://www.nossosuper.co.ao>, <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/original/2677538.jpg>

⁵⁷⁷ Ministry of Finance Despacho 196/06; ANGOP (2014) ‘Benguela: Comandante do Exército exige empenho na formação de logísticos das FAA,’ Jan 13.

⁵⁷⁸ See http://www.club-k.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1613:ex-ministro-do-comercio-tentou-matar-a-tiro-gomes-cardoso&catid=23:politica&Itemid=123; http://www.portalangop.co.ao/angola/pt_pt/noticias/politica/2006/10/44/Empossada-nova-direccao-municipal-MPLA-Sambizanga,56a44a10-b469-4ed3-b5a7-f54a46aca062.html; <http://www.mpla.ao/imprensa.52/noticias.55/mpla-realiza-nesta-6%C2%AA-feira-reunioes-metodologicas-provinciais.a893.html>.

⁵⁷⁹ See EIU March 2007, p. 21, ‘Presild cost spirals to US\$1.7bn.’

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

In contrast with decades of war-related scarcity and uncertainty, and the domination by foreign traders during the early period of market liberalization in the 1990s, Nosso Super advertisements emphasized their ‘just prices,’ modern technology, product quality, reliable availability and abundance, rebirth, regeneration, and, as village women remarked in one TV spot, “non-stop growth.”⁵⁸¹ In contrast to experiences of painful material and familial separation during the war, TV ads showed smiling Angolans of different stripes holding hands in different national iconic sites across the country, under the slogan, ‘always close to you.’

The Nosso Super project clearly invoked nationalist imagery in contrast to the scapegoating of foreign parasites/speculators/saboteurs during the turbulent period of liberalization 1990s. In conjunction with this nationalist imagery and rhetoric, Nosso Super contradictorily utilized foreign contracted businesses to finally implement a revived form of state-managed logistics that were attempted during the socialist period but largely undermined by the disruptions of war (see the next section).

6.4.1 *PRESILD in Malanje*

Examining the specific experiences in Malanje can illustrate some of the grand plans for PRESILD and their limitations with regard to cassava markets. Malanje was to have one of the 9 regional Distribution and Logistics Centers, and would serve the Lunda and Moxico Provinces in the North East. This distribution center and the central supermarket were in turn supposed to be linked to a total of 110 other stores in the Province. To build this scheme in Malanje, according to press reports, a \$140 million contract went to a Spanish firm, the Provision Markets Installation Society, with financing from Deutsche Bank Spain.⁵⁸²

A key part of the plans for Malanje and the whole national scheme was a 300 ha dry port at Lombe, 24 km west of Malanje, linked with the rail line, and announced in 2008 by Malanje’s Provincial Director of Commerce and Industry. “All the wholesale traders are informed, and they are awaiting the moment when they can transfer their activities from the city of Malanje to Lombe,” the Director said in 2008, but by 2015 nothing but a fence and a dirt road has been built at the site. Part of the problem may have been the overly ambitious, expensive, and technical planning document composed by the Portuguese logistics firm Logistel.⁵⁸³ The Lombe dry port, one of several planned throughout the country, was to relieve congestion at the Luanda port, and have facilities for customs, administration, security, warehousing, cold storage, weighing, parking, firefighting, hotel accommodation, and grain storage.⁵⁸⁴ Despite Nosso Super’s

⁵⁸¹ See ‘Nosso Super,’ uploaded August 17, 2007, by tropadeshock, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=grd9PlzOqrg>

⁵⁸² Almeida, Catia (2007) ‘Simab ganha projecto em Angola,’ *Diário de Notícias*, March 30.

⁵⁸³ ANGOP (2008) ‘Centro de logística do Presild poderá servir províncias do leste,’ Sep 24. These studies were on display at a business fair in Luanda in the Ministry of Transport’s booth, together with a small model of the dry port at Lombe.

⁵⁸⁴ ANGOP (2010) ‘Apresentado projecto de edificação da logística do Lombe,’ Dec 2; Angop (2008) ‘Malanje: Catorze estabelecimentos comerciais serão construídos na província,’ Jan 25; ANGOP (2014) ‘Plataforma logística do Lombe vai permitir harmonização de sectores,’ June 13; ANGOP (2007) ‘Malanje: Obras de construção do centro de logística iniciam ainda este ano,’ April 10.

problems, the idea of integrated “logistics platforms” such as in Malanje and Lombe are still touted, and Lombe is now said to be opening in 2017.⁵⁸⁵

For Malanje’s smallholder farmers, the real problems with these ambitious but unsuccessful or unmaterialized plans are not simply the distraction, waste and corruption, but the effects on the actual existing practices of marketing, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. In Malanje, firstly, the revival of the train line to Luanda led to the displacement of the popular Xawande informal market in the center of town that had grown up in the area around the then unused

Figure 6.7: The Old Municipal Market in Malanje, and the Cleared Lot



Figure 6.8: Relocated Xawande Market and Trader Arriving via the Dirt/Mud Entrance Road



Sources: Author, Google Earth; <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/original/5285809.jpg>

⁵⁸⁵ (2014) ‘Porto do Lombe liga as regiões Norte e Centro,’ *Jornal de Angola*, Nov 1.

tracks and warehouses. It was relocated on the southern edge of town, down a small dirt road meandering through a neighborhood. Then after a separate large new covered market was built by the Chinese firm Sinhohydro on the eastern outskirts of town, the main bustling old colonial covered municipal market in the center of town was demolished, with MPLA flags put up around the empty lot and a billboard for a shiny new shopping center tower.

6.4.2 PRESILD as a Response to Effects of 1990s Conflict and Liberalization

To understand the resonance of some of the key features of PRESILD such as nationalist rhetoric and the reaction to excesses of liberalization we have to understand the politics and transformation of marketing during the 1990s. Perhaps the most indicative events were the aptly named “Operation Cancer” I and II in 1994 and 1996, designed to rid the national body politic of ‘parasitic’ ‘illegal’ foreign traders and informal diamond diggers and traffickers. The xenophobic crackdown occurred amidst major economic turbulence, including hyper-inflation, threatened civil servant strikes, and an uncertain war situation. A series of contradictory and partially coordinated economic programs, reforms, and price control and liberalization measures were partially implemented and retracted.⁵⁸⁶ While several hundred diamond miners and traders had been expelled in from Lunda Norte before the elections in 1992, expulsions there continued again in the next year, and by late 1993, after the government started its economic emergency plan, the expulsions expanded to include dozens of Lebanese traders in the first phase of Operation Cancer. It was with the deeper political and economic crisis in 1996 that a more severe second phase of Operation Cancer was launched. Before television and radio crews, some 3,500 West Africans and Asians were rounded up and deported.

The Minister of Commerce at this time was none other than Manuel Francisco Gomes Maiato, who would by 2009 become director of the nationalist PRESILD supermarket project. A few weeks after taking office as Minister of Commerce in late 1995, Maiato ordered a national survey of all traders, and he then issued stricter commercial guidelines in June 1996 to “discipline” commerce concurrent with the start of the New Life contractionary economic reform program.⁵⁸⁷ There was heavy pressure for imported food – the UN estimated that month that private cereal imports at some 200,000 tons, still leaving a shortfall of some 242,000 tons needed for emergency food aid for more than a million people.⁵⁸⁸ Amongst this scramble, the government fixed profit margins were at 25% and fixed prices for basic goods such as “soap, wheat, corn flour, cooking oil and milk,” while in the next month, July 1996, officials attempted to enforce the new official exchange rate with police closing various supermarkets and arresting

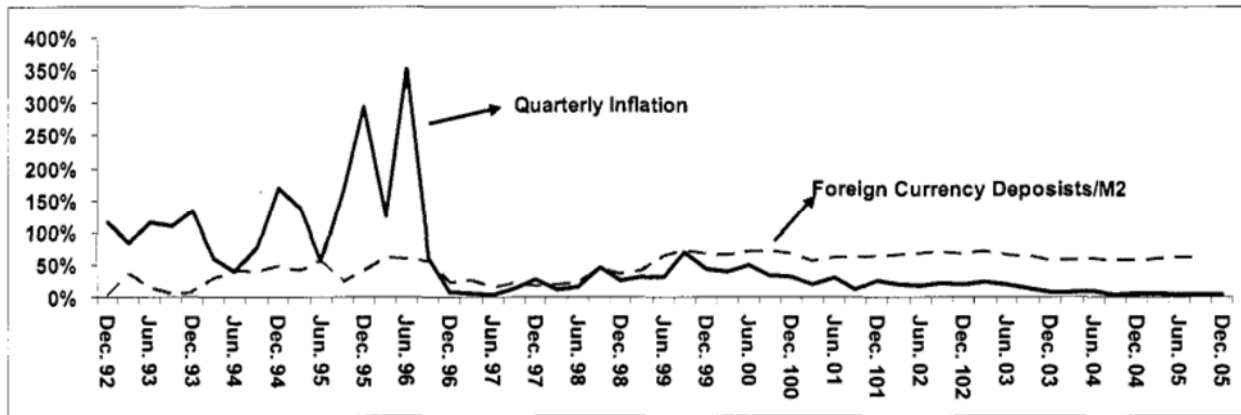
⁵⁸⁶ Hodges (2004: 113-26) gives a good overview. The programs included from August 1987 Saneamento Económico e Financeiro, January 1989 Programa de Recuperação da Economia, August 1990 Programa de Acção do Governo, January 1993 Programa de Estabilização da Economia, March 1993 Programa de Emergência do Governo, April 1994 Programa Económico e Social para 1995-6, June 1996 Programa Nova Vida, January 1998 Programa de Estabilização e Recuperação Económica de Medio Prazo 1998-2000, and January 2001 Programa Económico e Social para o Ano de 2001.

⁵⁸⁷ See Despacho 204/95, 72/96 and 73/96. Perhaps of note is that Maiato had previously served as Vice Governor for Economic Affairs in the Eastern Province from January 1992 until October 1993, but after less than two years had become the President’s economic advisor. A number of trade businesses were also started by people with the “Gomes Maiato” last name from 1994 onward.

⁵⁸⁸ Wroughton, Lesley (1996) ‘Angola will need 442,000 T cereal imports – U.N.,’ Reuters, July 4.

dozens of market owners and managers in Luanda.⁵⁸⁹ As inflation nonetheless crept to 12,000% by August, the government blamed speculation by foreigners and more roundups began.

Figure 6.9: Inflation and Dollarization



Source: World Bank (2006: 18)

The pricing regulations and forms that were established at this time were the ones still in use by the police check points as well as by the Ministry of Commerce officials in Malanje when I conducted fieldwork, who carefully checked and logged the reported prices and profit margins of apparently all major food imports into the city.

After leaving his post as Minister of Commerce, Maito served as governor of Lunda Norte where nationalist rhetoric and expulsions only increased, with tens of thousands of Congolese and West Africans being expelled in late 2003 and early 2004.⁵⁹⁰ January 2004 also saw another crackdown on foreign traders at Luanda’s central São Paulo market, about which National Trade Director Gomes Cardoso denied xenophobia and instead emphasized merely the “will to make everybody, Angolans and foreigners, respect the law.”⁵⁹¹ Two months thereafter, Cardoso announced that Angola needed to build at least 50,000 trading centers, and a year after that came the approval of plans for PRESILD, which Maito would coordinate. With PRESILD starting up, Cardoso again reiterated in November 2007 that the lawless marketing in Luanda would have to stop, and specifically that wholesaling would be restricted to supermarkets and specified zones.⁵⁹²

In sum, PRESILD and Nosso Super were launched both as revivals in new sub-contracted forms of older socialist logistics models and as blatantly nationalist measures to instill pride and assuage concerns about food security in the run up to the key 2008 elections. In carefully implicit contrast to the period of starvation amidst conflict following 1992 election, days before the 2008 election, Cardoso reassured the public that there would be sufficient supplies of food for several months through the state’s companies and Nosso Super.⁵⁹³ In contrast, Soares de Oliveira’s

⁵⁸⁹ Wroughton, Lesley (1996) ‘Angolan police raid shops in price crackdown,’ Reuters, July 9.

⁵⁹⁰ Cf. Marques (2006), which reports later activities in the region in Oct 2005.

⁵⁹¹ Barbier, S. (2004) ‘Luanda district deserted after crackdown on foreign traders,’ AFP, 24 Jan.

⁵⁹² EIU Country Report, Dec 2007, p. 12.

⁵⁹³ ANGOP (2008) ‘Garantido abastecimento alimentar no período eleitoral,’ Aug 20.

(2015) account focusing on Nosso Super only as elite appropriation makes no mention of the fact that PRESILD was established amongst other measures deliberately to ensure food security before the 2008 elections, nor does his account mention or connect this to the still vividly remembered experiences of post-1992 election food shortages.

After an initial spate of building, and many carefully planned, staged, and publicized openings leading up to the historic elections of September 2008, the network ran into severe problems. It relied on imported products, often not cheaper than local markets, and had scarcely any backward links to Angolan farm production.

As part of the subsequent restructuring, a Buying Center and Enterprise Cluster (CENCO) was established in 2009, headed by Maiato, who as governor of the diamond-rich Lunda Norte Province for a turbulent decade would have been very familiar with the logistics of trying to secure food and supplies to high profile expats and employees. The CENCO board likewise involved various generals, from the Ministry of Interior and armed forces. One of the main tasks for a coordination group – consisting of the representatives from the Nosso Super subcontractor GCT (a Portuguese food logistics company called Total Trade Management), the army, the Ministry of Interior, and the National Police – was to figure out how to clear up the nearly 2,000 containers piled up in the Luanda, Lobito, and Namibe ports from a ‘Necessities Plan.’⁵⁹⁴

Dozens, if not a hundred or more, of the small retail Poupa Lá stores were built – the number is not clear – but it is far less than the 10,000 initially projected. In December 2011, the Poupa Lá shops were transferred from Odebrecht to an Angolan state company (the Customs Entrepot of Angola).⁵⁹⁵ So, rather than the shops being a new public project that was privatized to cronies – as patronage perspectives emphasize – instead the network of shops newly constructed under contract was incorporated within an older state machinery. The state’s Entrepot had been established in 2002 during the first December holiday shopping season (when prices often spike) after the end of the war, and it was given the objective to stabilize prices of basic staples. The Entrepot’s initial plans were to import \$80 million worth of goods to 34 new warehouses designated for basic staples like rice, sugar, cooking oil, condensed milk, and soap in order to make the basic staples sector more competitive with regard to the large private importers such as Golfrate, Arosfram, and Angoalissar.⁵⁹⁶ By 2003 the Entrepot had imported roughly \$32 million worth of goods that it had supplied to 500 wholesalers.⁵⁹⁷ So, there was something of an existing state food marketing structure to which the Poupa Lá stores constructed by Odebrecht and private contractors were transferred in 2011.

Under the Entrepot state company, the network of Poupa Lá shops were re-opened in 2012, and later, in 2013, after the elections in late August 2012, plans were in the works to privatize the management (if not ownership) of PRESILD’s small retail store network Poupa Lá. By 2014 several such stores were reported to be transferred to private management. At the same time, however, new Poupa Lá stores were being inaugurated by the government, for example, in two

⁵⁹⁴ See Despacho Conjunto 342/09.

⁵⁹⁵ See Decreto 81/02; and Ministry of Commerce Despacho 901/11.

⁵⁹⁶ Bessa J. (2002) ‘Inauguração do Entrepot Aduaneiro de Angola - Discurso,’ Oct 22, http://www.minfin.gv.ao/press/event_88.htm; ANGOP (2012) ‘Segunda fase do Centro de Logística de Luanda orçado em mais de AKZ três biliões,’ Nov 1; ANGOP (2012) ‘Entrepot Aduaneiro de Angola reabre rede e lojas Poupa Lá,’ May 12; ANGOP, 2002, Oct 27.

⁵⁹⁷ ANGOP, 2006, Jan 15.

neighborhoods of Malanje city, with plans reported for new stores in Malanje municipalities. What appears to be happening therefore is that the original ambitious plans are still being financed and pursued to some extent, while some – how many is not clear – already constructed stores are being transferred to private management (the relationship of stores under private management to the supply networks is not clear).⁵⁹⁸

In addition to transferring these numerous small retail shops to the state company, in November 2011, well before the September 2012 elections, plans were announced to revive the 29 supermarkets. There was news of a contract for private management by Odebrecht and some Angolans, with ongoing occasional mentions and rumors of the impending transfer of operations to international corporations.⁵⁹⁹ In the meantime, in Luanda and a few other cities, some significant private supermarkets – such as South Africa’s Shoprite and Angolan elites’ Kero – have been established. In November 2014, a contract was approved transferring management of the Nosso Super network in exchange for a promise of \$74 million in investment (consisting of \$67 million invested by the Angolan company and \$7 million by Odebrecht).⁶⁰⁰

Soares de Oliveira (2015), in contrast, is elusive on these points, saying Odebrecht and private investors “took over” Nosso Super (70), that it was an example of “projects that ended up ... in private hands” (71), and exemplary of the broader “elite appropriation of state assets” (70). He confuses several points: (1) ownership vs management, (2) the Nosso Super markets with the much larger PRESILD network, and (3) PRESILD with the broader actions on agro-food marketing in general. The narrow emphasis on kleptocracy alone leads to a selective, vague, and ultimately misleading analysis.

Was PRESILD just a contrived, cynical ploy – using an extended spectacle of expensive nationalist propaganda that fed off popular hopes and dreams – for brokers, builders, contractors, financiers and traders to get rich in the name of development and poverty reduction, with ancillary functions of supplying cheap beer, protein and cereal staple calories to impoverished masses, assuring imported products for expats, and stoking a collective pre-election fantasy of modernity, progress and development?⁶⁰¹

Perhaps, but the whole PRESILD saga has also, contrary to its managers’ intents, become ample fodder for criticism and ridicule. People I spoke with in Malanje remarked quite realistically that Nosso Super was nice to have around to get cheap stuff, and perhaps a temporary job for a relative, but they did not expect it to last, given the likelihood of typical mis-management, and theft. The orderly store grounds were quickly accompanied by kids begging for change, motorbike taxis offering rides, and people swapping currencies and selling gasoline. While the

⁵⁹⁸ ANGOP (2014) ‘Rosa Pacavira visita obras das lojas "Poupa Lá" dos bairros da Maxinde e Ritondo,’ July 15. ANGOP (2014) ‘Comércio entrega loja Poupa Lá para gestão privada,’ July 26; ANGOP (2014) ‘Loja Poupa Lá da Xicala reabre com gestão privada,’ Aug 22.

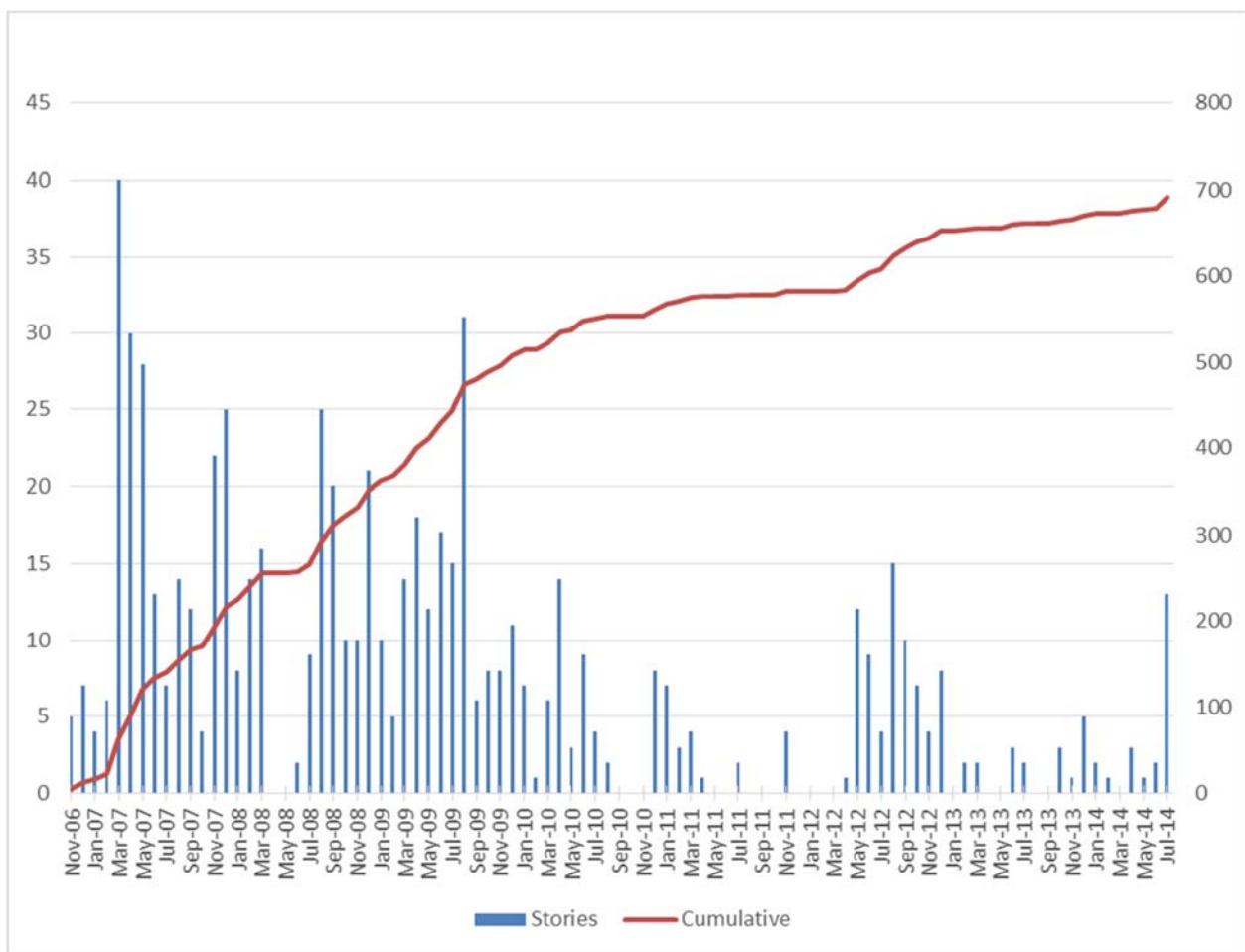
⁵⁹⁹ Victória, Álvaro (2011) ‘Rede Nosso Super poderá ser reactivada em Dezembro,’ *Expansão*, Nov 23; *ibid* (2012) ‘Rede Nosso Super está de regresso,’ *Expansão*, May 25; Melo, Aylton (2012), ‘Rede Nosso Super reabre com gestão privada por uma década,’ June 7.

⁶⁰⁰ Decreto Presidencial 314/14. NRSA was registered in March 2011 by Samora Borges Sebastião Albino in collaboration with Odebrecht, and is directed by José Eduardo Salome Schuab. See also <http://www.nrsa.co.ao>. Albino reportedly has links with the food trading company Bimesur based in Argentina, Brasil and Uruguay, and via share purchases with General ‘Dino’ of Cochán; see (2015) ‘Testas-de-ferro devolvem acções a general “Dino”,’ Jan 28, <http://www.club-k.net>.

⁶⁰¹ Cf. Coronil (1997), Apter (2005).

government issued some 700 media stories about PRESILD between 2008 and 2014, the independent press also ran at least 55 articles, the vast majority of which were critical, or at least skeptical or mocking. And criticisms even surfaced on state television – for example, on Angola’s Independence Day in November 2011, the Agriculture Minister was asked by caller on the TV Interview Program, “Public Space,” why Nosso Super was selling imported products while the same items were sitting in farmer’s fields without an outlet. Twelve days later, state radio featured a parliamentarian complaining about stores closing. Even some of the advertisements featured clearly aloof elite actors talking about cheap basic needs and buying farmers’ goods while standing in front of the stores’ locked luxury liquor cabinets and Häagen Dazs ice cream freezers. As stocks dwindled in the store in Malanje, management spread imported sacks of Brazilian rice and sealed beef along the shelves and stands in a sheepish gesture to avoid recalling too deeply the days of scarcity during war and socialist rations.

Graph 6.7: State Media Stories Mentioning PRESILD, Nosso Super and/or Poupa Lá



Source: ANGOP

In broader perspective, however, the mistakes of Nosso Super were unquestionably outweighed by the other significant post-war gains for most Angolans. Cassava farmers struggle with poor

marketing incentives resulting from the ways that the emphasis on road building and the involvement of security forces in coordinating construction and regulation of roads has exacerbated rather than resolved the cassava markets' key constraints of inequalities and uncondusive regulations (rather than imports made cheap by the oil-inflated exchange rate, as in 'Dutch Disease' perspectives).

In Malanje, every now and then one could still see some goats tethered up on the lot across the street from the Nosso Super supermarket, which was built at the site of the old goat market, and just across the road from the roads institute built in the 1960s. These goats there illustrate that the aforementioned tethered goat spatial metaphor for corruption, as well as the state supermarket logistics, both fail to really appreciate the actual spatiality of agricultural production and marketing that provides livelihoods for the vast majority of Angola's poor.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed contemporary cassava marketing and sought to situate the contemporary challenges of such marketing with regard to problematic post-war state initiatives and programs. These problematic initiatives and programs result from a particular geo-historical conjuncture of colonialism, war, and liberalization, rather than abstract exploitation by creole elite. PRESILD was neither simply an instance of capitalist dispossession nor an unproblematic socialist South-South response to neoliberalism, but rather was fundamentally a fraught nationalist approach shaped by years of war and militarization and responding to the turmoil of leveraged liberalization amidst war. Was PRESILD sincere but misguided? Or cynical and exploitative? It was a \$1 billion investment to provide some measure of publicly perceived and actual security and guarantee for the ability to provide basic food to people, military, and the government during the first elections since the descent into destruction after the last election. Did it work on to meet its stated goals? Hardly. Did it enrich some people? Very likely. Was that the only or main rationale? Not at all. In the broad picture, the hundreds of millions spent by the state over some 10 years are *relatively* little compared to the war-related destruction and current and prospective oil revenue.

It is unquestionable that marketing programs have been relatively expensive and hardly met their stated objectives, but they cannot be understood on their own. The expense, mismanagement, and construction associated with the programs could be argued to result from corruption and patronage, but the reason for the program and its legitimacy in the first place still have to be explained. Why do such large, integrated projects – with all their problems and private profits – “make sense” and appeal to state elites and parts of the populous? It is impossible to understand programs like PRESILD by only emphasizing patronage and corruption because such an approach ignores the depth of the destruction and scarcity of the war years and the chaos of food marketing in the years of privatization, and it is these deeply meaningful experiences that are key generators of the outsized dreams and plans for projects like PRESILD. If one ignores the depth of the disruption wrought by war and privatization, then the only explanation one has for outlandish plans like PRESILD is incompetence and kleptocracy.⁶⁰²

⁶⁰² Soares de Oliveira (2015: 97), for example, reduces the reasons for the government infrastructure reconstruction efforts to a ploy to “contradict UINTA’s caricature of the MPLA as a coastal and urban party,” in addition of course

Soares de Oliveira (2015), for example, only notes the “1975 collapse of rural markets”, and mentions nothing of the intentional disruption and destruction of markets during the war. Moreover, by specifying rural markets, he ignores the integrated agro-industrial aspects of the markets, which entailed a much more extensive economic infrastructure than just food marketing. He totally abstracts Nosso Super from the range of other agricultural marketing programs and initiatives, as if this large ‘failure’ was the only initiative going on. And he makes no mention of military involvement in PRESILD and the historical importance of the logistics of food for the military and state during the years in which their very survival was at stake. All of this complex, meaningful and important history is ignored with Soares de Oliveira’s (2015: 70) dismissive summary that “Ever since the 1975 collapse of rural markets, Angola has spent lots of time and money *rejigging* them” (emph. added). The word “rejigging” hardly does justice to the profound importance and efforts over thirty years that have gone into food provisioning in Angola. Ideology – according to such perspectives – is a superficial cover adopted to suit external pressures in so far as is necessary for pursuing underlying motives of profit and control. Hence socialist programs were devised, easily substituted with neoliberal ones, which have now been substituted by a motley set of oil-backed marketing programs – the differences between these have been less important than the underlying similarity that they were all really controlled by creole elite and driven by their desire for enrichment.

Such notions fail to appreciate the various geo-historical processes associated with colonialism, war, and liberalization, and how it is that specific conjunctures of such processes have shaped contemporary reconstruction projects on agro-food marketing as shown in this chapter, but also for development poles and roads in the preceding chapters. Our understanding of such processes and their effects also requires appreciating the great importance and precise influence of colonialism on what I am calling the agrarian configuration of Western Malanje.

to his notion of a get rich scheme. Likewise, the deep ways colonial rule have shaped Angola’s geography are downplayed by Soares de Oliveira when he says “It is rather at the rhetorical level that the impact of the late colonial model is clearest” (84).

Chapter 7 : More than Trade and Land Grabbing: Agrarian Concentration, Fragmentation, and Hierarchy

Building on the preceding chapters' analyses of the geographies and histories of transport and marketing, this chapter again returns to the specific areas described in the opening of this dissertation. Here I am concerned with bringing together the preceding pieces of the dissertation in arguing for the importance of what I am calling an "agrarian configuration" – characterized by concentration, hierarchy, and fragmentation – that involves combined spatial relations of land, markets and transport resulting from conjunctures of colonialism, war, and liberation. To help illustrate this conceptualization concretely, the chapter begins by describing a few examples of cassava production, processing, and marketing around my study villages. I briefly illustrate some of the ways that the time, labor, and remuneration of different social groups are shaped by access to land, water, transport, and markets, as well as how such access varies between and within village areas.

The rest of the chapter charts the geo-historical processes giving rise to this agrarian configuration. I distinguish my perspective by laying out the conventional interpretations of rural land issues in post-independence Angola, which largely focus only on quantities of land purportedly grabbed readily by all-powerful elites and their allies. I then briefly elaborate the key concepts of concentration, hierarchy, and fragmentation that I am using here to describe the agrarian configuration.

The third section of this chapter focuses on the colonial period and the ways that the agrarian configuration in Western Malanje was produced through the colonial plantations, mechanization, agro-industry, paternal social protection measures, settlement schemes, and village reordering. In the final section, I return to the present to consider four of the most significant large plantations in my study area and how they illustrate the recursive relationships between roads and markets and the agrarian configuration of concentration, hierarchy, and fragmentation. In these ways, this chapter's insights on land help deepen our understanding of the rural reconstruction projects (roads, growth poles, and markets) discussed in the preceding chapters, and also build on those chapters by showing how the processes associated with such projects are also essential to understanding contemporary agrarian relations.

This chapter is also partly responding to concerns in contemporary debates in critical agrarian studies of Africa, particularly about what difference varying approaches to space make in discussions over the extent to which negotiability in land tenure arrangements provide measures of flexibility and social protection or facilitate wide-spread harmful large-scale expropriation.⁶⁰³ In so doing, this chapter takes some inspiration in thinking about fragmentation and hierarchy in space from Lefebvre's writings, particularly with regard states (though of course in primarily examining rural Angola here I am emphasizing quite different contexts). As with my emphasis throughout the dissertation on the importance of the spatial relations of land and the roles of roads and markets therein, my findings here suggest that debates about the extent of negotiability in African land claims – and the consequences of such negotiability for inequality, accumulation, poverty and development – also could benefit from much more explicitly spatial and historical analysis. In the case of Western Malanje particularly, I argue that simplistic narratives of creole

⁶⁰³ Cf. Berry (2002); Peters (2004, 2013); Cotula et al. (2014).

elite grabbing land rightly highlight increasing concentration of land titles but seriously misunderstand the significance of land, inequality, and accumulation, and that these can only be understood with regard to the ways colonialism, war, and liberalization have shaped the agrarian configuration. The implications are simultaneously both less pessimistic about the venality, power, and finality of elite efforts at appropriation, and less optimistic about the possibilities that non-major liberal reforms and projects could significantly improve an increasingly deeply entrenched configuration.

7.1 Agrarian Configuration and Cassava Production, Processing and Marketing

In separate interviews with the same long-experienced high-level agricultural expert based in Malanje, I heard the apparently contradictory statements “there aren’t land conflicts in Malanje” and “Malanje is all cut up” by land concessions. These statements can be reconciled by seeing that although a very large and significant amount of land concessions has been made, there is still much land and such concessions are not yet enforced in a directly exclusionary way (perhaps partly because they are not yet used much) (see Table 7.2 below on page 303).⁶⁰⁴

The agrarian configuration described below is constituted partly through the marketing networks and practices described in the previous chapter, squeezing smallholders’ revenues from cassava sales. The basic cycle is one in which agrarian and marketing structures and dynamics constrain the capital and incentives that smallholders have for re-investing in local agricultural production and commercial infrastructure. That lack of local capital investment in turn re-enforces the difficulties in trade and limited production.

An example can help illustrate this. On one day as I was passing through Kuzuka, a truck was waiting there to load fresh cassava that was being harvested from someone’s field. Due to the distance from the field to the village, the cassava was being gathered by the use of a tractor from around the area. But such farm trucks did not even reach nearby villages such as Mwanya. The truck sat waiting for cassava from Kuzuka’s distant fields, even as people 10 kilometers away had to wait lamenting the fact that there was no transport. In other words, Kuzuka and Mwanya sat in a very hierarchical relationship to each other in terms of motorized access, while the fragmentation of Kuzuka’s fields – squished between plantations – increased the burden of carrying cassava back to the roadside. This cramping of fields between plantations and away from villages concentrated on roads leading to those plantations was viscerally apparent to me as I accompanied people to their various plots around Kuzuka, walking for a while in what were to me confusing and meandering paths (or sometimes just accompanying people on a motorcycle due to the distance from the village). Baptista’s (2013) survey reports that villagers in the area spent *an average* of one hour to reach their fields.

As the example just described illustrates, one aspect of this cycle is that the farm-gate mechanisms of exploitation in cassava marketing are exacerbated by poor feeder roads that prevent more traders. The bulk of state transport construction funding has gone into paving

⁶⁰⁴ Cf. Soares, Isaac (2012) ‘Conflito entre camponeses e fazendeiros em Malanje,’ *Voz da América*, October 24, <http://www.voaportugues.com/content/article/1532486.html>, accessed March 21, 2015. This article recounts a provincial meeting of ADRA, and a disputes around Mufuma (Cabandi), specifically regarding a plantation owner’s dogs.

primary inter-provincial highways. That leaves as still very rough dirt tracks the many secondary roads that go to the villages re-settled along the old manually built roads servicing the colonial plantations (described in sub-section 7.3.7 below). Meanwhile, other more marginal villages outside the plantation areas don't even have the tracks and bridges to allow trucks to reach them. Around Amaral and Mwanza there were visible signs of collective maintenance of small tracks – such as cutting away branches or burning road-shoulder grass – but there was hardly sufficient money circulating to compensate people for work and materials that would be required to make the tracks easily motorable. Baptista's survey (2013) calculates that transport was people's third largest expense after food and clothing, constituting about 14-20% of all expenses, and almost always only payable in cash.

However, there is more. There is fragmentation between and within areas – Kuzuka is in the plantation area with more and better land compared to Mwanza's location in the rocky, hilly, and forested old reserve area. I experienced firsthand the much greater difficulties around Mwanza in making mounds for planting cassava amidst soil with many bush and tree roots, as compared to the relatively root-free soils of areas around Kuzuka that had been plowed with tractors for decades. Even around Kuzuka, however, the land is also fragmented between the large unused plantations that deliberately capture much of the good soils and streams (see the schematic representation in Map 7.7 below). This sort of fragmentation throughout the whole region into different qualities of land and access to water means that smallholders face proportionately more onerous and less productive farming conditions. And it also means that they have less land to let lay fallow, with possible consequent reductions in yields.⁶⁰⁵

There are important spatial constraints related to accessing water, in which gendered divisions of labor mean that some women engage in extra work in accessing water for domestic uses and, perhaps most significantly, for cassava processing. For many villages, access to water has been made more difficult and time-consuming by the concentration of villages along roads and away from streams (see sub-section 7.3.7), as well as the fragmentation of the landscape into plantations spanning streams.⁶⁰⁶ Some villages such as Kuzuka do have boreholes for water for cooking, washing, drinking and bathing. However, in both Kuzuka and Mwanza spending more time carrying water to fermentation barrels, or cassava to soaking pits, means less time for other productive activities. In other words, even in those villages such as Kuzuka with transport access, the fragmented and concentrated agrarian and transport structures combine with gendered divisions of labor to constrain the amount of cassava that can be produced for market.

The importance of spatiality for cassava livelihoods can be illustrated more by some details on processing. I will return to this issue in the later parts of this chapter, but a key point to recognize here is that large land claims in the area are often unable to realize great returns because of serious bottlenecks in cassava processing. That day in January 2012 when I visited, a friendly middle-aged woman, Manuela, shared some details about cassava processing. I encountered Manuela, some children, and her mother extending, after being lead there by another person from the village, who I'd briefly accompanied to weed some cassava and dig up some to take to Manuela. As they worked on different steps of processing – and I tried a few – we had an

⁶⁰⁵ The fallow time-yield relationship is not strict however, as a range of studies have shown in various places in Africa (e.g. Tiffen et al. 1994).

⁶⁰⁶ On the importance of water resources in relation to land, see, for example, Woodhouse (2012), though not focused on questions of cassava, processing or gender.

opportunity to discuss each one, and the conclusion that I took away from our conversation was that this crucial stage was actually quite intricate and labor and capital intensive. To acquire materials for cassava processing costs around \$300, or at a very minimum about \$100. The material was used in the following processing steps:

- (1) Harvest cassava
- (2) Collect water for barrels
- (3) Put cassava in water in barrels
- (4) Leave for 3-4 days
- (5) Extend tarp (over grass-padded flat area)
- (6) Remove cassava for barrels
- (7) Cut top and bottom off of cassava
- (8) Remove husk and spine from cassava
- (9) Crumble & spread cassava
- (10) Leave for day or half-day to dry
- (11) Sack bombó (dried cassava)
- (12) Pack up tarp
- (13) Carry bombó back to village

As they crumbled the soft wet cassava and spread it gradually over the black plastic tarp, one person remarked on the holes in the plastic. Sualale (the local name for termites), they explained, would eat through the tarps, which were stored at the extending site. Together with deterioration from the sun, a tarp would last 2-3 years. These could be bought from a roll, and cutting off about six meters would cover make the proper length for a small sheet that could dry enough cassava for one small bag full (without an extended cap). A small 6-meter sheet could be bought for one basket of cassava, or about \$7. Each small sheet could dry enough wet cassava to fill a small bag, without the extra top cover.

Figure 7.1: Dry Menya Creek and Dry Pools, July 2013



These issues around accessing water became particularly salient during a drought year during fieldwork. Mwanya is close to the Menya Creek, and the river is used for water, for bathing, and for washing, and for water for soaking cassava, though that is done near the fields and not by the river.⁶⁰⁷ What the villagers said they really wanted was a well. When the river dries during the dry season, there are only pools of water, which can become stagnant and the water low, unpleasant, or altogether unusable. Water levels had become so low by 2012 that people were contemplating simply leaving the village.⁶⁰⁸ In contrast, Kuzuka had a functioning hand-pump well in the village to access water, illustrating how these two places unequally experienced access to water. More broadly, according to the national living standards survey, rivers, creeks and pools are the main form of water access for half of Angola's rural population. In Malanje Province, there are considerable variations, with the primary sources being wells (48%), rivers, creeks or pools (18%), and public fountains (13%).⁶⁰⁹ The 'burden' of difficult access to water was allocated disproportionately to women, who bore the responsibility of cooking and washing, and gathering and carting water in order to soak cassava. In some villages elsewhere around Kota that were closer to streams, women were able to use soaking pits along the banks, rather than the purchased barrels.

It would be a mistake however, to view the processing bottleneck in cassava marketing as a constraint of 'traditional gender roles' because such divisions of labor are themselves also products of the same geo-historical processes that have given rise to the overall agrarian configuration. The large-scale production of cassava flour for sale to Luanda only occurred with the rise of that city's population, initially during the late colonial era, but in much greater quantities after independence as Luanda swelled with war refugees, as well as when production in turbulent countrysides shifted from fickle maize to cassava with flexible harvest times.⁶¹⁰ However, early cassava flour production also occurred centuries ago for slave ships, and sometimes was even brought from Brazil.⁶¹¹ Aside from provisioning Luanda, the rise of cassava flour production during the colonial period was likely also related to storage during different seasons, as well as provisioning for caravans and for laborers on public works projects such as roads and/or on agricultural plantations.⁶¹² In as much as requisitioned or 'voluntary' migrant labor was overwhelmingly male, then food provisioning was forced to be done by women. In addition, as part of the late-colonial counter-insurgency development programs, the agricultural extension service often distributed on credit maize, bean, and groundnut seeds to men as

⁶⁰⁷ An NGO had built a small cement washing table a few hundred meters from the river, but it did not seem to be getting much use.

⁶⁰⁸ When speaking with people, they said that there were individuals around who had the skills and experience to build an informal well, but they lacked the funds to pay for the labor and upkeep during construction. I also asked a soba about rain makers, and at first he dismissed this, but later on acknowledged that some sort of activities had occurred on that issue.

⁶⁰⁹ INE (2011b: 285).

⁶¹⁰ Dias (1962) reports male involvement in production of roasted cassava flour granules (equivalent to West African gari), but that was not as heavily produced and used as the finer cooking flour for funje dough. She does note nonetheless that women were responsible for fetching water (p. 68). Conversely, in Malanje during the war years when cassava production was disrupted, many people came to rely on humanitarian donations of maize flour, with many young people today who grew up accustomed to such maize flour then still preferring funje mixed with half corn and half cassava.

⁶¹¹ Miller (1988: 352, 82, 416-8).

⁶¹² See Carvalho (1898) and Henitze (2004: 279) on caravans; see Ross (1925: 10, 26) on road work and Pinto (1970: 35, 58, 62) on plantations. For Malanje, see Salazar (1968) for eastern Malanje, though he does not explicitly address gender relations. See also Redinha (1968).

presumed heads of households (see Appendix M), leaving cassava as women's responsibility for domestic reproduction.⁶¹³ It is possible that the division of labor reflected gendered inequalities also, both in the sense of the heavy and dangerous work of clearing being viewed as men's work, and women taking on the unpleasant work of scooping out fermented cassava from foul water, in addition to being responsible for the work of food preparation.⁶¹⁴ In sum, the geographically and historically constituted gendered divisions of labor in cassava processing also illustrate the manifold processes that have shaped the broader agrarian configuration of Western Malanje, which I document more carefully below, after first briefly considering conventional interpretations of land tenure in post-independence Angola.

7.2 Land Inequality in Post-Independence Angola: Conventional Perspectives and an Alternative

Post-independence land tenure has been characterized by critics as one in which the socialist state temporarily usurped colonial plantations, followed by subsequent privatization to powerful elites and their allies, all facilitated by land laws that contain inappropriate regulations as well as inadequate protections that are plagued by disastrous ambiguity and overly ambitious, unfeasible provisions, and which anyways are manipulated, ignored or distorted at will to suit elite's wishes at the expense of weak impoverished villagers who are being dispossessed. All this bears some truth in some instances of course, however a closer examination reveals that the situation has not been so clear cut. At the very least, it is worth keeping in mind the FAO statistics mentioned in the introduction that only about 8% of the 59 million hectares of land classified as 'agricultural' are reportedly being actively used. Some of the key questions then become, which land is being used and restricted, by who, how, and for what ends?

There are now well over a hundred studies and reports on rural land in Angola, as well as hundreds more pieces of legislation, which I will not analyze here because only a few involve in-depth social, economic, historical or political analysis of clear contemporary relevance. I have listed some of the studies and legislation in Appendix R and Appendix X, respectively, not only for other scholars but to illustrate the point that that approaches to managing land have a much deeper and more complex history and geography than the common contemporary reference point of the 1992 land law.⁶¹⁵

Under the 1975 Constitution, land in Angola became nominally owned by the state, through traditional authorities ('sobas') have re-emerged after the conflict and socialist period with some influence. The structures vary, but only (state-recognized) sobas appear to have formal legal standing, despite the legacies in some areas of hereditary authority lineages, land priests and elders' councils. After outlining some of the broader discussions pertinent to the conventional view, the following sub-sections critically examine claims about land grabs under the first land law, from 1992 to 2004, and then the period 2002 to 2014, followed by a brief consideration of the roles of traditional authorities before turning in the next section to examine

⁶¹³ Related, the question of whether men alone or also women were legally and/or practically responsible for paying 'head taxes' during the late colonial period needs to be investigated.

⁶¹⁴ Cf. Leach (1992); Ferme (2001).

⁶¹⁵ See also Ramos (1970) for the period 1900-69. There also dozens, if not a hundred or more, about urban land – see Development Workshop's online land library at <http://bibliotecaterra.angonet.org/>.

the important but largely un-studied and mis-understood colonial roots of the agrarian configuration in Western Malanje.

The initial 1992 land law has been followed by thousands of private concession titles legally enclosing millions of hectares, but the patterns of dispossession are far from clear. The law itself also contained protective measures that have sometimes effectively been used in practice, while other means of social pressure have also been brought in various egregious cases. Although the land law was updated in 2004, that update was mainly to address urban land problems, and roughly similar rural dynamics have since continued. Conventional perspectives often not only downplay actual contestation of some land concessions, but tend to ignore the overall patterns of land use – both these points are now also being emphasized in the broader literature on land grabs.

The conventional approach is well illustrated in this quote from the Economist's 2007 country profile:

Land ownership has been contested for some years in the areas safe enough to farm, between absentee landlords, locals with traditional or historical rights and the internally displaced. Well-connected people, often of mixed race and drawn from the capital, Luanda, and the coastal towns, have been acquiring land in the interior, often displacing people without formal rights who have lived on the land for years." (p. 25)

With regard to land, as with development in general, Angola is considered to be an extreme case of a neo-patrimonial rentier state. Alden-Wily (2011: 738), for example, assumes the presence throughout Africa of neopatrimonial networks, which, given weak land rights, automatically facilitate transnational land grabbing. Describing African governance as "famously neopatrimonial" and citing Chabal and Daloz (1999) without mentioning the heavy criticism that work has received, she emphasizes local elites "who combine traditional, political, economic and even juridical and military power holding" and who then invest with international parties. Peters (2004), drawing Hodges (2001), uses Angola in a somewhat similar way as a central example in her analysis:

Most of the oil revenues disappeared ... into arms purchases and into the hands of the small privileged group around the President. Even the attempt to address the problem of land access by the mass of peasants was railroaded by the coastal elite to acquire large areas of land in the interior. The case of Angola may be extreme, but it parallels affairs in other countries ... (88).

Peters is using Angola as an example to appreciatively argue that the emphasis on negotiability in land rights (particularly by Berry 2002) may have been more accurate and necessary in relation to the more crude economic precepts particularly around individual land tenure and agricultural investment and productivity in the 1980s and 1990s, but conditions and conceptual priorities have changed. We should, she argues, study important new constraints, some of which are directly relevant to Angola. Her article outlines some of these in a section on "the political economic context" that is divided into two sub-sections: "Rural commodity production, diversification and 'depeasantization'" and "States, elites, transnationalism and appropriation." In the latter section, she initially draws on accounts by Kasimir and Cooper, and then Reno and Bayart in describing 'neopatrimonialism' and 'extraversion' with "extensive transnational networks spreading out from these 'patrimonial' states" (287). In Peters' and these authors' texts,

what is interesting about the neopatrimonial resource-rich states is their transnational links abroad by state and private elites, rather than the on-the-ground links of the actual extractive resource industries themselves.⁶¹⁶ She suggests that it is within such dynamics of conflict and national and transnational political economy that “research documenting social competition and conflict over land ... should be situated” (290).

While the latter general call makes sense, Peter’s text does not fully elaborate how – that is, analytically, which mechanisms operate in such situations? Part of the difficulty is that in attempting to make such links, the article, like many others, draws much analysis of conflict and national and transnational political economy from an analytic toolkit (Bayart’s ‘extraversion’) whose spatiality is rather thinly theorized. Consequently, her example rests upon a mischaracterization of Angola in which only elites from Luanda figure, they are all-powerful, and they act without regard to on-the-ground infrastructure.

Such notions draw on the particular examples in Angola, largely in the 1990s and in the Luanda hinterlands and in the south, of privatized coffee plantations and cattle ranches. In contrast, recent reports on land in Angola illustrate both a wider range of types of investment and various cases of farmers contesting egregious land claims, through various channels, with a variety of results, as discussed in the sections below. To take just one recent example, in 2011, a presidential decree was issued because “many cases” of land concessions that are in “disrespect of national priorities and current legislation.”⁶¹⁷ It emphasized the “guarantee of access to and use of land by citizens,” “food security,” “permission and incentives for the family agriculture sector to develop and grow,” and that “private investment” should not “prejudice the resident population and local interests.” A critical question is whether the protective clauses and legal recourse is simply and deliberately camouflage for underlying motivations and dynamics of appropriation.

Some such responses to redress or temper land grabbing have been highlighted in more recent commentary by Alden-Wiley (2014). This account, now drawing on Bayart (1989), mentions neo-patrimonialism more with regard to the post-independence period of the “new nations,” but now points to the current changed context of “popular communication” and “emergent mass empowerment” and thereby asserts that “the land rush also vitalises demands for improved national law status for unregistered customary rights.” Such a clean periodization and ‘knee-jerk’ explanation of progressive action on land is not warranted.⁶¹⁸ The implications from my perspective are not that smallholder titling is wrong, but rather that that is fundamentally limited, and hence should not be the sole or main focus of critique and efforts.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁶ Unfortunately, in much subsequent scholarly literature, this debate has been misinterpreted and a diverted to a discussion about the relative importance and roles of chiefs/traditional authorities, particularly in West Africa.

⁶¹⁷ Decreto Presidencial 216/11.

⁶¹⁸ It is somewhat reminiscent of more general interpretations that Hart (2010: 131) describes, “Polanyi has served as the handle for a mechanistic hydraulic model in which “top-down” neoliberalism automatically calls forth “bottom-up” resistance.”

⁶¹⁹ As Peters (2015: 190) paraphrases writings from Tanzania: “Rather than the influence of ‘politics’ producing only a lamentable gap between law as written and law as practised, such a rethinking could show how land law itself can facilitate dispossession rather than security because of pre-existing and ongoing structural inequalities in the polity and society.” Peters (2013: 542) also notes “the many valuable critiques of the ‘development-oriented’

Importantly, what many studies also have yet to do is to really try to conceptually understand relevant spatial dynamics, and in the next sub-sections I show how inattention to spatiality and practice has plagued analyses of land in Angola. Hall (2011: 207-8) aptly summarizes,

The focus of the land grabbing discourse on ‘mega’ land deals obscures the multilayered processes underway that both confirm concerns about ‘land grabbing’ and yet which defy the associations of that term with illegality, large-scale acquisitions, and the displacement of local people ... in its current use, it draws attention away from trends that involve not the mere capture of land but the capture of labour, water, and most of all, the adverse incorporation – rather than exclusion – of smallholder agriculture into new value chains, patterns of accumulation, and the wider transformations in agrarian structure and agro-food systems that these precipitate.

This approach I outline in the last sub-section below on agrarian configuration offers one way to address some of the lacunae in the last decade or so of writings on land appropriation in Africa. As the review by Cotula et al. (2014: 905) found, “The full implications of the new wave of land deals can only be assessed if the deals are examined not in isolation, but within the wider political and economic projects they form part of (for example, agro-industrial transformation, state building). This calls for research that goes beyond the case study approach.” The analysis here can be seen as one effort to do so.

7.2.1 Land, Law and Power 1992-2004

The domestic and international outcry over the Angolan government’s grants of about a total of two million hectares worth of large land concession titles in 1990s was a warranted call for public attention, but it should not be mistaken for an uncontested grab nor on-the-ground material exclusion of farmers in practice. There was legal speculation of the type explicitly anticipated and prohibited by the land law, and hence some cases fell to the courts. Despite the courts’ many flaws, there were numerous processes of legal debate and negotiation. Whether and how such concessions will remain valid, will be enforced, or used, remains to be seen, and, I argue, depends in large measure on the overall agrarian configuration in which they are situated.

The first post-independence land law was passed on August 28, 1992, just a month before the elections and return to war, with accompanying implementation regulations in December 1995.⁶²⁰ There were, according to Hodges (2004: 137), “extensive national consultations that preceded the 1992 law.” The Third MPLA Party Congress in December 1990 mentioned revising the land policy.⁶²¹ Land policy to protect “Angolan peasants and cultivators” was also

land policies have also, willy-nilly, reiterated the colonial position denying the status of ‘property’ to African modes of landholding ... I include myself in this.”

⁶²⁰ Cain (2013a: 187) states “a land law commission had existed since 1986, a new land law was approved quickly, without public debate, by the Permanent Commission of the People’s Assembly on August 21, 1992, before the old assembly dissolved itself.”

⁶²¹ The reported transcript was “The party intends to pay special attention to the peasant-family sector by accepting and promoting its integration into associations and co-operatives. Accordingly, (?the party) should establish an integrated and participatory rural development system, suitable to the economic, social, cultural, ecological and organisational conditions with a view to diverting [words indistinct] actions to districts and grassroots communities, and promoting the democratisation of rural life. In this context, it was decided to adopt the following guidelines.

part of the MPLA agenda issued in April 1991 for the 1992 election campaign.⁶²² Amidst economic crisis, an impending election, and the possibility of war, the text of Land Law begins by emphasizing “the *urgent necessity* of regulation of matters related to lands [terrenos] belonging to the state destined for development of agricultural activity, livestock and fishing” (emph. added).

Over the decade after the law’s passage there was reportedly a wave of large land concession claims, despite the intermittent conflict during the 1990s often preventing actual use of such concessions. It is conceivable that the war-related devastation of the economy and the leveraged liberalization meant that the concessions were seen as a means of *concession* by the government to potentially threatening groups. Either way, the land law’s protections for rural communities’ access and usufruct were “undermined in practice” according to Hodges in three ways: “[1] by the failure to register and document traditional, communal land tenure rights, as well as by [2] rural communities’ lack of knowledge of their legal rights and [3] their lack of access to a broken-down and corrupted judicial system.”⁶²³

Here it is important to recognize the land law’s provisions versus actual practices of coordinated grabbing on/of the ground versus abuses of the law due to systematic bureaucratic, administrative, and judicial inadequacies and biases (inadequacies that were significantly, though certainly not completely, caused by a decade of deliberate super-power efforts to undermine the state). Indeed, in early 1995, the Ministry of Agriculture reiterated for the southern ranch-heavy Cunene Province that concessions that had been granted but were not being used should be revoked.⁶²⁴ In addition to such protective motions by the government, the land law also was influenced by liberal Western donors who pushed for protection of property rights clause that was tagged on to the end of the law and recognized land claims from the colonial era (Art.30). Although colonial land claims could be revoked if there was no current effective use, such revocation would in turn require bureaucratic proceedings with difficult debates about whether war was a justifiable excuse precluding contemporary use. In addition to this provision blocking smallholder claims upon colonial plantations if their original owners asserted their rights, the 1992 land law did not seem to clearly provide for small demarcations, which Cain (2013: 188) argues was tantamount to not recognizing “the rights of possession by peasant farmers or communities.” In addition, the law did not provide for protection of rights the rights of people who had long been using land that was formally titled to others (including the state), and this permitted a number of high-profile and disputed forced removals of low-income areas in Luanda to allow for formal or commercial development.⁶²⁵

First, to pay special attention to agrarian policy and rural development with the fundamental aim of rehabilitating the sector in order to create the bases for food self-sufficiency, the supply of raw materials for national industry, and the production of goods in order to increase and diversify the supply of such goods to the people. In order to achieve this it is imperative to define a land ownership and utilisation policy in order to uphold the interests of Angolan peasants and farmers.” BBC (1990) ‘Angola MPLA Third Congress “Final Resolution”’, SWB, Dec 12.

⁶²² MPLA (1991: 13).

⁶²³ Likewise, Clover (2010: 152) argues, “It was during the 1990s, which were characterised by legal ambiguity, that the series of so-called privatisations set the precedent for ‘land grabs’ in post-independence Angola ... Landownership became concentrated largely in the hands of the political elite, members of the armed forces and businessmen ...”

⁶²⁴ Despacho 37/95.

⁶²⁵ See Cain (2013b), Gastrow (2014), Croese (2013), Unruh (2012).

Otherwise, contrary to retrospective interpretations emphasizing corruption and appropriation, the 1992 Land Law was not simply a *carte blanche* for elite land grabbing. It emphasized that everyone had the right to land (Art.3,§1), and required taking into account “the populations’ guarantee of rights to land occupied and used by them in housing and crops” (Art.4,§2a). It reiterated colonial productivist emphases against speculation by requiring productive use of conceded titles and demonstrated capacity to make use of land by those requesting titles (Art.4,§2b). Land not used as specified when the title was granted could have the title revoked (Art.21,§b) – there was a legal provision against speculation and absentee non-use, but its enforcement would depend on courts, administration, and area farmers. A maximum of 25,000 hectares was imposed for any single legal entity, and maximum land concession title sizes were specified for provincial government grants, and differentiated based on use classifications (Art.8; Art.28,§a):

Table 7.1: 1992 Land Law Concession Size Limits

Land use	Absolute Maximum	Maximum by Provincial Gov.
Peri-urban agriculture	5-10	
Peri-urban irrigation	10-20	
Irrigated areas	2,000	
Forestry	5,000 – 10,000	1,000
Agriculture	2,500 – 5,000	250
Extensive Ranching	5,000 – 25,000	500
Intensive Ranching	2,500 – 15,000	500

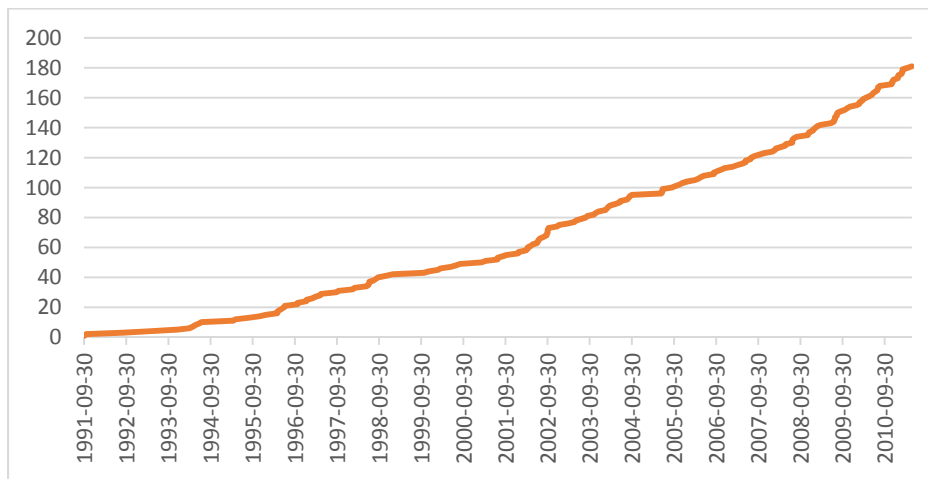
The land law also prohibited land concessions around areas called “rural settlements” in order to “guarantee for the respective populations the right to land that they occupy and utilize with housing and crops, in order to preserve the traditional systems of land use practiced there” (Art.15,§3). In somewhat vague terms, these areas were to be delineated after consultation with local state and traditional authorities and the “respective populations.” The more detailed regulations for implementing the land law reiterated a number of standard and colonial era specifications, and unrealistically implied a great deal of work and capacity from different bureaucratic units.

It is worth moving beyond some of the blanket claims about the land grab after the law to see actually empirically what happened with the concession grants, and hence start to understand why, how, and with what effects land concession titles were granted. Pacheco (2002: 5) states that by 1999 over 2 million hectares had been conceded, equivalent to about half of the 4.5 million hectares held by as plantations by ‘commercial’ or white settler farmers at the end of the colonial period. Hodges (2001) says that these titles were “handed over to a new class of Angolan *fazendeiros*, or commercial farmers.” Subsequently, Soares de Oliveira (2015: 123) states, “by 2011 the area of arable land distributed to regime cronies exceeded the amount of land controlled by Portuguese settlers in 1975,” citing a consultancy’s agriculture sector review for the World Bank by João Neves and Fernando Pacheco (JMJ Angola 2011).⁶²⁶ As the key reference for this period, however, Hodges (2001) also notes resistance within the Ministry of Agriculture to the overall extent of concessions, but then he provides no real analysis of how

⁶²⁶ I repeatedly requested this study from World Bank officials, with no response.

exactly “The business aspirations of the politico-military elite had overridden the technical considerations of agronomists or concerns about poverty reduction” (136).⁶²⁷ Soares de Oliveira (2015: 123) does not investigate empirically the overall patterns of land acquisition and instead simply categorizes them all with the blanket label “regime cronies” with their own “fiefdoms.”

Graph 7.1: Cumulative Businesses Formally Registered as “Plantations”⁶²⁸



Source: Diário da República, Series III

We can understand some of the limitations with an overly aggregate approach to the land concession issue in Angola – and, conversely, the importance of understanding the overall agrarian configuration – by briefly examining the three specific oft-cited examples that are mentioned in Hodges’ account: coffee plantations, state farms, and cattle ranches.

However, with regard to comparisons between the absolute size of concessions today and in the colonial period, it is also worth recognizing that during the colonial period the number of formal land claims *registered* was closer to 5.5 million, and, more importantly, many more claims were made and had not been registered (described more in the next section). The point is less to minimize the extent of contemporary expropriations, and more to move away from a notion that white settlement was just large plantations and that these have now been captured by a small group of elite. Rather, white settlement was much more extensive, and the conversions from colonial to state socialist to contemporary private plantations has been much more messy than sometimes portrayed.

Hodges (2001: 119) states,

⁶²⁷ It is interesting that he focuses on the business aspect, rather than patronage, speculation, conspicuous consumption, competitive rush, or military security.

⁶²⁸ This is a extremely rough indication, based simply on a search of the word ‘fazenda’ in the database. A more full indication might also search under agricultural/agrarian, but land of course can be held by a company without such indications in its formal name.

These [state] companies were now divided up again and their constituent farms privatized. For example, the 33 state-owned coffee plantation companies, which had taken over the fazendas (estates) abandoned by the Portuguese coffee farmers, were broken up into about 400 farms, which were sold off to would-be commercial farmers. This happened in other high-value agricultural and livestock-raising areas, such as the ranching country in the south-west, where there had also been large colonial fazendas until 1975.

In effect, a new land grab took place, benefiting well-connected families of the politico-military elite at the expense of small peasants, who had been occupying and tilling much of the land of the former state farms on an ad hoc basis, without land titles, since the mid-1980s. These local peasant farmers were never consulted and their interests were not taken into account when state land was sold off or, in many cases, virtually given away, often to new owners from the cities with no previous experience of farming. Although the insecurity in the rural areas effectively prevented many of these landowners from exercising their newly acquired property rights, even during the period of quasipeace in 1994-98, there was a growing state of unease and fear for the future among the peasants squatting on former state farms, especially in the coffee-growing areas of Uíge and Kwanza Sul (Hodges and Viegas, 1998).

There was similar anxiety and anger among pastoralists in the southwest. ... The first sign that a serious land crisis was brewing in the south-west came in October 1999, when a dispute arose over land rights in the Gambos, in western Huila.

With regard, firstly, to coffee plantations, there are two key things to recognize – (1) the coffee and ranching privatizations started *before* the land law (the first coffee privatizations come in early August of 1991), because they were driven by negotiations over loans for stabilization and structural adjustment, and (2) the size of the *initial* privatizations appears to have been relatively insignificant (500 hectares was the maximum size). It is also important to distinguish between the historically old robusta coffee lands along the Kwanza River were formed out of boom-bust cycles of profit, debt, and consolidation, while the newer (c. 1950s) arabica zones in Kwanza Sul and Uíge involved large white plantations.⁶²⁹

With regard to state farms, Hodges unfortunately does not provide any further details, but I examine two examples in sections 7.4.2 and 7.4.3 below, and emphasize that their size and significance can only be appreciated in relation to the broader agrarian configuration. As for the privatization of the large colonial cattle ranches in the more arid southern parts of the country, the emblematic episode is recounted in another well-known Pepetela (2005) novel, *Predators*, in which a political-state-business elite from Luanda obtains a ranch and fences it off from local pastoralists seeking water and grazing areas, while a church NGO campaigner

⁶²⁹ In the Kwanza Sul Province that neighbors Malanje, for example, from 1992 to 2002, 124 concessions were allocated with an average area of 216 ha, 69 agricultural and livestock concessions at an average of 1,164 ha, and 18 livestock concessions at an average of 444 ha (Rede Terra 2004). See also Guilherme and Zacarias (2010), Carranza and Treacle (2014); Filipe (2005), Jul-Larsen and Bertelsen (2011). In addition to Lefebvre's formulations, the question of land fragmentation is addressed in this chapter very differently from the way fragmentation is discussed by new economic geography approaches to Africa – see Collier, P. and A. J. Venables (2010). Trade and Economic Performance: does Africa's fragmentation matter? Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics 2009.

struggles on their behalf.⁶³⁰ However, it is worth noting that here again the Ministry of Agriculture at least responded publically by officially re-emphasized that claimants should have capacity for using the concessions and that ranching concessions “should respect the transhumance corridors utilized by traditional herdsmen.” If one considers official statistics for the area that Hodges mentions, from 1992-2015, that is, some 16 years after the start of what he called the “serious land crisis,” a total of 1,248 land titles in Huila had reportedly been allocated for 817,650 hectares out of 7.9 million hectares in the province, or an average of 655 hectares per concession and a total area that constitutes only roughly 10% of the land in the Province.⁶³¹ Of course more land may be practically being claimed than the official statistics, and the quality and location of the land matters (particularly for transhumance and ranching) – but that is precisely the point, namely that the overall context and *agrarian configuration* has to be considered, rather than just aggregate statistics and selected anecdotes. To say that some elite figure has titled a ranch of 5,000 hectares in an area of several million hectares can mean very different things. While there are various superficial indications of conflicts, there is a need for more perspective by analysts, who often admittedly struggle with short research projects and little familiarity about the pattern, context and extent of the conflicts (Clover 2007; Bledsoe and Pintos 2002).

To help get a better sense of the patterns of change with regard to the analysis in the following sections, some disaggregated statistics for Malanje Province over the time periods can be considered in Table 7.2. The statistics by municipality show considerable variation, including between reported years of 2003 and 2004, suggesting that there is some ambiguity and/or room for interpretation regarding titles and statistics. Indeed, of the 548 concessions in Malanje reported in 2004, only 25 were said to have “valid titles.” Much of the land claimed in concessions is classified as for agriculture and livestock, and is therefore more extensive. Unless the concession holder has put up barbed wire, that land can still practically be used. Sixty percent of the concessions in Malanje in 2003 were said to involve ranching.

The major differences that stand out between the colonial and contemporary periods are the much larger total area of current concessions in Kambundi, Kalandula and Marimba, and the much smaller total current concession area in Kaombo and Quela. The larger current concessions are likely explained by the fact of a handful of huge concessions in these large districts to the far north and south, while Kalandula has its own land rush. On the other hand, the former cotton heartlands of Kaombo and Quela in the Baixa de Kassanje have not yet seen as much concessions as in the colonial heyday. The following two brief sub-sections continue my line of argument by showing how the 2004 land law involved some back and forth between the government and campaigners and critics, but land titling has continued apace. Traditional authorities have been complicit in this, but not as simply as is often intimated.

⁶³⁰ On the colonial ranches, see Carvalho (1974).

⁶³¹ See Despacho 12-W/97, Art.4. ANGOP (2015) ‘Huila: Distribuídos mais de mil títulos de posse de terra,’ April 26. On the Gambos question, see Pacheco (2002) and Zacharias and Santos (2010).

Table 7.2: Cumulative/Total Reported Land Concessions in Malanje Municipalities, 1971, 2003, 2004 and 2011

<i>Município</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>		<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>o</i>	
	<i>Area</i>	<i>Pop</i> 2014	<i>Dens.</i> 2014 ppl/ km ²	<i>#</i> 1971	<i>#</i> 2003	<i>#</i> 2004	<i>#</i> 2011	<i>Total ha</i> 1971	<i>Total ha</i> 2003	<i>Total ha</i> 2004	<i>Total ha</i> 2011	<i>Avg ha</i> 1971	<i>Avg ha</i> 2003	<i>Avg ha</i> 2004	<i>Avg ha</i> 2011	<i>% of</i> <i>Area</i> 2003	<i>% of</i> <i>Area</i> 2004	<i>% of</i> <i>Area</i> 2011	<i>Conc Area</i> <i>Cultiv'd</i> 2011	<i>% Conc</i> <i>Cultiv</i>
Caculama	298,100	29,037	9.7	72	25	24	47	90,793	58,952	37,704	77,172	1,261	2,358	1,571	2,509	20%	13%	26%	3,086	6%
Cacuso	685,900	71,541	10.4	264	115	87	129	253,233	103,692	82,563	141,845	959	902	949	1,100	15%	12%	21%	49,649	35%
Cangandala	696,100	43,855	6.3	116	31	20	31	73,942	13,670	8,380	45,746	637	441	419	1,476	2%	1%	7%	686	1.5%
Kambundi	1,609,700	44,219	2.7	19	19	15	39	15,741	48,532	4,755	95,315	2828	2,554	317	2,444	3%	0%	6%	286	0.3%
Kalandula	703,700	87,017	12.4	171	82	78	121	184,652	89,183	53,976	303,639	1,080	1,088	692	2,509	13%	8%	43%	18,255	6%
Kaombo	569,000	22,115	3.9	127	34	27	49	118,511	31,552	23,247	42,322	933	982	861	864	6%	4%	7%	381	0.9%
Kunda	509,800	13,651	2.7	118	39	40	40 ^a	68,041	63,314	50,040	50,040 ^a	577	1,623	1,251	1,251 ^a	12%	10%	10% ^a	-	-
Kiwaba	301,900	14,402	4.8	40	15	11	38	56,783	10,980	6,897	23,989	1,420	732	627	631	4%	2%	8%	480	2%
Luquembo	1,097,100	51,647	4.7	-	5	2	7	-	430	2,200	5,900	-	860	1100	843	<1%	<1%	1%	236	4%
Malanje	304,300	486,870	160	224	109	135	153	172,268	58,255	62,910	130,394	769	534	466	852	19%	21%	43%	15,647	12%
Marimba	604,000	27,074	4.5	23	33	28	24	2,220	120,532	110,712	108,916	97	3,652	3,954	4,538	20%	18%	18%	164	0.15%
Massango	789,900	32,610	4.1	12	6	6	8	1,140	21,150	21,150	16,899	95	3,525	3,525	2,112	#%	3%	2%	220	1.3%
Quela	583,000	21,847	3.7	191	32	35	46	182,022	90,698	97,335	97,166	953	2,834	2,781	2,112	16%	17%	17%	389	0.4%
Quirima	1,007,700	22,250	2.2	-	3	4	3	-	7,759	7,968	7,759	-	2,586	1,992	2,586	1%	1%	1%	318	4%
Total	9,760,200	968,135	9.9	1,377 ^b	548	512	735 ^a	1,219,346 ^b	722,570	569,837	1,147,102 ^a	886 ^b	1,319	1,113	1,561 ^a	7%	6%	12% ^c	89,797 ^c	8.1% ^a

Sources: Nzatuzoloa et al. (2004: 8); GPM (2005: 93); (2012) 'Reflexão Sobre o Sector Agrário na Província', which lacks data on Kunda; INE (2014), cesno.ine.gov.ao. *Superscript Notes:* (a) calculated using 2004 Kunda; (b) excluding Luquembo and Quirima, though these may have been included in other units; (c) excluding Kunda

7.2.2 Post-2004 Land Law Ambiguity as Instrument of Power?

Despite the 1992 law, the 2004 law, and further regulations in 2007, there still remains considerable ambiguity on many legal and administrative matters of land, and the key question is therefore why the ambiguity, and what are the implications. I don't have clear answers. Most importantly, the new land law in 2004 required that land holdings be regularized (titled) within three years or effectively become illegal, but normally necessary regulations for such titling were not issued until three years later in 2007 for rural land, and still have not been issued for urban land. A key question therefore is – given the massive restructuring, wealth and growth of Luanda as an petro mega-city – whether land policy and administration in Angola are being deliberately kept ambiguous for the benefit of elite profit in the city, with negative knock-on repercussions for the countryside.

The new 2004 Land Law had some roots in 1999 with the FAO to revise the land law, and a study commission was formed in January 2002 as the war was drawing to a close. In particular, the 1992 Land Law had not addressed urban land much, and yet urban land issues had become extremely important due to the booming urban populations that had increased with war refugees, as well as the oil revenue that was being used for new projects and redevelopment.

The new land law was passed in December 2004, involving more consultation and campaigns by civil society groups (Clover 2010). Different people – in local and international NGOs, universities, donor agencies – had voiced concerns about the land law, most notably about the short period of one year in initial drafts for people to regularize their land title (see Appendix R).⁶³² NGOs emphasized instead a period of five years, saying that the one year period “risked making thousands of informal landholders illegal occupants of their own homes” (Cain 2010: 515). The final law settled on a three period for registering titles, which became moot for urban areas because their regulations have still not been published, while for rural areas ambiguity also reigns.

Under the new 2004 land law, which nonetheless reproduced many of the colonial procedures, community land titles were possible, and land claims required the traditional authorities' awareness and consent. Titles by individuals were possible, requiring a utilization plan, identity card, popular consultation with the soba, demarcation with the soba, mapping, letters to the municipal, communal and agricultural administrations, and a request to cadastral services for formal demarcation. Parcels of 2 ha to 1,000 ha could be approved by the provincial

⁶³² Part of what was happening was also the rush of short-term consultants applying standardized lessons and analyses on 'post-conflict land tenure.' USAID was also pushing its own property rights and agribusiness agenda. It is in this light that the rhetoric 'land expropriations' have to be viewed. It would be overly cynical to suggest that 'land problems' was simply an invention of NGOs seeking to play to the sympathies of Western donors in order to get project funding and salaries. That said, one still does have to take into consideration the influence of the positions, ideologies, practices, knowledges and experiences of the set of NGOs and researchers actually conducting the research. It is important to note that some of the people doing the early research in the early 1990s were former government staff, both post-colonial and colonial. The 'protection of communal tenure' efforts risked reifying communal tenure as a static timeless local phenomena – The 188-page USAID review for example, makes no mention of the decades of intensive processes of rural relocations, reordenamento, villagization, etc. Clover's (2005) much-cited study doesn't cite Bender directly – what she does describe is Pacheco's (2002) much-cited but very general overview, which cites Neto (2000) and doesn't mention village concentration at all, largely skipping over the details of the key period 1920-1961.

administration, and those of 1,000 to 10,000 by the Ministry of Agriculture, and in exceptional cases, over 10,000 ha, by the Council of Ministers. More specific implementing regulations were approved by the cabinet in August 2006 and took force with their publication in July 2007. What is not clear is the strict adherence to the law's stipulation that claims be settled within three years of the regulations being published, since adequate capabilities of the wider population to submit claims, and the bureaucracy to process these, do not exist (not least accessible census statistics, prior to 2015). As Cain (2013: 197) recently noted, still "the state institutions that regulate land access were weak and lacked adequate capacity to implement the legislation and regulations in a transparent and accountable manner." Yet various case studies by the Land Network (Rede Terra) illustrate how both the significant extent of concessions on paper *as well as* how some unjustified large land claims have been contested and overturned (see esp. the 157-page report by Santos and Zacarias 2010). Indeed, failure to acquire appropriate land was cited as thwarting the reported 2008 'land grab' by Chiquita Bananas in partnership with the banking group ESCOM headed by one of the wealthiest and most powerful and connected people in Angola, though the economic downturn in 2009 likely also played a role (see fn 11 above). Another reported international land grab by Lonrho of 25,000 hectares for rice also never materialized.

Such findings about the inconclusive and/or failed grabs and effective contestation of egregious land grab attempts are likewise corroborated by Jul-Larsen et al.'s (2011) study, one of the few in-depth local investigations. In one land dispute from 2003 that they briefly examine in the central highlands of the country, a lieutenant coronel acquired excessive land from the comuna administrator and a 70-year old regional soba (not just local village sobas), and tried to formalize it, but was reportedly then threatened with death if he came to one villagers' land. He responded with soldiers doing rounds to find the villager, and the case ended up in court in Huambo in 2007, with the lieutenant coronel alleging disruption and destruction of his plantation. But local sobas supported the villager, and the court restricted the lieutenant coronel to only his original 3.5 hectares. Jul-Larsen et al. argue against the notion that the "government can do like they wish or that the soba are in the pockets of the government." This is because:

The influence of the lineages and also very much the church leaders are considerable and without their support his [the soba's] authority will very soon be challenged. When 4 sobas choose openly to oppose the practices of the communal administration they do so because the local power of the lineages more or less force them to do it ... (19)

This example illustrates local resistance, the functioning of the court system, limits to the power of military figures, and limits to the power of administrators. In terms of the Berry-Peters debate, they argue that "local land tenure ... often seems to effectively protect the weakest categories of the village population from falling into an even more difficult livelihood situation," while also recognizing "mainly the wealthiest who become richer rather than the poor becoming poorer" (25).

7.2.3 Land, Traditional Authorities, and Patronage Networks

In conventional interpretations of land grabbing in Angola, sobas are portrayed as relatively weak intermediaries manipulated by regime cronies into signing off on land deals for a few

trifling selective benefits to themselves. While, again, this has some truth in some instances, the above studies and my own field research suggests that the particular roles of sobas with regard large land concessions vary considerably and thus have to be appreciated in relation to other processes, particularly colonialism, war, and liberalization.

The 2004 law and 2007 regulation stipulate involvement of traditional authorities in any instance where a concession is to be granted: “The delimitation of the area has to be preceded by an audience with the administrative authorities, the families that make up the rural community, and the institutions of traditional power existing in the place where those lands are situated” (Art. 16). Moreover, recognition of occupation, and use rights requires first an audience with the “traditional power,” who is designated according to the “present customs of this community” (Art 18). It is not clear whether sobas simply have to be informed, or whether their approval is legally necessary. It appears that approval is only required from administrators, but administrators are legally obligated to take into account sobas and communities’ interests, and instances in which they do not do so can be legally contested.

Indicative of the way traditional authorities are sometimes portrayed as passively manipulated by powerful creole elites is the account by Soares de Oliveira (2015). Based on no examples, evidence or references, and after several generalizations, Soares de Oliveira (2015) states “It is hard to generalize about traditional authorities” (178), and then proceeds to say that the most of the roughly 50,000 traditional authorities are primarily concerned with their own self-advancement (as opposed to, say, with the well-being of their families, communities, and country). It is a rather selfish, manipulative, greedy and instrumentalist view: the state “resorts to the *sobas* ... only insofar as they allow it to expand its writ,” and in turn sobas’ “most pressing concern is personal inclusion in the circle of regime beneficiaries.” Meanwhile, “the MPLA drastically caps their real role to dimensions it can manipulate ... and at every turn *sobas* are clearly outranked by the party-state” (179). The MPLA’s “strategy of engagement” with traditional authorities is part of “the broader party-state strategy for reinforcing its presence in the periphery” (178) in which sobas are “disseminators and enforcers of state directives at the local level where the state is otherwise absent” (178).

During my field research, I had the opportunity to visit, hang out, listen, watch, converse, dine, and work in fields and villages with a range of sobas in and around my study villages, and also at the restaurant in Kota where I stayed. One of the most striking lessons was the sheer diversity of people (aside from being mostly older men) who are sobas – some are certainly greedy and self-serving, some are urbane and educated, some are elderly and poor, some are young and civic minded, some are enterprising with children in university, some are sullen and closed, some are absentees in the cities, some are founts of wisdom and history, and some are reliable and respected. As I visited different villages with agricultural staff over the months, they often pointed out to me some sobas who were very dynamic, and others who were ‘podre,’ or ‘powder,’ that is, old, useless, moldy/rotten. I was particularly struck by one instance in which a frail elderly soba visited the restaurant already inebriated and smelling of urine, and promptly stumbled backwards, falling and hitting his head on a porcelain sink that came crashing down off the wall. This moment was a visceral indication of some the immensely difficult lives and devastating trauma that many rural sobas have had to live through, and their varying and often precarious positions have to be appreciated in their diversity. Different sobas commit different sorts of abuses for different reasons – they do not constitute a coherent hulking subterranean conservative network of bottom up resistance, but neither are they relics that are easily

controlled, abused or neglected. This is not to say that sobas' actions can only be grasped on an entirely particular empirical case-by-case basis, but their circumstances do vary considerably, and we need to know how and why and with which effects.

Such an appreciation is not served by the notion that sobas are all bought off by the party-state, which appears to be exaggerated. Soares de Oliveira (2015), for example, erroneously implies based on an interview that the state spends roughly \$2,000 per month on each soba, whereas the actual budget and legal regulations state that the amount is really roughly \$200 per month, which is also what I observed in field work.⁶³³ Such a salary is not great given the expenses in Angola, as well as the obligations and responsibilities expected of sobas. Moreover, some of that salary is in turn re-distributed – in the Kota area, for example, Baptista's (2013) survey found that nearly half of all the families surveyed had received some sort of gift or donation from the sobas. In my field experience, people clearly knew of salary payments to sobas, and in many instances demanded a share for legitimate dire needs or compensation, and where such a share was not forthcoming, could effectively mobilize social pressure.

Data are easy enough to manipulate to suggest patronage. For example, one could use nominal salary increases right before an election to suggest patronage. However, one could also consider the explicit rationale of the salary increases – to adjust for inflation – and one would realize that the actual salaries had actually somewhat *declined* for two of the past four years, and the real bump for the elections was a rather shabby \$10, and only slightly higher than the salary four years ago, and was followed by a sharp real decline. Sobas, it seems, were hardly rewarded with patronage before the election, and were, if anything, *penalized*, after the election in which the MPLA overwhelming won the rural vote.⁶³⁴

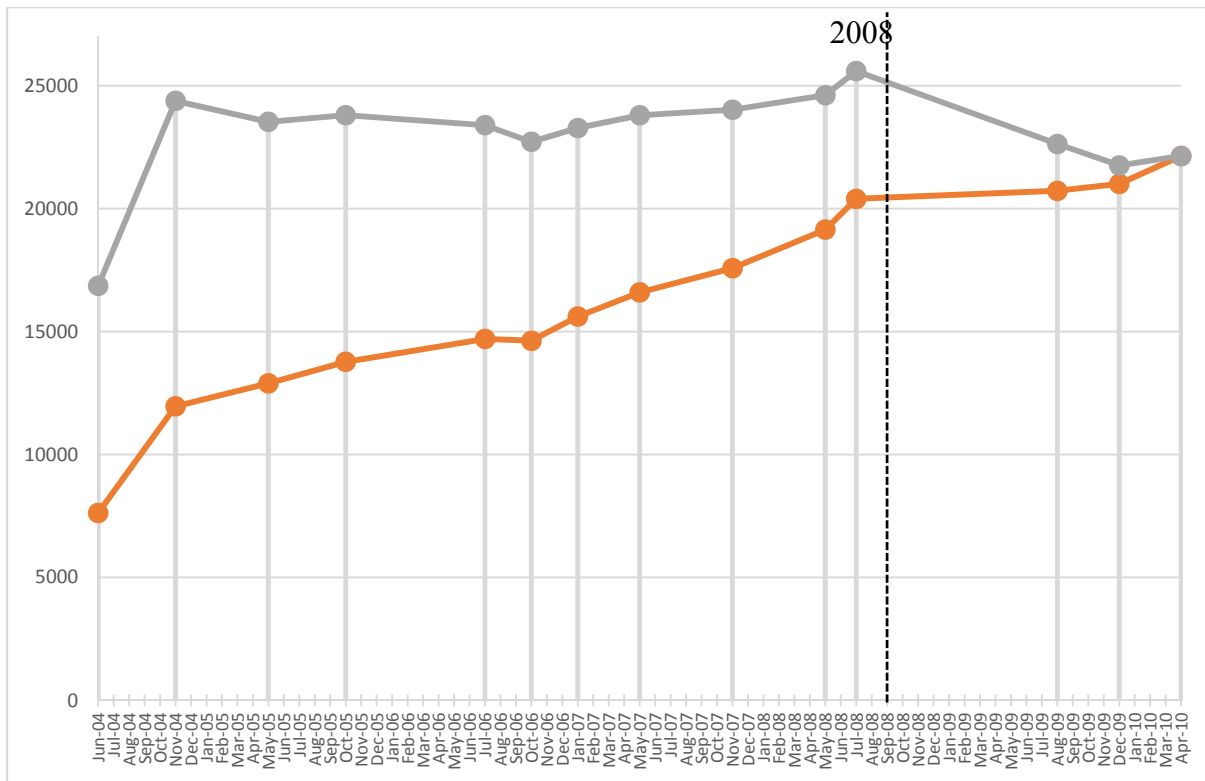
What Oliveira does not mention is that sobas are expected by both the government and community to do work and make expenses in exchange for this salary and payment. They are

⁶³³ Based on an interview with a MAT official in Luanda, "As of May 2012, 41,554 recognised traditional authorities out of an estimated total of 50,000 were on the government's payroll at a cost of some 8 billion kwanzas per month" (121). This equates to an average of each TA receiving 192,520 (or roughly \$2,000 each month). The amount for subsidies to traditional authorities in the 2012 budget is 9.9bn kwanzas, for the whole year, which works out to 824 million kwanzas per month, which would be an average 19,836 each, or roughly the stated amount in the official salaries. The decree from 2010 puts the salaries at around \$200/month at the most.

⁶³⁴ Sobas' salaries show a gradual increase after the first large adjustment in November 2004, until July 2008, a handful of weeks before the historic first elections of September 2008. One might be tempted to conclude that such salary raises were a deliberate electoral ploy. At issue in such an interpretation is the both gradual increase in the preceding few years, which was purportedly for the sake of inflation, and also the quick readjustment, which happened in May and then again in July. However, the effect may have been symbolic – we simply do not know. The payments may not have kicked in in time for the elections, may have been pilfered anyways, and the roughly extra 1,000 kwanzas (about \$10) could also have been interpreted as trivial or even condescending. The long delay in adjustments thereafter and the lack of data after 2010 are also curious. The lack of adjustments are likely related to the financial crisis and squeeze on Angola's budget. The last adjustment in April of 2010 is notable because it came not from the Council of Ministers as before, but by Presidential Decree. And if adjustments have been made since then, they are not apparent in the legal gazette. The last pre-election adjustment technically came into force on June 1, but was only approved by the Council of Ministers on June 25, promulgated on July 11, and published on July 28 (publication is usually taken as the de-facto authorization). It is possible therefore that the salary increase only occurred in August, a rather short period to motivate any effective electoral commandeering for an extra \$10. The adjustment prior to this was approved by the council of Ministers on March 26, came into force on April 1, was promulgated on April 24, and published on May 2. The Consumer Price Index for Luanda at least doesn't show much variation from March through August of 2008 (see INE (2009) 'Índice de Preços no Consumidor,' December 2009, p.33). Data on salaries in the DdR since 2010 could not be found.

expected to take time off from their other activities to attend official government meetings, and to pay for transport, food, and lodging when attending those meetings. They are also expected to hold community meetings, meetings with NGOs, and take time to hear concerns of community members. The \$200/month is much less than the per diems received by many consultants in Angola, and daily hotels.

Graph 7.2: Nominal and Real Salaries of Traditional Authority, 2004-2010



In sum, what these three preceding brief sections overviewing land under the two land law periods illustrate is that while it is incontrovertible that very large areas of land have been granted as private concessions, it is inaccurate to view this process as one simply of unproblematic usurpations by powerful (creole) elites dispossessing helpless victims with patronage through traditional authority intermediaries. Instead, what I want to emphasize in the rest of this chapter is how thinking about agrarian configuration can help get a more nuanced appreciation of the importance of various colonial processes, and understand their relationship with transformations in roads and markets during colonialism, war, and liberalization.

7.2.4 Conceptualizing Agrarian Configurations: Concentration, Hierarchy and Fragmentation

In using the triad of concentrated, fragmented, and hierarchical, I am partly drawing from Lefebvre's later writings on space, the state, and capitalism. Lefebvre's analysis is pertinent to

Angola because he is engaging with influential French spatial planning that informed the late-colonial regional development plans in Angola that have been revived, expanded and reworked in the post-war era via oil revenue.⁶³⁵ He puts forth a three-fold schema of homogenous-fractured-hierarchical.⁶³⁶ For him, fracture pre-supposes homogeneity, since fracturing comes as land is divided up into so many commodified parcels that are measured according to some standard and thereby equated as homogenous.⁶³⁷ Subsequently, such “exchange of spaces” necessarily leads to inequalities, and hence hierarchies of spaces, which the state exacerbates.

Lefebvre’s conceptualizations are compelling for interpreting both the socialist efforts in Angola in the late 1970s, and the more state capitalist post-war oil-boom reconstruction activities. They also could be extended back to interpret some colonial dynamics – for example, characterizing colonial paternal protective measures in which, “rather than resolving the contradictions of space, state action makes them worse” (ibid, 238):

The State coordinates. It prevents “properly” capitalistic space-i.e., space broken into fragments [en miettes] – from breaking society itself apart. But the State can do no more than substitute the homogeneity of the identical repetitive for this situation of pulverization ... The State prevents speculation from paralyzing the general functioning of civil society and the economy. It organizes, it plans directly or indirectly, on occasion even closing some spaces, or controlling some flows by means of computers. But the space that is thus created, which is meant to be both political and regulatory, proves to be both bureaucratizing and bureaucratized, i.e., administered by “bureaus” (ibid, 244).

Though concerned with capitalist countries, pertinent is Lefebvre’s highlighting of

collision between two practices and two conceptions of space, one *logistical* (global [globale], rational, homogenous), the other *local* (based on private interests and particular goals) If regulating flows, coordinating the blind forces of growth, and imposing its law onto the chaos of “private” and “local” interests is the primary function of state-political space [l’espace étatico-politique], it also has another, contrary function that is no less important for being so. This is its role in holding together spaces that have been ripped apart and in maintaining their multiple functions.” (ibid, 240)

He also points to the recursive relationship between space, the state, and the automobile industry: “The historical city is rebuilt according to the demands of growth ‘impelled’ by the automobile. Automobile and construction lobbies join forces with the state technostructure.”⁶³⁸

While I find much useful in parts of his interpretation, I break from it in two important ways.⁶³⁹ Firstly, the emphasis on capitalism is conceived in too orthodox of a Western manner and differs from the various manifestations one finds throughout the non-Western world, particularly in

⁶³⁵ Lefebvre distinguishes older “spontaneous, almost blind growth poles” such as those formed around “energy (coal), raw materials (ore), and supplies of labor,” and newer state-created growth poles (ibid, 239).

⁶³⁶ ‘Space and Mode of Production,’ from Lefebvre (1980), translated and reprinted in Brenner and Elden (2009: 212-6).

⁶³⁷ See ‘State and Space,’ from Lefebvre (1978), translated and reprinted in ibid, p. 243

⁶³⁸ From Lefebvre (1978), translated and reprinted in ibid, 237.

⁶³⁹ For other examples of Lefebvre-inspired analyses in Africa, see Adama (2007), Byerley (2005), Noyes (1991), Hart (2002), Moore (2005), Verne (2012), Watts (2012b), Quayson (2014), Söderström (2014), Piermay (1990, 2003), Neumann (1998), Pourtier (1989b), Tomás (2012).

terms of land in Africa. Hence the necessary, logical sequence of homogeneous-fractured-hierarchized is less convincing. Instead, and because a full-fledged capitalist market in land has not been the case in Angola, I drop the separate concept of homogenous (which is anyways implicit to some extent in the sense of fragmentation). Instead, I used the notion of concentration, which speaks to contemporary concerns about power, inequality and dispossession, but without presuming Western-style markets in land. Another reason for taking liberties with Levebre's schema is that although the notion of violence is there in Lefebvre, it is not brought to the fore analytically, and in particular in relation to race and colonialism, which are so pertinent for Angola.

I am using the term agrarian configuration in two senses to refer, firstly, to the socio-spatial relations between different sorts of land (and water and forests), and, secondly, to refer to how such relations have emerged also through recursive relations with transport and marketing practices and infrastructures. In so doing, I am setting out my approach, and not engaging with the other ways that this precise pairing "agrarian configuration" has been used by other writers, often in various degrees of looseness or explicit definition.⁶⁴⁰ Rather, I wish instead to emphasize spatial relations between different places, pieces of land, and infrastructures and their uses (here, especially roads and markets, but other sorts could also be studied).

The next section traces some of the important colonial roots of the agrarian configuration in Western Malanje, followed by a final section that returns to the present through an analysis of four significant plantations around my field research sites. These brief examples indicate how colonially influenced patterns of land possession and use have themselves also emerged recursively in relation to the ways of roads and markets have been influenced by protracted war and leveraged liberalization.

7.3 Land in Colonial Angola and the Agrarian Configuration of Western Malanje

This section examines a range of data on land in colonial Malanje and Angola in order to argue that the long-term quotidian but pervasive increase in settler plantations and village resettlement along roads, in combination with the road building processes mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, is of great significance in producing an overall agrarian configuration of concentration, hierarchy and fragmentation that remains influential today and is being reinforced by contemporary patterns of reconstruction. However, analysts have not really recognized or appreciated the existence and significance of these processes. Rather most emphasis has been on (a) cash or export crops of coffee, sugar, and cotton, (b) counter-insurgency 'strategic hamlets' along Angola's borders, and (c) the striking but limited colonial settler schemes.⁶⁴¹ While the abandoned colonial settler schemes have undoubtedly been influential in post-colonial agrarian development plans, also important have been efforts to reconvert private plantations, as well as the influences on contemporary land law of the colonial paternal protection measures that came as a response to a boom in mechanized settler plantations. I also use some specific examples in this section and the next section in order to emphasize how, in broader conceptual terms, appreciating the dynamics of the more widespread phenomena of plantations and long-term

⁶⁴⁰ For example, cf. Herring (1989), Scoones (2014b).

⁶⁴¹ Cf. Heywood (2000).

spatial ‘reordering’ is also an important corrective to notions that Angola was primarily characterized by enclaves and trade.

I begin by outlining in general terms the scope of settler plantations, and then focus on the increase in settler plantations in colonial Malanje, and within Malanje, particularly the mechanization of the cotton sector. I subsequently show that closely related to this process of mechanized settler plantation development were some contradictory and token efforts to protect native Angolans’ claims to land from the capriciousness of settlers and markets, and a much more widespread process of forced relocation of villages, which I illustrate with some examples from the land cadaster archives in Malanje. After describing these colonial processes, I sum up analytically their relationship with the agrarian configuration of concentration, hierarchy and fragmentation. The last section of the chapter then turns to examine four contemporary plantations in Western Malanje in order to understand how this agrarian configuration resulting largely from colonialism has come to be formed in relation to the ways roads and markets have been shaped also by war and liberalization.

7.3.1 Colonial Plantations in Malanje and Angola

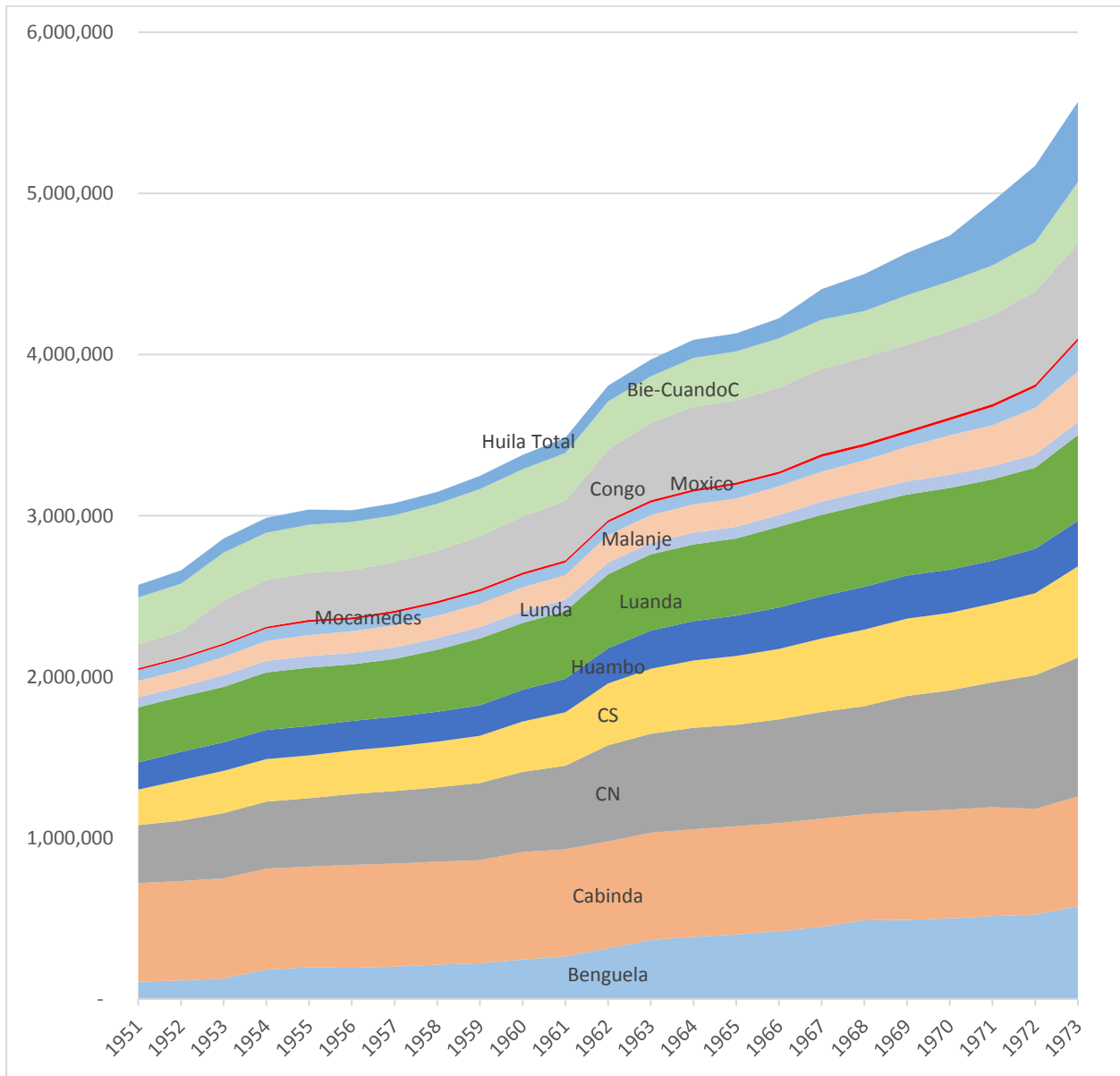
Throughout Malanje and Angola generally in the middle of the Twentieth Century – and distinctly not restricted to any purported cotton or other ‘enclave’ – land was increasingly claimed and enclosed as the road network improved, and cheap contract labor supplies were available, together with state credit and subsidies for settler agricultural development and marketing. Although analysts have recognized this general pattern in Angola, the extent of land claims has been dramatically underestimated. Yet the extent of land alienation in some parts of Malanje and other provinces became so great that the Portuguese administration also established Bantustan-type “indigenous reserves” to ostensibly protect African landholdings, but which served merely to speed the alienation of non-reserved land.⁶⁴²

An inventory of formal land claims, published in 1944 – but which to my knowledge has never been discussed academically – shows that in 1943, at the *start* of the land rush somewhere between about 29% to 47% of all the cultivable land in Angola had *already* been formally *claimed* at one point or another (although, given the bureaucratic complexity of the rural land-title process that involved more than 100 different steps, much settler land was used without claims, many of the land owners were absentee landlords in Malanje city, Luanda, or Portugal, and many of the claims were in process, provisional, revoked, for use rather than ownership, and/or under- or un-utilized).⁶⁴³ As I will discuss below, there is good evidence that actual land claims were even much greater than the official published records suggest.

⁶⁴² Ponte et al. (1973: 98) lists 27 reserves in Malanje around 1972. See section 7.4.1 on Procracer below for more details, particularly with regard to the reserves around Amaral.

⁶⁴³ The confusion over land is illustrated by statistics for 1935 for Malanje which show that only 1,600 ha were definitively claimed, while 61,761 ha of claims were annulled (Alves 1936). See GGA (1944), and for an overview of land regimes, dos Santos (2004). The inventory was produced for the revision of the land law. All the formal claims up through at least the mid-1950s were also published (in the second series of the Boletim Oficial), and Paige’s (1975) chapter on revolt in the coffee areas of northwest Angola is the only work I’ve seen to considered these. On title registration procedure, see (1955) ‘Tramites dos processos de concessão de terrenos de primeira classe, dentro da área de povoações classificadas e demarcadas; terrenos de 2ª classe não cadastrados ou dos

Graph 7.3: Officially Registered Rural Land Concessions in Angola, by Province 1951-1973



Source: Anuário Estatístico; nb: ha; CS = Kwanza Sul, CN = Kwanza Norte

For some perspective, the low estimates in the official statistics of the amount of land given in new concessions in just 3 years from 1969-1971 was more than all the land concessions for coffee and cotton in the several decades that preceded the 1961 revolt.⁶⁴⁴ Overall, between 1961 and 1973, a net 1.9 million hectares of concessions were formally added.⁶⁴⁵ This increase

subúrbios das povoações classificadas, ainda não parceladas,' AHU, 38 pp. The calculations for the 1944 inventory should be checked for double counting, given the classification of some of the land claims as 'arquivado.'

⁶⁴⁴ The cultivated areas were 420,000 ha of coffee and 50,000 ha of cotton in 1960.

⁶⁴⁵ A gross total of 2.26 million hectares of concessions were allocated, from which must be subtracted the 0.36 million that returned to the state. The rough annual average increase in concession area would be 5%.

amounted to roughly 56% of all the active concessions in 1960. The response to the 1961 revolt was an effort to extend political-military control through roads, allow markets and investment, and replace labor thorough mechanization, but this sort of response in turn ended up sparking a massive land rush by the turn of the decade, as illustrated in the diagrams on the next two pages.⁶⁴⁶

On the page 315 below, Graph 7.5 illustrates how significant increases in concession areas were almost certainly much greater than official statistical bulletin figures suggest. There are three more specific points from this diagram. Firstly, the Anuário statistics are official ones that illustrate a lack of capacity to process land concession paperwork. The reported requests, for example from 1952-55 for Malanje, are much less than the actual requests on file. Secondly, the number of reported grants are very low relative to the actual requests – in some years just the number of requests in Malanje alone are more than the number of grants for the entire country. And the boom in requests in Malanje 1969-73 is hardly reflected in only a mild rise of allocations then.⁶⁴⁷

The statistical bulletin shows a dramatic increase in the number and total size of concessions, for the whole country, and for Malanje, but these bulletin statistics are likely to under-report the actual extent of the increase. In Malanje, official statistics show the area under concessions nearly doubled over 13 years, growing from 150,000 ha in 1960 to 293,000 ha in 1973.⁶⁴⁸ However, the bulletin likely only counts “definitive” (and possibly “provisional”) concessions, which actual provincial records show constituted only 6% of the actual 1,540 rural concessions in Malanje (another 23% were provisional). In contrast, using figures from the agricultural survey (done in 1970), the actual area reportedly under ‘patronal’ use in Malanje was 1.46 million hectares, or at least *five times* the amount listed in the official concessions. A similar discrepancy is noted by Bender (1978) for Huambo, 1968-70.⁶⁴⁹ Supporting this view of quite significant plantation land claims, by 1969 at least, the director of the colonial Portuguese

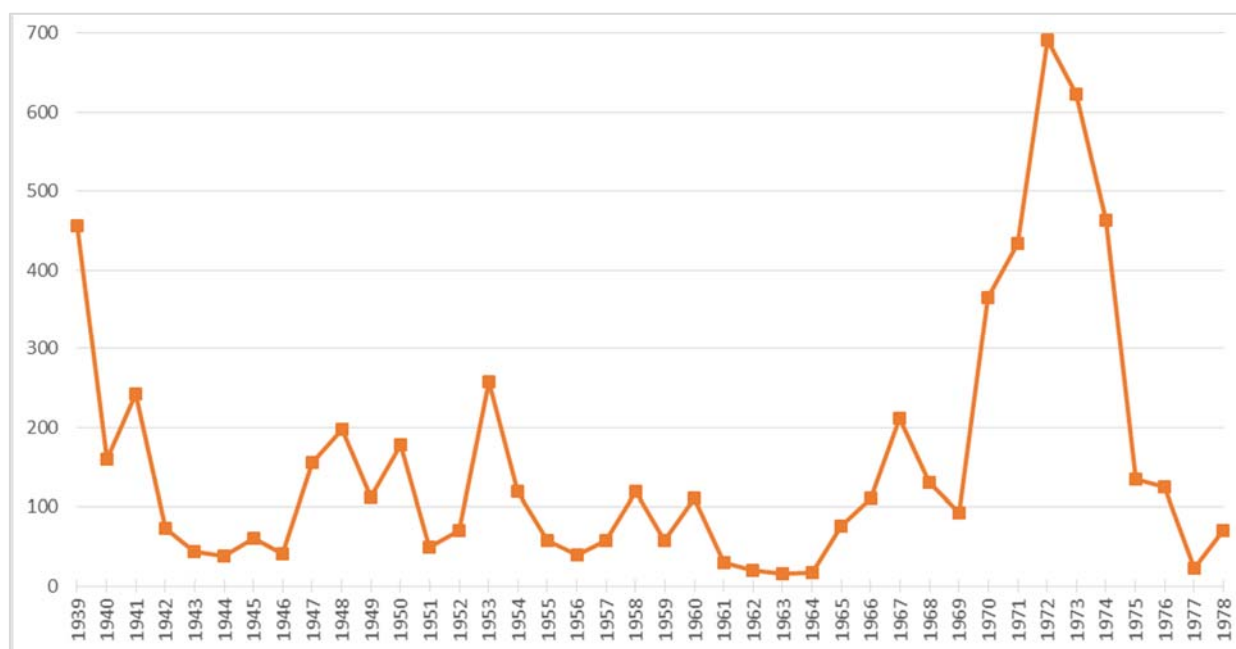
⁶⁴⁶ A key point is that pretty for all the provinces concession areas were large, widespread, and growing, with some exceptions (Moxico, Lunda, and Mocamedes). Cabinda is relatively stable, likely because a huge concession had been given early on, and there was little more to allocate. One of the clearest patterns is the sharp rise between 1961 and 1962. This is likely claims of land from which people were displaced due to the war and resettlement camps, however, the numbers that I have used for that period do not include land returned to the state (no figures were available). Particularly for the coffee regions of Congo and Cuanza Norte there is an increase 1961-2, but also for Benguela. Congo was split into two provinces, Uige and Zaire, in 1961, but they are merged here. Luanda includes a large area of the Dembos coffee hills (Ambriz, Nambuagongo, and Dande areas). Huila includes data for Cunene, which was carved out to be a separate province in 1971, and was to host a large planned settlement scheme. The rising area for Benguela is also noticeable. Though the overall trend appears to be a smooth increase, my argument is that there was actually a qualitative change in 1961 towards greater reliance on mechanization to deal with labor difficulties.

⁶⁴⁷ Thirdly, there are nonetheless some interesting trends (a) the commodity boom years of the mid 1950s show an increase in requests for Malanje; (b) the late 1950s also show a significant rise in allocations across Angola prior to the revolt in 1961; (c) a national rush to claim land after 1961 revolt-related displacement, including apparently a backlog in Malanje (since the concessions approved 1961-4 exceeds the requests in those years); (d) a boom in requests in Malanje from 1969-73; and (e) an uptick in concessions after 1970.

⁶⁴⁸ Gross area conceded was 315,172, returned to state was 21,952.

⁶⁴⁹ Curiously, the revised agricultural survey data published in 1971 lists, in the table of contents only, the survey’s tables on settler plantation land concessions, but these tables are missing from the actual report. Some figures are available from other reports on specific provinces/districts (see Bender (1978) on Huambo, and Ponte et al. (1973) on Malanje), but the total national figures consequently appear to be unavailable for now.

Graph 7.4: Number of Land Claim Processes (Urban and Rural) Begun in Malanje (est.)



Source: IGCA Malanje Archives

Table 7.3: Plantation Land Concessions in Malanje, by Municipality, c.1971

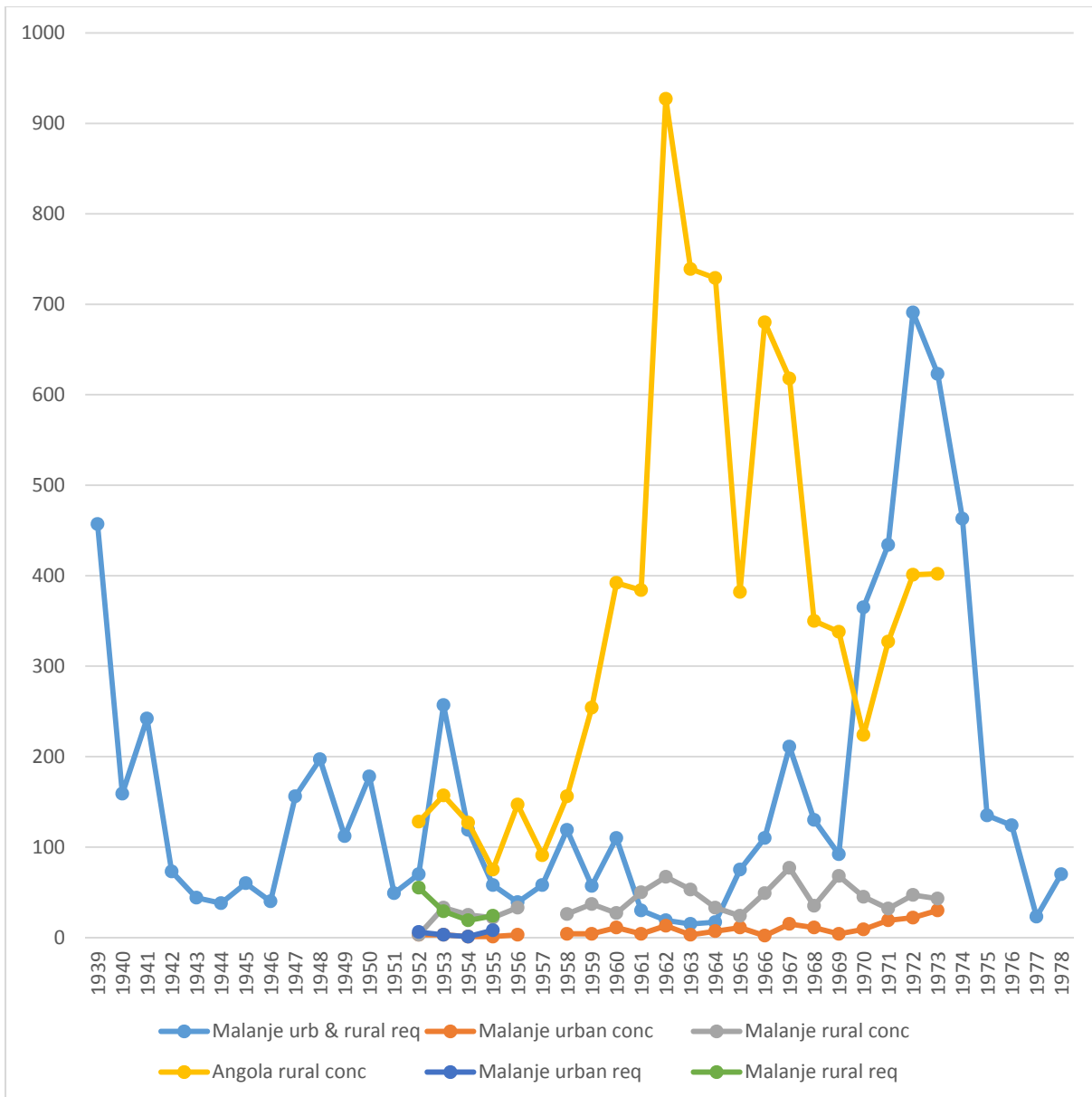
Municipality	Parcels	Area Claimed (ha)	Municipality Area (ha)	Parcels as % of Municip.	Avg. Size of Parcel (ha)
Caculama	72	90,793	208,100	43.6	1,261
Cacuso	264	253,233	559,900	45.5	959
Cangandala	116	73,942	580,100	12.7	637
Kambundi	19	15,741	1,333,600	1.2	828
Kalandula	171	184,652	703,700	26.2	1,080
Kaombo	127	118,511	529,000	23.7	933
Kunda	118	68,041	478,800	14.2	577
KN	40	56,783	301,900	18.8	1,420
Malanje	224	172,268	222,200	77.5	769
Marimba	23	2,220	594,000	0.3	97
Massango	12	1,140	756,900	22.4	95
Quela	191	182,022	437,200	41.6	953
Xa-Muteba	163	248,015	1,043,700	0.1	
TOTAL (calc)	1,377	1,467,361	7,749,100	18.9	886 (excl. Xa)

Source: Sousa Santos (from MIAA); cf. GPM (2005) Plano de Desenvolvimento, p. 93 (from MIAA)⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁵⁰ See detailed areas in Ponte et al. (1973: 52).

intelligence services, Jose Emidio Pereira da Costa, emphasized that “the problem of land is one of the most important and one of the most concerning to the Administration.” He went on to note that in Malanje, “The great interest in demarcating land destined for installing agricultural plantations (for cotton production) and livestock has been a source of discord between Europeans and Africans.”⁶⁵¹

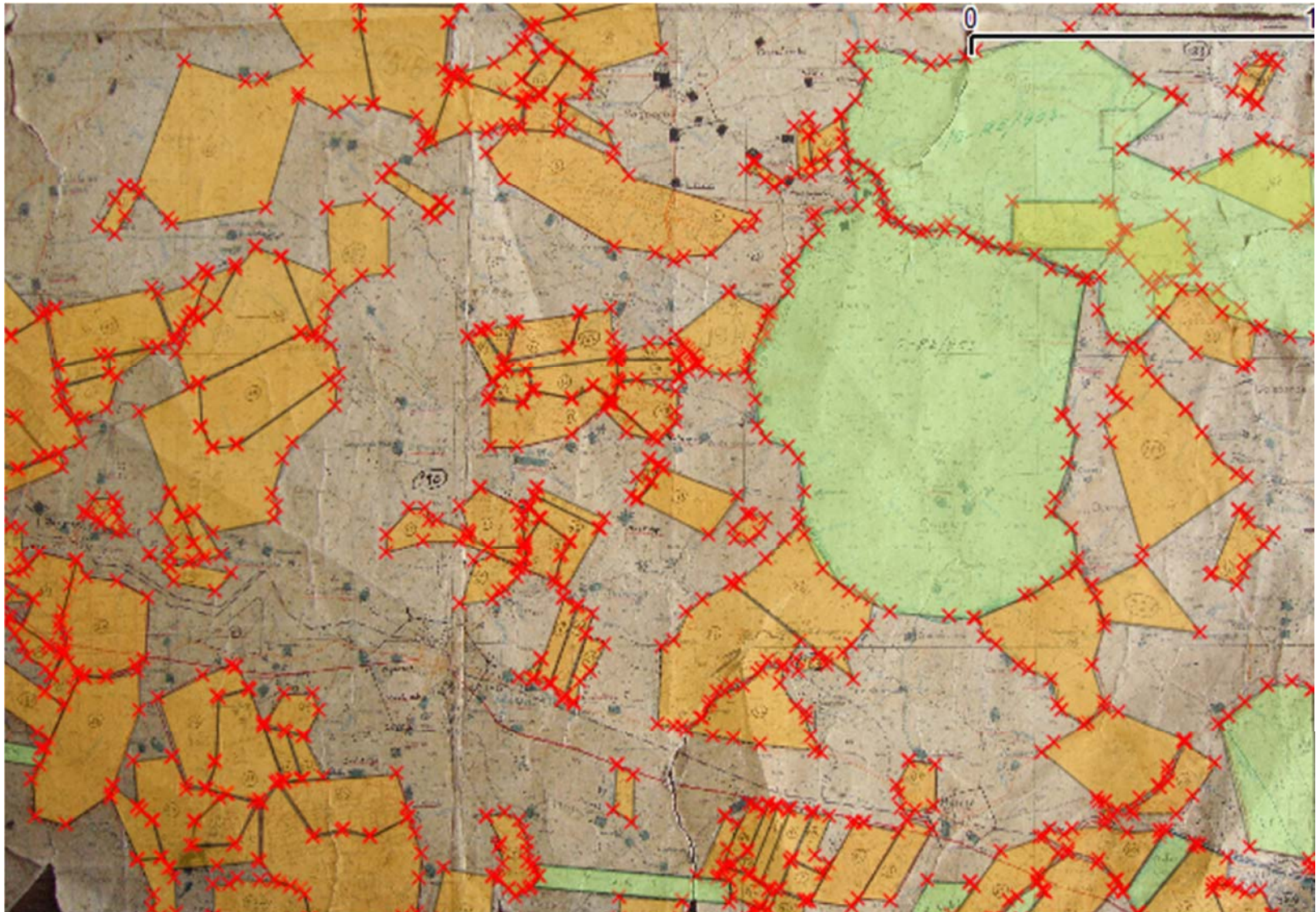
Graph 7.5: Number of Rural and Urban Concession Request and Grants in Malanje and Angola



Source: IGCA Malanje Archives, Anuário; Note: conc=concession granted; req=request

⁶⁵¹ AHD, 1969, Relatório Mensual: Julho, Letter of August 27.

Map 7.1: Colonial Plantations (yellow) east of the Amaral Indigenous Reserves (Green), c. early 1970s



Source: IGCA Malanje Archives

7.3.2 Increased Commercial Settler Land Claims for Mechanized Cultivation of Cotton and Other Crops

Part of the expansion of settler land claims in Malanje was through the expansion of cotton cultivation by settlers who – after legal changes in the cotton regime after the 1961 revolts – transitioned to mechanize the production of cotton. The key change was the dramatic rise in the use of tractors to replace farm laborers, but other labor-saving capital inputs were also used, such as chemical herbicides, fertilizer, and pesticides, applied by people, machines, and in some instances aircraft (‘crop dusters’). The state initially facilitated the expansion of tractor services by establishing 44 tractor parks throughout the country (including 5 in Malanje) designed to serve settlement schemes, private plantations, and, as measures of paternal good will, smallholder farmers (see Appendix V). However the bulk of tractors were privately held and used (in 1968, state tractors amounted to only 12% of the 5,022 in the country).⁶⁵² The extensive history of tractor use in the late-colonial and early socialist period that many officials recall is key to understanding contemporary perspectives on land and agricultural development plans.

Mechanization really only took off after the nationalist revolts by cotton farmers and coffee workers, though it had been promoted long ago in Angola.⁶⁵³ At the end of October 1962, the train in Malanje unloaded the first of some 50 tractors bought by Cotonang.⁶⁵⁴ The company planned to quickly mechanize some 10,000 hectares, with 3 centers, each of about 3,000 ha (6 blocks of 500 ha), by using 6 heavy tractors, 150 regular ones, 180 Angolan tractor drivers, and several dozen other indigenous employees.⁶⁵⁵

The extent of mechanized colonial production is therefore important to understand in order to appreciate both the legacy of the extensive colonial land fragmentation, and the depth of familiarity with and efforts to restructure agro-industry via mechanization. From 1961 to 1973, the number of tractors recorded in official statistics grew 7-fold from 1,348 to 9,510 (Dilolwa 1978: 323). Particularly after the Luanda highway through Malanje to the Baixa was completed in 1966, private cotton plantation investment and production in the Baixa boomed. We can only properly understand the land structure we see now in Angola, and we can only understand contemporary state officials’ and farmers’ zeal for tractors – despite serious questions about the cost-effectiveness, suitability, and implications of tractors – by appreciating the huge scale of this extensive geo-history of mechanization.

Mechanization, then, was a deliberate strategy by the colonial state, businesses and settlers to lessen the economic and political reliance of the settlers, the colonial economy, and colonial administration and rule on the potentially volatile exploitation of Angolan labor. This explanation pointing to labor politics in relation to mechanization is discounted by analyses that

⁶⁵² State figure from Briosa, Fausto (1968) ‘Mecanização e motorização agrícolas em Angola: Acção desenvolvida pela Junta Provincial de Povoamento,’ *Reordenamento* 8, 3-17. The total is from Dilolwa (1978: 323). The state figures were 171 heavy and 442 light tractors.

⁶⁵³ See Couceiro (1902).

⁶⁵⁴ (1962) ‘“COTONANG” pelo seu exemplo, abre novas perspectivas para a agricultura do Distrito,’ *Angola Norte*, Nov 3.

⁶⁵⁵ (1962) ‘Fomento algodoeiro por cultura mecanizada,’ *Angola Norte*, Dec 29.

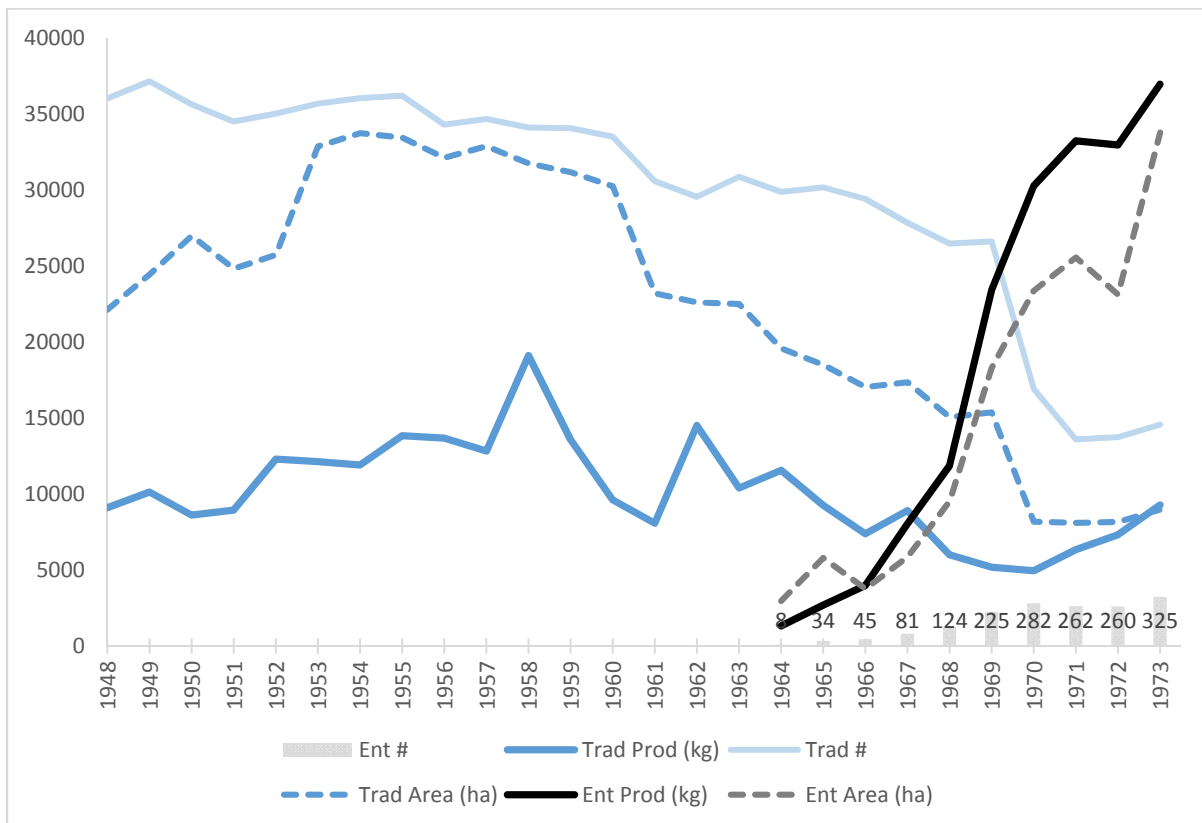
posit that such labor resistance was scarce given colonial and state repression, disinterest, and the option that African laborers could simply ‘exit’ any situation they didn’t like.

Figure 7.2: Cotonang’s Tractor Park, c. 1962



Source: Angola Norte, Dec 29, 1962

Graph 7.6: Transition to Mechanized Plantation Cotton Malanje’s Baixa de Kassanje, 1948-73



Source: Anuário Estatístico; nb: Ent (grey) = Entrepreneurial (i.e. mechanized plantations, mostly white settlers); Trad (blue) = Traditional (i.e. smallholder indigenous Angolan)

However, mechanization for Angolan farmers themselves was also promoted as part of colonial rural development plans that formed a major plank in its overall counter-insurgency strategy.⁶⁵⁶ Around 1967, the state distributed 32 tractors in various areas of the Baixa de Kassanje for use by Angolans in 15 “cotton blocks.”⁶⁵⁷ By 1970 such indigenous mechanized blocs were producing about 2,000 tons, or two-fifths of non-settler cotton.⁶⁵⁸ That then was the heavily mechanized landscape of large plantations, and accompanying sets of experiences and models, that the independent Angolan government encountered/inherited in 1975. To this colonial legacy was later mixed concerns with socialist transition, and familiarity, aid and advisers from socialist bloc countries, and then subsequently influences from Brazilian agribusiness.

7.3.3 Cotton beyond Trade and Enclaves: Agro-Industrialization in Malanje

In the 1960s and early 1970s the agrarian economy in Malanje and Angola experienced a second boom – this one based relatively less on forced labor and more on productivity from capitalization, in comparison with the 1940s and 1950s. Chapter 3 discussed already how the city itself grew and was transformed in the mid Twentieth Century with the financial surplus from exploitative agriculture.

But, in addition to the circulation of profits into trade and urban construction, because this boom was based relatively more in capitalization, it grew relatively more from, and contributed to, a supportive network of agro-industry.⁶⁵⁹ There were drivers and mechanics, and houses and stores for them, carpenters, processing factories (for coffee, cotton, maize, cassava, tobacco, sunflower, sisal, sausage meat, etc), livestock feed production, dipping tanks, abattoirs, transport stations, maids, cleaners, etc. This agro-industrial economy grew, even though much of the key inputs were still imported (tractors, agro-chemicals, etc).

This agro-industry connected different parts of the province and other areas, particularly Luanda. And it shaped and was shaped by the spatial structure of the city of Malanje. The trading stores on the main avenue boomed. An industrial district emerged on the eastern side, just across the road from the massive cotton warehouses at the end of the railway. This neighborhood, Katepa, saw a massive new rice mill built, as well as sausage factory, saw mills and carpentry stations, and other agro-industrial warehouses, parks and installations.

Key in this process was the role of António dos Santos Pinto, one of the oldest agribusinesses in Malanje, which had expanded from its location just east of the city at Kissol to establish by the 1940s at least some installations on the outer fringe of that side of Malanje city, in Katepa, which was down-wind from the city and had several water springs. Santos Pinto had various stores across Malanje, including in Amaral, and Kota. It also held various large plantations, including the notable Cahombo Plantation, whose history and present circumstances I consider in

⁶⁵⁶ See ‘Tractores e alfaias agrícolas foram entregues em Malanje a agricultores tradicionais,’ *Actualidade Económica*, Nov 1, 9(425): 8-10.

⁶⁵⁷ Capassa Cambo, Sunginge (3), Bualo (2), Gome, Bumba, Cagia (2), Lemba, Quiria, Carila, Quituxe (6), Moa (4), Teca, Cafefes, Cassambi (3), Maquina (4).

⁶⁵⁸ (1970) ‘Producao algodoeira na regio de Malanje,’ *Actualidade Económica*, Nov 19, p. 25.

⁶⁵⁹ The 1951 city plan included relatively little explicitly for industrial zones in the city (only 58 hectares, equivalent to 1.5% of the plan area).

subsection 7.4.2 below. In 1947, a Santos Pinto-related business began plans for a rice mill, corn mill, cassava mill, saw mill, sausage factory in Katepa.⁶⁶⁰ By the mid-1960s, Santos Pinto had continued processing (including coffee, corn, cassava), and was also selling automobiles, gas, and tires, tobacco, wine and beer, construction materials (cement, tubes, etc), wheat flour, medium and heavy consumer goods, and a number of other items. Some of these materials went to supply state construction works, such as for the infrastructure for the houses of the new segregated native neighborhood Maxinde built after demolitions of informal housing on the southern edge of Malanje city.⁶⁶¹ By 1965 Pinto's business (SIPP) had outgrown the local springs and wanted to build a pipe to the main river.⁶⁶² By 1973, it would soon construct one of the largest rice mills in Africa. This neighborhood, on the eastern outskirts of the city on the roads leading south and east, from where UNITA would move up into the province, would be hit hard during the war.⁶⁶³ This was the agro-industrial geography that the independent socialist government encountered and tried to revive and restructure.

Figure 7.3: Katepa Agro-Industry, Malanje City



Sausage Production, c. 1959⁶⁶⁴



1973 Rice Mill War Ruins, 2012

⁶⁶⁰ The Sociedade Industrial de Produtos Pecuários, See AN, July 19 & 26, 1947, p.3. Managed by Hernani Neves de Valera. Industrial legislation was related to Portaria 100 of May 22, 1928. Pinto is listed as a socio of SIPP in Guerra 1979: 151, which states that they also held buildings in Malanje and Luanda. See also (1948) 'A actividade extraordinária da importante firma: A. Santos Pinto & Irmão,' Angola Norte, May 22, p. 6. For a contemporary perspective, see Gouveia, Ernesto (2010) 'Memórias vivas nos dias da Catepa,' Novo Jornal, Feb 26, pp. 14-15.

⁶⁶¹ Pinto supplied tubes for the project as a representative in Malanje for tube company Lupral - AMM, April 3, 1959. On Maxinde, see Santos (2005), and Diploma Legislativa 2,799 of January 2, 1957.

⁶⁶² (1965) Angola Norte, July 24, p.7

⁶⁶³ By 1949 ASP had plans to build a bakery in Lombe with a capacity for 300 kg of wheat flour per day. AN, Jan 22, p. 4.

⁶⁶⁴ Sources: GDM (1959); Ricardo Cardoso.

7.3.4 Notable Examples of Agrarian and Inter-sectoral Investment in Malanje

The investment of profits and surplus from transport-related industries into land, is illustrated by some notable examples from before, during and after colonial rule. The first examples is the agricultural plantations established in Malanje and Pungo Andongo at the end of the Nineteenth Century from the profits from trading by some iconic figures in the historical study of Angola. A great deal has been made of these figures as illustrative of their focus outwards, on trading, and on the state as reaping revenue from such trade. They serve as particular personal manifestations that are cited repeatedly as historical evidence of the gatekeeper approach. However, these people are more often mentioned as iconic citations in support of this general theoretical approach, rather than actually explored in their fuller historical detailed context. Yet doing so challenges this theoretical approach.

An important work that seems to challenge this general approach has been produced by Stephen Rockel (2006), whose book *Carriers of Culture* shows the people working to support caravans to be an established class (not simply the porters, but a whole network of people). It thereby re-inserts labor and class dynamics into this approach that formerly focused simply on the elite traders who managed the trade. However, this work focuses on east Africa, so much of the detailed literature on pre-colonial trade that is based on Angolan materials is only beginning to be conceptually and empirically revisited, not always critically nor in conversation with this other literature.⁶⁶⁵

In fact, if we re-examine one of the key episodes in this literature, what emerges is the great importance of sedimented histories of production, and social meaning and investment in land, deeply enmeshed with trade. Much of the pre-colonial trading in northern Angola and the broader region was done by people working for the firm Carneiro and Machado. These two people, as Beatrix Heintze's (2004) careful work shows, were behind the various main trading firms making trips throughout West Central Africa in the Nineteenth Century that are mentioned in numerous accounts. Indeed, Custódio Machado was active in lobbying for the Portuguese military conquest of the Kassanje market, which would only occur after the rail line had been extended to Malanje and could thereby provide logistical support.⁶⁶⁶

So, rather than root contemporary development problems in some assumed continuity with some abstract extroverted creole elite of the past, we can instead look at actual people like Machado in their geographical historical context and trace the trajectory through to today. And Machado's trade was not divorced from production. Heintze (2004) notes in passing that Carneiro and Machado ended up settling down in Malanje and Pungo Andongo, but she does not follow up on how they plowed much of their profits from trade into some of the earliest settler plantations there.⁶⁶⁷ Their descendants in turn went on to work in the agrarian economy as officials in the colonial cotton administration in Malanje. For example, Joaquim dos Santos Correia married a daughter of Custódio Machado, and became one of the earliest large land holders in the Baixa de

⁶⁶⁵ Much of this comes out of readings of Carvalho's accounts, e.g. Heintze (2004), Ribeiro (2013).

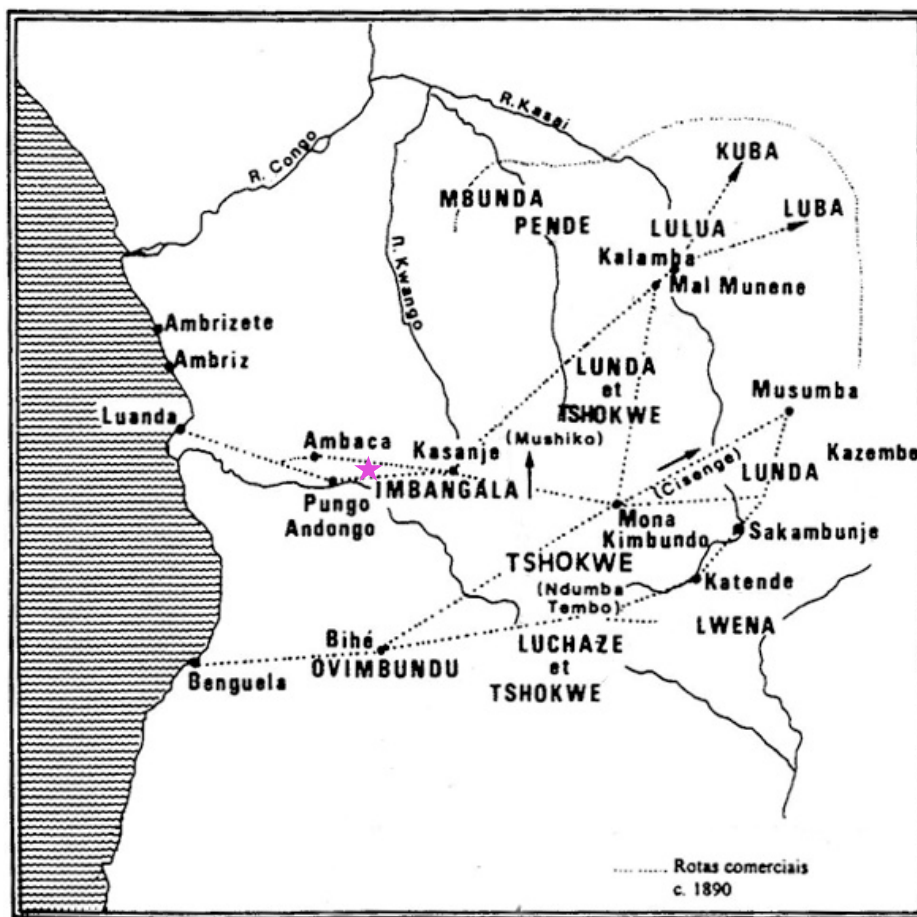
⁶⁶⁶ Pélissier (1986).

⁶⁶⁷ There may be more information on Carneiro and the activities in Pungo Andongo – an area discussed more in Chapter 5 – though there too there was also agricultural research, led by American Methodists, who would subsequently move to Quessua, with both places being formative to agricultural development in Malanje, not least in the education of Abel Martins, the former Malanje provincial director agriculture, and current manager of the Pungo Andongo state plantation established with Brazilian finance and technology.

Kassanje, with more than a 1,000 hectares in 1914. Their son, João Machado Correia, would work as a cotton agent in Massango in the Baixa in the 1950s, just before the revolt there in 1961.

On the western outskirts of Malanje city, Custódio Machado had established his plantation, poignantly named ‘Jealousy’ (Inveja), where he grew sugar cane (he’d established an earlier farm elsewhere, near Lombe, but it was too far). Much sugar cane was processed at the mill at Kissol, run by Conceição Pinto. It would be at Kissol that the first settler agri-business association would be launched, portending decades of agrarian settlement and production.⁶⁶⁸

Map 7.2: Key 19th Century Regional Trade Routes



Source: Modified from Henriques (2004: 112), after Henriques (1995: 691), ‘The Tshokwe Strategic Position of in the 19th Century commercial networks’; nb: Malanje approximately indicated by pink star.

⁶⁶⁸ GDM (1954: 38) notes that in 1911 there was established the Associação Comercial da Lunda, located at Kissol, with the first President being António Pinto de Sousa Santos. This later became the Associação Comercial e Industrial do Planalto de Malange.

Figure 7.4: East of Malanje City, Kissol Sugar Alcohol Distillery Works, c. 1905



Source: AHM

Machado's Inveja plantation was much more than just for sugar cane, it served as a sort of botanical garden and seed facility. Indeed, the very name of the area in Kimbundu – Culamuxito – indicates a forested area, specifically an area (mu) with animals (xitu). The botanical and experimental garden helped spread European agriculture and crops throughout the province. In the words of the Portuguese explorer Henrique de Carvalho (1890), Inveja was at first an “agricultural garden” or “recreational plantation,” but “little by little it developed and transformed into what today one could call [aervir] a model” (264). Machado did experiments in neighboring areas. With great care to tending growing crops on the land, Machado produced, according to Carvalho's botanical analogy of racial-ethnic intermixing, “examples of European, American, and African flora, living alongside indigenous ones.” The racialized language foreshadowed subsequent decades of racialized, often brutally violent, struggles over land and labor in Malanje – this contradicts notions of cosmopolitan creole traders from the coast and scattered enclaves.

During the colonial era, part of the Inveja plantation area, closest to the city became a research station of the colonial agricultural service, while the next bit further out would be planted by the colonial forestry department with neat rows of eucalyptus to serve as an upwind greenbelt to hygienically protect the segregated city's cement core as it grew with white settlers. The last part of the area would, after the revolt of 1961 and subsequent influx of white, male soldiers and widespread repression and retribution, become an orphanage and technical training plantation, established by a traveling Catholic ‘road’ priest, for the numerous children whose parents were killed or displaced by the Portuguese, as well as the mixed mestiço children resulting from the associated rape, prostitution, and social stigma.⁶⁶⁹ Official statistics show more than 4,600 new mestiço people in Malanje between 1960 and 1972 (a more than doubling from 3,155 to 7,873).⁶⁷⁰ When I visited the orphanage – Casa do Gaiato – during Easter in 2012, one mestiço man also visiting that day pointed out this painful history, noting also that he felt a duty to donate

⁶⁶⁹ For more on Casa do Gaiato, and the priest, Telmo Ferraz, see Baptista (2013b), Ferraz (2013a, 2013b, 2013c), and Pereira (2013). Ferraz (1960) was banned by the PIDE. Some such abuse is graphically described in a few pages of insensitively sensational depictions of Malanje in the 1979 book bluntly entitled *The Land at the End of the World* (originally entitled in Portuguese in no less blunt terms as *Os Cus de Judas*), by the acclaimed Portuguese author Antonio Lobo Antunes (also a former medic in the colonial Portuguese army).

⁶⁷⁰ Ponte et al. (1973: 41).

time, money and effort now that he could as a successful businessman, having gained essential skills and education as an orphan there. Indeed, over the recent years, the orphanage has attracted donations from a wide variety of political, celebrity, and business figures.⁶⁷¹

Figure 7.5: Sketch of Fazenda Inveja ('Jealousy Plantation'), c. 1888



Source: Carvalho (1890: 264)⁶⁷²

Figure 7.6: Area of Former Inveja Plantation: Casa Gaiato Orphanage, Church and Farm, c. 2014



Source: Google Earth; Note: West of Malanje City, Luanda-Malanje highway

⁶⁷¹ E.g. ANGOP (2014) 'Malanje: Casa do Gaiato recebe bens diversos e viatura,' Feb 26.

⁶⁷² See also 'Malange-Ruínas da fazenda Inveja,' PT/AHM/FE/CAVE/VC/A10//Album/A10/0102.

In sum, upon careful examination, the paradigmatic example of the Nineteenth Century trader Custódio Machado that is often used to assert the long history of the prominence of ephemeral exploitative trade over situated agricultural production in Angola – and by proxy Africa – points to a very different conclusion: the long, complex importance of land, space and their intense entanglements with trade.

There is another specific example about the need to move beyond spatial metaphors of the state as “rhizomatic,” and to take into consideration the actual spatial practices in the history of the state and the ways they are inscribed in the landscape.⁶⁷³ The rhizomatic weed *imperata* spread with mechanized monocrop plantations, and remains a visible problem today in some areas.

For example, a plantation north of Kota, near Binge, that I visited with an agricultural officer appears to be the old colonial Fazenda dos Azores.⁶⁷⁴ It had only sickly cassava plants on eroded sandy land that had been plowed and had lots of the weed *Imperata cylindrical*, known locally in Kimbundu as senu (and elsewhere in English as speargrass or cogongrass).⁶⁷⁵ *Imperata* is a rhizomatic plant, recognizable by its thin sharp edges and small white flowers. What is the relation between *imperata* and mechanized plowing? As a rhizomatic plant, it can survive and sprout from root stock, rather than just by seeds, and so it is eradicated more by cover crops and re-vegetation, rather than by plowing and disturbance which simply disperses root fragments from which new stalks appear. Farmers emphasized to me that once *imperata* appears, there is little one can do. If one tries to uproot the plant, it simply grows back. So one has to either dig out all the underlying roots, or just abandoned the fields. Widespread technical efforts throughout Africa to reduce *imperata* have focused on cover crops, particularly mucuna and velvet bean. It is likely that the dense intercropping cassava systems prevented *imperata* from spreading, before these systems were displaced and shifted to specialized and mechanized monocrops of maize and other crops, which left the area between plants open to sunlight and weed growth. The problem of senu in Malanje then was eminently a problem of mechanized, monocrop plantation agriculture. By the 1920s, senu was being reported on palm plantations and the sugar plantations of the Comapanhia de Açucar de Angola, which requested help combating the “astonishing intensity” of senu’s propagation.⁶⁷⁶

There is an important specificity about the actual unique dynamics and importance *imperata* in particular, but there are also two broader points here. The first is that history is inscribed and visible in the landscape. This includes the history of settler plantation agriculture, but is not limited to it. There are a range of other ways that the landscape is inscribed, and the plantations are meshed and overlaid with other aspects. There are remnants of former villages, which moved

⁶⁷³ This is elaborated by Bayart (1993: 218-227), drawing on Deleuze and Guattari (1976: 45-6, 60-3), and Bayart’s metaphor has since been picked up by a range of Africanists emphasizing informal or hidden networks of patronage and corruption, e.g. Carmody and Taylor (2010).

⁶⁷⁴ That area on the colonial map is torn out – literally a hole in the historical record, but an earlier map perhaps suggests Sergio de Barro Faustives and land process 9/1954 of 100 ha. The old road to Kalandula appears to have gone through Fazenda Azores. It curved up and around, and from there, there were multiple options, depending on whether one was going north, east, or what, which river to cross (Cole, and Loando rivers important in addition to the Lucala).

⁶⁷⁵ See Gossweiler (1953); MacDonald (2004); Chikoye et al. (2000).

⁶⁷⁶ (1929) ‘Memoranda do Jardim Colonial de Lisboa,’ BGU 5(54): 137-9. It was reported to have also affected palm and sisal plantations in Quelimane (under the name M’Tage). In relation to a palm plantations, see also Gossweiler, J. and A.A. Monteiro do Amaral (1926) ‘Estudo sobre os palmares do vale e do delta do Rio Mucongá,’ BGU 2(18): 127-8.

or were abandoned. Some villages were relocated or moved. This is evident in comparing the villages listed on the colonial maps with those today (see sub-section 7.3.7). The other point is about the importance of production. The specificity of *imperata* has to do with rhizomes as metaphors, vs rhizomes as part of important agrarian dynamics. It is just one example of the ways that spatiality has been used in problematic and/or metaphorical sense in African political economy, rather than in a conceptual-historical one.

Figure 7.7: Rhizomatic Senu (*Imperata cylindrica*) on the Roadside near Kota



Source: Author

7.3.5 Paternal Colonial Protection against Land Exploitation

The colonial regulation of land involved a complex and shifting array of policies, motivations, actions, and effectiveness. These included efforts that were at once designed to make the most efficient at productive use of the land, and also to protect against speculators, who could also potentially harm native land holdings. So, the notion of protecting native holdings against unscrupulous outsiders was mixed with a productivist ideology – the two were not always easy to disentangle. The end result, however, was that the state ended up reclaiming a significant amount of land from large private concessions. The land appropriation process in Angola was not simply an irrevocable, one-way affair. By official statistics, 20.9 million hectares of land that had been granted (likely more than once) had been returned to the state by 1955, rising by a further 3.6 million hectares returned to the state from 1962-1973.⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷⁷ The largest of these were some 11 million hectares in Benguela prior to 1952, followed by a set of returns in 1954 ranging 0.6-2 million hectares in the provinces of Cuanza Norte, Huila, Cuanza Sul, Huambo, Malanje, Cabinda, and Lunda (in descending order). This is all out of a total area of 124.7 million hectares, and cultivable area of 35-50 million hectares. It's possible some of these were mineral concessions.

In addition to reclaiming land, the state attempted to regulate which areas could be claimed, and which crops could be grown where. These efforts were under-resourced, and likely shaped by much disregard in practice (despite the intentions of some undoubtedly sincere technocrats), and therefore fairly patchy. I return to this phenomena at the end of this chapter in exploring one of the central large land claims in the study area around Kuzuka.

Part of these paternal protection activities were organized also with an implicit or explicit counter-insurgency aim, and some were coordinated by the Provincial Settlement Board (Junta de Povoamento Provincial, or JPP). The JPP was nominally to assist with settling new Portuguese immigrants in the planned farming schemes (discussed below), but it also took on other activities in the name of paternal protection (and, implicitly, counter-insurgency). These activities included tractor services for small farmers (mentioned above), as well as using land titling, reserves, and plantation titling rules to protect small indigenous Angolan famers from encroachment onto their lands by settlers mechanized plantations.⁶⁷⁸ It thirdly it sought to illustrate and assist improved livelihoods through improvements in farming and investments in other sectors (schools, health) in order to lessen grievances about white commercial expansion.

These different protective measures varied in their effectiveness in different contexts, but their existence points to the expanding private concessions were throughout Angola, and consequently how sensitive politically the issue of land had become for the colonial regime. The on-the-ground efforts undertaken at paternal protection (including the reformist measure of community titling as defense against encroaching plantations), and all the public rhetoric about it, would influence generations of young Angolans working on agricultural and rural development in the colonial administration, and such rural development experiences in turn influenced their own paternal approaches during the socialist era and – once they had ascended to higher ranks in the bureaucracy over the decades – the approaches of the post-war rural reconstruction projects.

In September 1965 there were established in Malanje seven Reordenamento Rural Zone Commissions, for the seven administrative areas.⁶⁷⁹ For Kalandula specifically, the Commission included the Administrator of the *concelho*, the local health delegate, and the two heads of the agriculture services and agricultural region. The local composition of the Commissions could vary slightly in some other areas, including traders, regedores, and officials of the police, cadaster, agricultural research, schools, etc. Throughout Angola there were a total of 59 Zone Commissions in 10 Districts.⁶⁸⁰ This administrative apparatus played a role in elaborating and stabilizing the highly concentrated, hierarchical and fragmented agrarian configuration, as further described in the next two sections also.

⁶⁷⁸ On property titling in Malanje, see Polonah, L. (1972) 'Ajuda-te que eu te ajudarei: Alguns aspectos da actividade do 'Grupo de Apoio' à C.R.R.R. de Malanje,' *Reordenamento* 25: 48-50; see also in Bailundo, (1972) 'Distribuição de títulos de propriedade, aos agricultores de povoamento do nucleo do Luvemba,' *Reordenamento* 25, p. 51.

⁶⁷⁹ In Malanje, one of the bases was at Kingles, where the Portuguese-Mozambican anthropologist Luis Polonah worked and produced one of the only careful ethnographic social studies in the area of my study region in the late colonial period. See (1972) 'Ajuda-te que eu te ajudarei: Alguns aspectos da actividade do 'Grupo de Apoio' à C.R.R.R. de Malanje,' *Reordenamento* 25: 48-50.

⁶⁸⁰ Malanje – 7, Kwanza Norte – 3, Cuando Cubango – 4, Bie – 6, Moxico – 4, Kwanza Sul – 8, Benguela 5, Huambo – 9, Cabinda 2, Uíge – 11. See *Despachos* Sep 4, 1965, BO 36, and *Despachos* July 12, 1965, BO 29.

Figure 7.8: JPP Facilities being inaugurated near Kota, mid 1960s



Source: Reordenamento⁶⁸¹

It was out of these rural development experiences – many often done in explicit cooperation with international development efforts and thinking at that time about community development – that many key figures in agricultural government departments and NGOs received their formation. For example, the current Vice Minister for Social Assistance, Maria da Luz Magalhães, worked at the Regional Brigade in Malanje (at Lutau) from 1967 to 1970. Likewise, a key figure in the Malanje agricultural department had worked with the JPP, and then went on to work in the, with the NGO ADRA, and then to acquire the important old colonial sugarcane plantation Kissol (described above) when the socialist corn and beans state enterprise there was privatized.

These deeply rooted historical experiences of regional mid- and high-level staff are thus very different than the simplistic conventional view that arrogant coastal creole elites dominate rural masses in order to profit and retain control.

7.3.6 Colonial Settlement Schemes

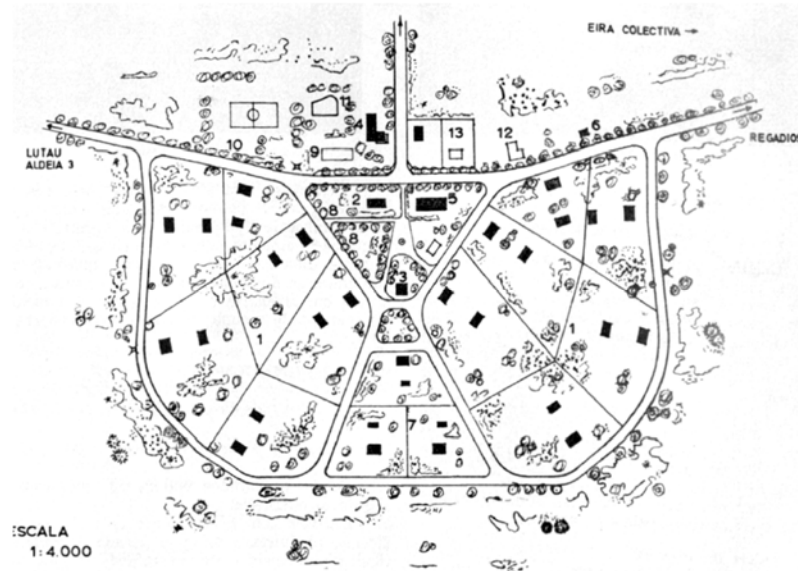
Schemes for colonial settlers in Angola were highly visible and highly political, and they remain significant in contemporary landscapes, plans, memories, discussions and agricultural development projects.⁶⁸² The long local familiarity with these schemes throughout Angola remains salient, and also contradicts the notions that outlandish projects are simply impositions by pretentious creole elites for reasons of patronage, control and profit. Such schemes have

⁶⁸¹ (1967) 'Duque de Brança: Inauguração das novas instalações da brigade regional da Junta Provincial de Povoamento,' *Reordenamento*, 5, p. 28.

⁶⁸² Angola was long considered a settler colony, with initial settlers being sent as prisoners or undesirables. Various colonial settlement plans were considered over the centuries. The settlement schemes were related partly to the perceived availability of land in relation to populations (who had been 'depleted' or moved during the slave trade). Norton de Matos proposed major settlement in Huila. In the early Twentieth Century, there were various settlements by Germans and Boers in the south of Angola. In Malanje, a planned settlement 'Boa Esperanca' (Good Hope) was established at the end of the Nineteenth Century, but collapsed after a few years (Patraquim 1966).

sometimes become flash points because the post-colonial government has attempted to reconvert them as an illustration of its commitment to rural development, but critics have contended that such efforts have been wasteful, top-down, hubristic exercises in patronage. Either way, the broader importance of such schemes in relation to everyday peasant livelihoods has been vastly over-estimated in relation to other quotidian processes of administration and commercial plantations (which I detail below).

Figure 7.9: The São João Village Plan at Cole Settlement Scheme, Malanje



Source: Rocha, F. (1969) 'Núcleo de Povoamento do Cole,' *Reordenamento* 11, p. 22

Western Malanje had two such schemes (a few dozen kilometers to the east of Kota), out of a total of 28 in colonial Angola (see map in Appendix U), largely concentrated in the north and in the central highlands. Like the others, Malanje's colonial settlement schemes at Lutau and Cole, established in 1964 and 1965, were overly elaborate and relatively unsuccessful. The total area for both of these would be some 42,800 hectares.⁶⁸³ Each consisted of three villages, and the plans included an ornate spatial layout, an extensive set of infrastructure, consisting not only of houses, administrative posts, schools, warehouses, health posts and community centers, but also child playgrounds, ovens, coop centers, a pool, a sports center, and so on. Following independence, these elaborate but unsuccessful settlement projects nonetheless received some efforts for conversion into state socialist projects, and subsequently appear to have been privatized and today remain marginal to most smallholders' livelihoods.⁶⁸⁴

However, the most debated flagship settlement today is that known as Aldeia Nova (New Village), in Kwanza Sul Province just a few hours' drive outside Luanda. This scheme, first

⁶⁸³ (1973) 'Aproveitamento do Planalto de Camabatela,' *Reordenamento* 28, pp. 43-47, p. 44

⁶⁸⁴ More work is required to understand the colonial and contemporary geography of these settlement schemes in Malanje.

known as Cela, was the central showpiece of the colonial government's efforts at settling farmers, was revamped by various Angolan and Eastern-Bloc cadres, and then was rehabilitated after 2002 through government contracts to Israeli business firms to establish it as a cooperative agro-industrial settlement scheme for war veterans. A few more details on the precise debates about Aldeia Nova are given in Appendix H, but suffice it to say that the fact that its management has been taken over by Gesterra (the same company managing Kapanda and other projects) is indicative of much broader efforts at post-2002 agro-industrial reconstruction.

There has been less attention to issues of plantation lands than the fact that, according to Bender's (1978) often cited work, by the early 1970s nearly a fifth of Angola's population was in strategic hamlets (roughly 1 million people out of 5.6 million, including Portuguese).⁶⁸⁵ This striking exercise in brutal social engineering rightly garnered international attention and criticism, particularly given the similarities with other related processes in Algeria, Vietnam, and so on. However, aside from the fact that the vast majority of these settlements appear to have been in the East and North, very little reliable precise information is available.⁶⁸⁶ And, moreover, the important question of what happened with the rest of the 4 million people not in the border war zones has largely been ignored.

7.3.7 From Rivers to Roads: The Concentration and Relocation of Villages in Rural Reordering

Through a significant but hitherto unstudied long-term and piecemeal process, thousands of rural settlements in Malanje were relocated by colonial administrators from dispersed locations near water sources and moved into concentrated settlements along roads. This process was sometimes called 'villagization' (*aldeamento*) or 'regrouping' (*reagrupamento*), as part of the large project of 'rural reordering' (*reordenamento rural*). Where acknowledged, such reorganization has most often been discussed regarding *concentration towards* villages for administrative control, but equally if not more significant is the fact that it was simultaneously also *relocation away* from former water-proximate locations. The abstract spatial logic of roads for mechanized transit (ever more flat, straight, uniform, and predictable) was often antithetic to that of everyday common access to water (with its winding curves, fluctuating conditions, and undulations).

So, in addition to administrative control, what is also of great significance is that village concentration had different gendered implications, effectively increasing burdens on women by

⁶⁸⁵ Bender's (1978) figures are cited by van der Waals (1993) and Cann (1997). Cann cites van der Waals (1993: 120), in turn citing Bender (1978: 164-5, 200-1, 227, 232).

⁶⁸⁶ Unfortunately, Bender does not actually provide a precise source for one million figure; it appears that to be pieced together scattered references, and, in particular, a smuggled trove of confidential documents from a classified high-level 1968 symposium on experiences with and approaches to counter-subversion in Angola. See Reuver-Cohen and Jerman (1974: 29), which gives a figure of 887,923 in camps by 1968-9, paraphrasing page 3 of report IV-e. Similarly, there are problems with the figures given in the recent official history by the Portuguese army, which notes that by 1971, in the Eastern Military Zone of Angola, 960,054 people had been resettled into 1,936 villages (EME 2006: 482), but again without citing any precise source. EME (2006) also gives a table of *some* Eastern camp figures, but only about 194,000. But census figures from 1970 for the Eastern provinces sum up to only 628,000 people. So presumably this figure also includes the roughly 300,000 people in the north estimated to also be in camps. Major strategic settlement had started in the north in the coffee lands after the 1961 rebellion. Cann (1997) 155 notes that by 1964 150 aldeamentos had been built in the north, with total capacity of around 300,000 people (citing Van der Waals 1993: 120). Bender also mentions resettlement around Bie.

increasing the time and labor for the increased distances they have to travel.⁶⁸⁷ This new increased burden was both for collection of water for the ‘domestic’ work of social reproduction in the form of cooking, drinking, cleaning, and washing, as well as for tasks of processing cassava. Spatial relations in this rural re-ordering were also distinctly gendered social relations.

The complex and varied dynamics and implications of colonial and post-colonial villagization and (re)settlement schemes have been studied from various perspectives in a range of countries in Africa and elsewhere, perhaps most closely in Tanzania.⁶⁸⁸ However, with regard to Angola, although there are various small mentions in passing to the non-hamlet relocation of villages following the 1961 revolt and subsequent repression, the extent and dynamics of this process has never actually been documented, to my knowledge at least (though there are some studies from Mozambique after 1961).⁶⁸⁹ But in discussions with villagers and agriculture officers, they indicated to me also that some villages had been in different places before, and that one could still see ruins of villages here and there. Certainly the post-independence war has also shaped settlement patterns, and those dynamics are also worth of further study.⁶⁹⁰

There are a few brief scattered mentions of village concentration, from various perspectives and sources, lending some credence to the temporal and spatial extent of this quotidian process in Angola before 1961.⁶⁹¹ For example, this process had been occurring in the northern coffee areas since the 1930s, according to a 1957 petition to the UN.⁶⁹² What this short testimony about the

⁶⁸⁷ Simplistic narratives of ‘women burdened with water carrying’ have also often been deployed uncritically in development literature.

⁶⁸⁸ In discussing the strategic hamlets in Angola, Bender (1975) provides a comparative analysis of villagization in colonial Angola, and other key colonial instances such as Malaya, Vietnam, Algeria, and Zimbabwe, as well as ujamaa in Tanzania. With regard to Tanzania, see Scott’s (1998) influential work, as well as Schneider’s (2007) points on the relationships of modernism, nationalism and authoritarianism there. Lal (2010) importantly emphasizes some gender and family dynamics, as well as militarization, in relation to villagization. For other recent reviews and references to older literature, see Lorgen (2000) and von Oppen (2006). On Zimbabwe, see Moore (2005), Scoones (2014a). See also the astonishing maps in Pourtier’s (1989a) significant study of Gabon.

⁶⁸⁹ See Direito’s important (2013) dissertation on colonial land law in Mozambique, which covers some of colonial discussions about aldeamento more generally. See also George, J.d.F. (n.d.) ‘Concentrações algodoceiras,’ Tip. Minerva Central. Soares de Oliveira (2015: 126) mentions government statements about pilot villages as illustrating that the government’s knowledge of the periphery as “blinker to an extreme,” “ignorant,” and “arrogant.” And yet, Soares de Oliveira himself neglects to make any mention whatsoever of the decades of colonial villagization (before and in addition to the post-1961 war-related strategic hamlets). Indeed, many government officials are familiar with the colonial practices of ‘concentration’ that he ignores, and, rather than illustrating ignorance and political authoritarianism – as brashly proclaimed by Soares de Oliveira – the emphasis on model villages is indicative of a deep rooting in local history, albeit a misguided and contested one.

⁶⁹⁰ In Angola, there does not appear to have been the same sort of socialist villagization programs as in Mozambique (Harrison 2000). Pearce (2005), however, briefly notes some practices of ‘scorched earth’ clearing in the east of Angola in the later periods of war in the 1990s.

⁶⁹¹ Marques (1936); Andrade (1963). Direcção Provincial dos Serviços de Agricultura (1959) ‘Estabilização da agricultura itinerante em Angola,’ *Actividades de Angola* July/Dec: 131, Jan/Aug: 59; Melo, Artur Borges de (1965) ‘Policultura - Base da estabilização agrária de Angola’ *O Lobito* May 3, in BGU 481, 266-268; (1961) *Actividade Económica de Angola* 59/60; (1965) BGU 484. Henrique Cabrita published a series of articles in BGU in 1947: ‘Os problemas do aldeamento indígena,’ BGU 265: 45-7; ‘Será vantajoso realizar o aldeamento indígena,’ BGU 268: 69-72; ‘O aldeamento dos indígenas e o progresso,’ BGU 269: 72-5; ‘ ’ 270: 38-4; ‘ ’ BGU 271: 65-68. On Timor, see Martinho, J.S. ‘Aldeamento Indenas: Um dos Problemas da Colonização de Timor,’ BGU 238: 148-169.

⁶⁹² See Paige (1975: 242-243) for the coffee areas, citing a 1957 document to the UN stating the practice had gone on since the 1930s (p. 47 of Chilcote 1972), which states: “During 1932 and 1933, for reasons which the Portuguese colonial administration has kept secret, all our villages were moved. We were forced to construct other villages along automobile roads. Certain villages whose inhabitants were not able to move themselves in the time allowed by the

1930s signified was *continuing* work on village resettlement *after* the tenure of the influential modernizing military governor of Angola Norton de Matos, and after the commotion of the rise of the fascist New State in Portugal, resulting in the 1930 Colonial Act.

The legal foundations for *reordenamento* were actually laid in the early part of the Twentieth Century under the direction of the modernizing colonial governor, General Norton de Matos, who pushed through the manual construction of Angola's initial thousands of dirt roads. Simultaneous with these road-building programs, de Matos established legal provisions in 1914 and 1921 that indigenous Angolans must live in 'concentrated' settlements of no less than 10 structures, or face stiff fines.⁶⁹³ Little precisely has been known about this process however.

It appears that de Matos may have been influenced by the Secretary of Indigenous Affairs, João Ferreira Diniz, who he had appointed upon arriving in Angola, as mentioned in Chapter 2. Charged with censusing Angolans in order calculate and enforce taxes and labor recruitment, Diniz faced the problem of people fleeing both the census and attempts at enforcement. And so he proposed some overly ambitious regulations in 1918 that put forward a maximum period of 5 years for the concentration of all villages, after which all other houses would be demolished. In Diniz' (1918: 747-9) proposal, local administrative commissions would choose the locations for villages, based on five criteria: (1) access to water, (2) existing nuclei, (3) resources, (4) road access to administrative capitals, and (5) other administrative conveniences. The villages would be segregated by "tribes," and not have less than 50 houses, in clusters no smaller than 10, with no more than 150 meters between clusters of houses. Each house would be required to have five square meters per inhabitant, and could only be built after getting a license from the administration and following rules about hygiene. The license would help fund a yearly prize for the best house in terms of "aesthetics and hygiene." The respective traditional authority would be responsible for enforcing rules, and liable to a fine of between 1 and 20 escudos (also payable in

administration were burned. These included: Mbomba, Kindwalu, Lumbi, Yina, Kimbazi, Nkama, Lula die Bundu, Viaza, Ngandu, Seke, Mbanza-Mpangu, Niemo, Lemba, Nkielelo, Luvavamu, Ntetembwa, Kinsende, Sango, Soko, and Matente. Several plantations, belonging both to natives who abandoned the country and to those who were still living there, and which were situated near the sites of the former villages, were seized by the Portuguese – under the pretext that they were abandoned properties – and were portioned out among themselves. We cite the examples of Sanga, Luanika, Mbanza-Ntanda, Tenga, etc. No indemnity was paid – either for this expropriation or for the seizure of the plantations. Land seizure has continued to this day.”

The counter-subversion document notes for example, “Through the ages we have followed a policy of drawing the population to the roadsides; in some cases, new roads were even constructed. As a matter of principle, demographic centers should be situated close to or even along roadways. This policy must still be followed. Complete success will require some time because for years the population has adopted exactly the opposite criterion, in order to protect itself and escape the continuous appeals and recruitment of laborers needed for the repair of the roads and more often than not for the « contract labor system » (III-I, p. 4)” (Reuver-Cohen and Jerman 1974: 29). It also notes ““Villages have been constructed on the wrong site, or the surrounding lands are unsuitable for commercial agriculture, or they are remote from sources of water. The African is accustomed to live with considerable space, where he can dry his maize and prepare his flour (the basis of his diet)” (ibid, 30).”

⁶⁹³ Decreto 1224 (BO 45 of 1914); Portaria 137 (16 de Dezembro de 1921, BO S1), as well as a piece of legislation in BO 12 of 1913 (Portaria 137 is reproduced in de Matos 1926: 267-8). De Matos had also unsuccessfully tried to push through legislation giving regedores a financial incentive for village concentration, raising their stipend by 5 escudos for every 25 houses up to 150 houses (it's not clear if another version of this legislation went through later) (de Matos 1926: 264). De Matos' background is relevant here but discussed elsewhere; suffice it to say that his attention to spatial engineering was shaped by his background as a military engineer influenced by British practice in India while he managed the agricultural land survey of Goa. See Cleveland (2000), de Matos (1926), and Daskalos (2008).

labor) if villagers did not meet the rules. Local administrators would then be able to more easily enforce collection of hut taxes, which, if unpaid, would skyrocket (doubling the first year unpaid, tripling the second, etc).

Indicative of broader renewed Portuguese attention to colonization, and thus villagization, a Colonization Congress was held in 1934, with recommendations promoting villagization.⁶⁹⁴ A new more extensive 14-article draft decree was subsequently written up and submitted in June 1939 by the Colonial Minister José Vieira Machado, proposing that governors be responsible for gradually grouping villages into 20 or more families, with villages grouped by “race” and organized for various social and economic development purposes. This was followed by a report around 1940 on villagization by the former High Commissioner of Angola, Vicente Ferreira. However, in 1941 Ministers voted against the draft decree.⁶⁹⁵

Given the contradiction between villagization and labor recruitment, and the thorny question of rights for villagized people “in an intermediary state between Portuguese citizenship and the *indigenato*,” the issue was discussed and debated for several years at the highest levels, including in the Colonial Council around 1948.⁶⁹⁶

In practice, such high-level uncertainty meant on the ground discretion for local administrators to continue. As mentioned briefly in Chapter 3, with regard to Cotonang areas of Malanje, internal company reports mention concentration, and state studies report the increasing burden of transit time from concentrated villages to cotton fields. Most important and convincing is the actual detailed evidence from Malanje. There are some general indications in a 1970 intelligence report on the ‘ethnic Jingas.’⁶⁹⁷ But it is in examining the colonial land cadaster maps in Malanje from the late 1950s onward, however, one can clearly see instances where villages (represented by

⁶⁹⁴ See e.g. Bossa, J. (1935) ‘O regime de concessão de terras aos indígenas nas colônias de África,’ BGU 117: 3-27; See also Conclusões das teses apresentadas ao Primeiro Congresso de Colonização : 26-29 de setembro de 1934. Publisher: Pôrto : Imprensa Moderna, [1934?] "1a Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, Porto 1934; Primeiro Congresso de Colonização"--T.p., logo. 82 p. ; 23 cm. See also the questionnaire circulated by the Colonial Minister at the Imperial Economy Conference, 1935, BGU 127: 117-119. At the second conference of colonial governors in 1937, Melo Vieira presented a session on ‘Conditions of fixation of fixing indigenous to the land’ (BGU 139: 46).

⁶⁹⁵ The proposed decree was entitled ‘Social and Economic Organization of Indigenous Populations.’ See BGU 191 pp 7-119 for extensive details, views, votes, and discussion on the proposed regulation.

⁶⁹⁶ Cabrita, H. (1947) ‘Será vantajoso realizar o aldeamento indígena,’ BGU: 72. See the text of the proposed Decree ‘Social and Economic Organization of Indigenous Populations’ in Machado, J. (1940) ‘Colonização Portuguesa em África,’ BGU 178: 7-370. See Sampaio e Melo (1941) ‘Processo de Consulta: Organização Social e Económico das Populações Indígenas,’ BGU 191: 7-9. See also Duarte, Teófilo (1942) ‘A concentração populacional indígena e os Jesuítas,’ *O Mundo Português* 9(102): 249-259; (103): 305-314; (104-5): 343-357; (106): 407-415.

⁶⁹⁷ The report notes, “For some years, it can be noted, amongst these peoples, a general tendency to abandon their habitation in the ancestral villages [sanzalas], which they try to switch for houses built next to European population nuclei. It is the start of a movement, that is accentuating more and more, to abandon rural settlements, and for substitution by an incipient urban [citadino] movement. This tendency originated in another modification in the life of the African: abandonment of their agricultural type economy to pass on to the salaried economy type. The fact that some Jinga established themselves next to European populations, in *concentrated* villages [Sanzalas], but removed [afastadas] from native [gentilica] authorities, originated in the necessity of resorting to native [gentilicos] chiefs elected by Africans in these conditions – the “village patrons” – that played the role of native traditional authority. These detribalized ones sheltered themselves in houses of adobe walls and grass roofs, *built in locations previously designated by the Administrative Authorities, for reasons of political order and sanitation*” (emph. added).

clusters of dots for dwellings) were simply scratched out (covered by black rectangles, though in some cases only lightly with a blueish color under which are still visible the dwelling dot icons).

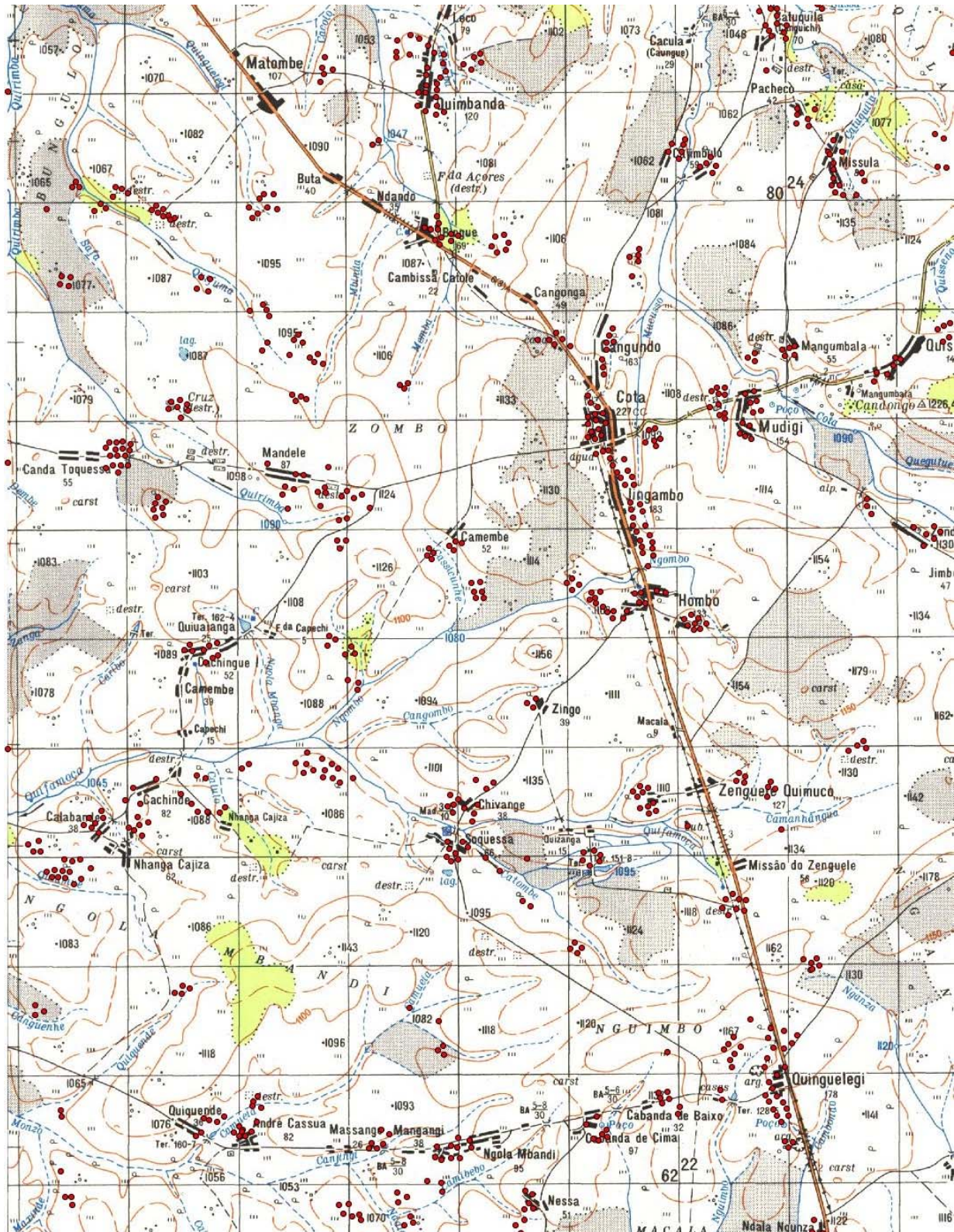
A close reading of some of the land registry documents also hints at this process. For example, around 1968, a Portuguese settler, João de Freitas, filed a claim for a piece of land east of Amaral, of about 100 hectares (claim 27/1967). In January 1970 the Malanje Cadaster Service wrote a note saying that Freitas' claim covered a road, and he should instead choose one or another part of his claim that was either above or below the road (apparently contravening the land regulations). After hearing this, Freitas in turn replied that this path "should not be considered a public path," since it doesn't go to any village, because the villages were relocated during the process of regrouping. The Kota administrator affirmed that the road still existed, even though it did not serve any villages, which he noted had been relocated along the roads Kalandula-Soqueco and Kalandula-Amaral.

A very quick count of the map markings indicating villages removed in my small study area of Western Malanje puts the figure at several hundred villages simply disappeared; for Malanje Province it is likely several thousand. In subsequent map iterations, there is sometimes a name with a label 'destroyed,' but often there is no indication at all on the map that such villages ever existed. In addition to the marked land cadaster maps of the 1950s, I also have copies of the original unmarked maps for the late 1940s and the 1950s, as well as the updated and revised maps from the 1970s/80s, and contemporary google satellite imagery. In the future I plan to use a basic digitized overlay of these five maps and the changes in villages and roads/paths to get a deeper and broader understanding of the extent and character of rural reordering and its relation to contemporary patterns. However, a small example for the area around Kota is illustrated below in Map 7.4, showing the post-independence map from the late 1970s overlaid with digitized points for the houses as indicated in map completed in 1961 based on aerial photographs from 1959. The village removals were very likely justified under the guise of security and administration, but facilitated the expansion of settler plantations. This was perhaps partly due to the fact that paternal land law regulations stipulated that indigenous Angolans be entitled to land areas of five times what they were then cultivating (to allow for their system of shifting cultivation).

In Map 7.4, it is readily apparent that numerous villagers' houses were in 1959 already located where the main villages and roads are in the late 1970s map. However, it is also very apparent that in some areas numerous other houses that were next to rivers and away from roads have just disappeared from the subsequent map. Another discernable pattern is where villages, such as Mandele, have been formed in a more concentrated manner from what were previously more dispersed houses along the road and/or stream.

Likewise, for the area west of Map 7.4, other details can be gleaned by comparing village locations on corresponding original unmarked map in 1959 with that made in 1979. Just north of Amaral, for example, the village of Ngio had consisted of dispersed houses around the small stream tributaries of the river Cangambo, but the 1979 map shows the village as a concentrated unit along the main road, where it remains today. Likewise, the nearby village of Manuel Cubindama is shown in 1959 along a small tributary of the east fork of Cangambo River, and in 1979 it is shown along the main road, where it is today. And so on. Of course not all villages appear to have been significantly relocated. Kuzuka for example appears in both maps in roughly

Map 7.4: Kota Area, Comparison of Village Structures c.1959 and c.late 1970s Map



Source: IGCA Maps; nb: red dots indicate houses ('cubatas') from map of 1959

same location, perhaps having already been concentrated and/or located there before 1959.⁶⁹⁸

Following up on one instance helps illuminate the broader sets of processes that went into such reordering of space. In the area west of Kota, and just north of the village Mandele, there were a number of houses along the Quifuma stream. This area had been claimed by a Portuguese settler in Kota named Alípio Machado as part of a 100 ha plantation that he applied to formalize in 1969. The land services did reduce his claim by about one fifth, the reasons for which are not clear. However, in the part that *was* granted to Machado, although the 1959 map clearly shows villages on both sides of the river, and houses in the subsequent plantation area, by 1969 the local use of the stream and the existence of the houses along it were administratively written off, with remarks that only a small field was in use but the rest had never been cultivated nor used for cattle by indigenous inhabitants. The subsequent 1979-80 map shows only ruins of *some* of the neighboring villages, with no indication of other villages nor the settlements near the Quifuma stream that Machado enclosed.

A slight digression here serves to illustrate some of the suggestive broader significance and connections related to such processes of reordering, enclosure, and dispossession. The plantation owner, Alípio Machado, also owned several buildings in Kota, and in fact the restaurant's annex where I stayed for a year is listed in the archives as registered to his brother, Evaristo Machado. In the land records, I saw how other such familial patterns of Portuguese immigration and settlement shaped the expansion settler plantations and agro-industry in Malanje, as well as the progressing expansion and reinvestment of capital that occurred. Evaristo, Alípio and Alípio's wife, Maria Candida Pimentel, were from the small Pine Kiln village ('Fornos de Pinhal') in the hilly areas of the relatively poor 'Behind the Mountains' ('Tras os Montes') region of northern Portugal.⁶⁹⁹ The area was long considered an impoverished region of small farmers and a source of overseas immigrants, and when I visited there in 2013, the relatively small, fragmented fields of olives and chestnuts mixed amongst rocky patches of pineforest presented a stark contrast to the large expanses of land around Kota.⁷⁰⁰

The continuities and transformations of the structure and dynamics of political economic power in this northern region of Portugal was illustrated by the old grand manor in Pine Kiln belonging to the Calainho family, with the Teixeira de Andrade, Barreiras, and Pimentels also being prominent. Settlers from this area were common throughout Western Malanje, and carried with them their own social relations. For example, when the agribusiness firm Santos Pinto sold its store in Amaral as the town dwindled, they sold it to a public functionary in Kalandula who was from Pine Kiln. Also common were Portuguese settlers from nearby towns like Santa Valha and Barroso, and the Valpaços region of northern Portugal more generally. A Café Valpaços bar still sits in the center of Malanje city serving cheap hot soup in the mornings, just across from the current Department of Agriculture. There were various Valpaços associations and folklore groups in Malanje and Angola more broadly. Conversely, I was also surprised to find in the

⁶⁹⁸ See also Monteiro, Armindo (1942) 'As grande directrizes da governação ultramarina no período que decorreu entre as duas guerras mundais, 1919-1939,' BGU 206-7.

⁶⁹⁹ Evaristo passed away in 1964 at the age of 42, and his tomb and others of the Machado family are prominent in the town cemetery.

⁷⁰⁰ See esp. Baptista (1999). See also Baganha (2003), Baptista (1978, 1993, 2013a), Barreira (1959), Black (1992), CPRN (1975), Cunhal (1968), Dias (1965), Fontes (1977), Freund (2011), Morier-Genoud and Cahen (2012), Pires (2010), Ribeiro (1997), Rodrigues (2003), Silva (1994), Silva (2006) There is also a 'Recenseamento dos Transmontanos residentes em Angola' worth analyzing.

center of Pine Kiln a Café Angola (which the kind elderly owner informed me over coffee had actually been started after the couple returned to Portugal after independence from the coffee region of Novo Seles, south of Luanda). Pine Kiln looked clean and well kept, with new house construction that had been spurred by remittances from immigrants in Europe and Brazil, as well as income from a renewed agriculture industry bolstered by European Union grants as well as major new EU-funded road and highway projects improving the area's links with Porto and nearby Spain (some road projects were carried out through nearby Montalegre by Portuguese firm MCA, who had also helped pave the roads eastward to Malanje and the old colonial settler town of Montalegre in Angola).⁷⁰¹

Figure 7.10: Pine Kiln / Fornos do Pinhal



Source: Author; nb: clockwise Café Angola, the old Teixeira Manor, & new roads and olive trees

In the north and center of Portugal, the fascist government in the 1930s had – invoking the experiences of fascist Spain and Italy – begun pushing programs of ‘parcelization’ that grouped together small plots in order to facilitate mechanization. Simultaneously, Salazar’s fascist state promoted ‘internal colonization’ to the southern plantations whilst simultaneously trying to coop the agitation of the rural workers there. It was just such regional agrarian inequalities in Portugal

⁷⁰¹ A new cemetery works and a telephone line were built in 1955-7 through the coordination of Antonio Manuel Pimentel collecting funds from colleagues in Brazil. The town manager was kind enough to let me into the nicely refurbished agricultural museum, where there are prominent bullocks for plowing olive orchard weeds. The renewed agriculture was part of one in which wealth holdings in the area had consolidated and been shaped also by cheap East European agricultural laborer.

that had been the subject of the study published in 1968, *The Agrarian Question in Portugal*, by Alvaro Cunhal, who had headed the Communist Party of Portugal that had influenced early overseas African students such as Angola's first president Agostinho Neto and the agronomist Amílcar Cabral. Both Neto and Cabral worked in Malanje and saw the cotton that would be sent by rail and ship to the textile factories of the northern Portuguese industrialists who co-owned the Malanje railroad and cotton companies. The roots of the subsequent agrarian reform in Portugal after the leftist coup in 1974 were the subject of the doctoral dissertation of a now very well-regarded agricultural economist Fernando Baptista, who later briefly served as Minister of Agriculture, and subsequently coordinated the research study of the areas around Kota that I mention in the beginning of this chapter.

Currently, google satellite imagery shows that the area near Alípio Machado's old claim around Quifuma stream is now widely cultivated in small patchwork parcels, with two prominent paths leading from the village of Mandele. However, about a kilometer away towards the road to Kalandula is one of the large chicken ranches built by Koreans, which were to be fed with rations produced by farmers and/or the large KAIP plantations to the south (see Figure 7.11).

Figure 7.11: Dormant Korean-Built Chicken Project near Kota



Source: Author

The point of this story about the Korean chicken project in the area that was formerly usurped by a settler from northern Portugal is that to understand contemporary projects we need to understand more than just the immediate profit and corruption involved. We need to understand the ways the current projects themselves – and the hence the dynamics of any sort of illicit dealing – are also rooted in very deep, complex still-present memories and landscapes of settler colonialism, efforts at socialist restructuring that were thwarted by war, and now extensive oil-backed loans for contracting out projects.

From the land archives, we can glean some of the circumstances of such histories in the form of village removals. To take one example near Cacuso in the early 1970s, José de Matos Figueira filed a land claim of 1,000 ha. The map of his plantation claim shows various villages crossed off and blacked out. And yet, Figueira stated in his description of the area that there were no other

‘regrouped.’ A great deal of attention was also paid to ensuring that Portuguese state officials had proper housing conditions. Reordenamento was not simply justified and implemented based on technical and economic colonial considerations operating across space; rather, it was also about restructuring space itself, not least a restructuring of political relations through a restructuring of spatial relations.

The attention to housing for state functionaries continues to this day in rural areas – many state and NGO staff that I interviewed initially in 2008 mentioned the lack of housing in post-war areas as a reason why state functionaries were loath to take up posts in rural areas. This could be an internalization of classic colonial norms of distinction between urban and rural, formal and informal, hygienic and unhygienic, and/or dignified and undignified housing. The symbolism around certain material aspects of housing then has a deep history, and has with the mass dislocation related to war and urbanization also taken on an enormous political significance as well.⁷⁰⁵

7.3.8 Colonial Processes and Agrarian Configuration

Having outlined in the preceding sub-sections the key colonial processes, I conclude this section here by briefly summarizing their relationship with the concentration, hierarchy and fragmentation that characterize the agrarian configuration.

Large private settler plantations were clearly instances of the concentration of land, but, in hierarchical manner, they also were classified differently from other types of land and had different rules, services, activities and opportunities. As discussed in Chapter 5, plantations themselves also had different classifications as to which crops they were zoned to grow. The extensive growth of plantations resulted in fragmentation and access to land, water, roads, forests, grazing, and so on became more and more difficult for smallholders and ordered along the lines of commercial agriculture. Large rectangular blocks of land concessions were located next to each other, or along roads or rivers (see Map 7.1 above). Key in the profitability, expansion, operation and spatial character of the plantations was the extensive use of tractors for land preparation, weeding, harvesting, and application of agro-chemicals such as fertilizer, herbicide, pesticides, and fungicides. The use of tractors to reduce reliance on local labor enabled the increased size of farms and their concentration, while also shaping them into rectangular blocks (see Figure 7.12). Different areas were also classified hierarchically in terms of their access to mechanization services by the state.

Closely related with the expansion of private mechanized white settler plantations was the rise of agro-industry that both enabled such expansion and itself grew based on re-investment of the profits from such plantations. The plantations were not simply absentee concessions, as is sometimes claimed, nor were they simply extractive enclaves that repatriated profits to their owners in towns, Luanda, or Portugal. There was a relatively extensive network of agro-industry that was built up with the profits of the plantations and in turn contributed to their expansion. This included such things as mills, warehouses, grain silos, parts stores, repair shops, cattle

⁷⁰⁵ Gastrow’s (2014) work on housing in Luanda touches on many of these issues, and would be interesting to consider also with regard to historical processes and in relation to the rest of the country.

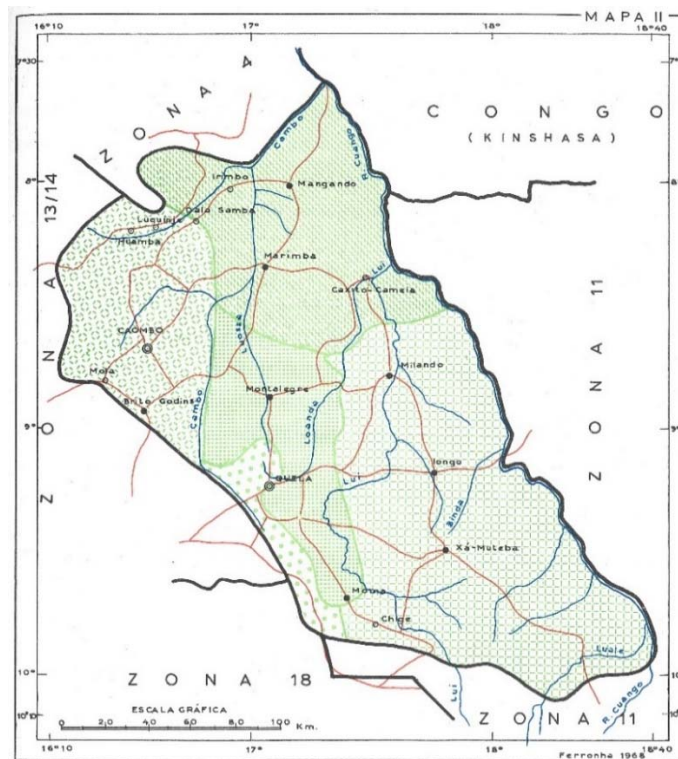
dipping tanks, abattoirs, facilities for workers, stores for inputs, and so on, as described in section 7.3.3 above. The distribution of such agro-industrial installations in turn followed and reinforced to the patterns of concentration, hierarchy, and fragmentation just described for the plantations.

Figure 7.12: Village-level Fragmentation: Aerial Photograph of Mechanized Plantation, c. 1960



Source: IGCA-Malanje

Map 7.6: Zonal and Sub-Zonal Classification of Baixa de Kassanje for Agricultural Census



MIAA (1967)

The expansion of the plantation economy operated in conjunction with paternal protection measures described in section 7.3.5. Although the measures were supposed to prevent encroachment, the classifications could be challenged, modified or violated, and appear to have enabled settler expansion by specifying which lands were to be protected for indigenous Angolans and which lands were open for concessions. As settler plantations grew, the emphasis by some colonial officials on protective reserves and smallholder titles also grew. Consequently, paternal protective measures emerged in relation to concentration and hierarchical ranking, and contributed to the fragmentation of land and resources.

The colonial settlement schemes in Malanje were not relatively large, roughly 40,000 in Western Malanje, and so were not great contributors to the concentration or fragmentation of land, but they did serve as particular models with their own special land classification and sets of services, rules, goals, and so on.

7.4 From Land Grabbing to Agrarian Configuration

Along the road from Lombe up to Kota, one passes various signposts for plantations, and recognizable indications of them. This is all the more notable since many of plantations and farm plots are not visible from the roadside, hidden by small inclines or roadside vegetation. Just after the crossroads town of Lombe one can see corn and cassava rows, and banana plants near a small house. Before the village Kajimbulo, on the left side highway is a sign for Fazenda Benjamin. After Kingles, on the right side is a sign for the Kidimakage plantation.

The aim of the following section is to illustrate my argument about the importance to local development and smallholders' livelihoods of the overall socio-spatial uses and configurations of land, water and infrastructure, *in relation to* the large absolute amount of land claimed under private title. This section does so by exploring the variation in the histories and uses of some of the region's largest and most significant plantations, showing that outright land conflict and expropriation by such plantations did not appear as significant for smallholders' livelihoods *in comparison* with the ways that these plantations and the accompanying roads reinforce broader problematic phenomena of concentration, hierarchy, and fragmentation. I do so by examining four large and significant contemporary private plantations, the last of which is near my village study sites and ties the discussion back to the first section of this chapter.

As the white settler plantations were nationalized after independence and then privatized, often to state and private elite in Malanje and Luanda, the colonial plantation structure of transport networks and land and water holdings is being somewhat reproduced, but without the same forced labor, subsidized market, and agricultural infrastructure (all discussed more in other chapters), and consequently the utilization of and profit from these Angolan plantations has been relatively limited (only about 8% of plantations, whose average size is about 1,700 hectares, report any use).⁷⁰⁶ The fact that much land, water, and roads are tied up in little-used colonial-style patterns means that the fragmentation of smallholder economy continues, further stifling possibilities for complementarity with the plantations. While unequal land holdings are relatively clear, there has actually not been much displacement of smallholders, the private

⁷⁰⁶ Malanje Provincial Government. Cf. Nzatuzola et al. (2004), which states that by 2003, a total of 548 concessions had been allocated in Malanje, for a total area of 722,571 ha. See Appendix W.

claims are not driven by the expectation of great material accumulation, nor are they easily exploited, being used or yielding much benefit. The motives and potential profit of land capture, and the immediate effects on smallholders, appear to differ from those depicted in conventional contemporary land grab narratives.

Table 7.4: Plantation Concessions Allocated Annually in Malanje, 2008-11

Year	Concessions	Area	Avg Area / Concession
2008	25	15,837	633
2009	77	41,581	540
2010	43	28,543	664
2011	47	29,185	621

Source: Malanje Provincial Government

There is the risk, in making this argument, of appearing to put forth an apologist spin that papers over glaring inequalities and despicable practices. However, it is also intellectually and politically problematic to impose a simplistic narratives of farmer victimhood at the hand of greedy elite, which actually distracts from a more nuanced understanding of the processes at work in the Malanje countryside and peoples' understandings of such processes.

Many plantation owners see their holdings as not a particularly significant potential source of income, and also see much-needed investment in agricultural infrastructure as not always securely profitable. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, there are significant labor constraints to expanded production of cassava, which is the main staple of the region and Luanda, but which is difficult to harvest mechanically.⁷⁰⁷ Plantation owners also face barriers in selling crops due to bureaucratic commerce requirements, police roadblocks in transport, and some competition from cheap imports, and, on the other hand, various other more lucrative opportunities in construction or commerce drawing their time and money to Malanje or Luanda.

The few key examples of functioning large-scale agribusinesses in the region – and they are significant as exceptions – are the low-labor timber harvesting and cattle ranching schemes by well-established regional and international businessmen. Table 7.2 above also illustrates some of these divergent patterns of land claims in Malanje, with the more sparsely populated and forested areas experiencing relatively fewer but larger size claims, compared to the areas around Kota and Amaral. So, although some patronage and illicit deals are likely to have occurred, if most investments in private land claims by private owners have not been driven primarily by the prospect of immediate material gain, it seems more driven by strategies of economic diversification that have arisen out of the tremendous economic uncertainty in the past 25 years, together with an idealistic rural nostalgia and status-seeking, as well as sometimes a sincere but misguided colonially-influenced desire to boost the rural economy. Nonetheless, given the unequal land holdings and the low utilization rates by the plantation owners, calls have grown by

⁷⁰⁷ However, there have been announcements for planned projects for 'wet' processing of cassava, in all likelihood to be owned and controlled by men.

NGOs, government bureaucrats, and even some mid and high-level officials for large owners to “use the land or lose it.”⁷⁰⁸

The following section examines four prominent and large private plantations in Malanje (summarized in Table 7.5). I have selected these four partly in relation to availability of information. I have also chosen some because they are specific, prominent areas in the province. And I have chosen some because they were of their importance and proximity to my village study sites. The tendencies that I mention also seem to characterize many of the wider range of several hundred concessions that I was able to partially investigate for Malanje Province, and they accord with the findings of several other studies in other provinces as well.

In sum, the first plantation discussed, the large but unused Procrsceser on much of what was the colonial indigenous reserve, illustrates the importance of distinguishing between actual expropriation and unused, unenforced and perhaps legally ambiguous claims. The next two plantations – Kolo Lands and Union – are two of the main plantations from the colonial times, which were briefly restructured during the colonial era, and then privatized. What they illustrate is the importance of links then and now *connecting* agrarian development and trade, rather than one or the other. These two plantations also illustrate the fact that because these large privatizations were made on the basis of much longer processes of agrarian restructuring, they have not involved much *contemporary* displacement. The final example, focused on the study area near Kuzuka, illustrates more specifically both an imperfect continuity between past colonial and present private plantation area, and hence also the importance of fragmentation rather than displacement.

⁷⁰⁸ For example, in June 2010 a municipal administrator stated “the administration is going to stipulate a maximum period of 6 months for the owners of these spaces to appear and begin to use the plantations, under the penalty that their licenses would be withdrawn ... beyond this period, the plantations would be passed to investors with financial and other capacity to utilize the lands.” Such a move could, more skeptically, be read as simply returning land to the stock of state patronage to be (re)distributed. Most recently, Isaac dos Anjos, who served as Minister of Agriculture when many of the initial large plantation privatizations occurred, has promised, as governor of Huila, to implement a program of agrarian reform, beginning by breaking up two plantations to distribute to farmers. See ANGOP (2010) ‘Administração de Calandula confisca fazendas inoperantes,’ July 1; ANGOP (2014) ‘Benguela: Agricultura identifica fazendas para implementação da reforma agrária,’ Oct 9.

Table 7.5: Summary of Post-Independence Plantation Examples

	<i>Colonial name</i>	<i>Est. Size (ha)</i>	<i>Colonial Owner</i>	<i>P. Indep Owner</i>	<i>Owner's Sector</i>	<i>Date Privatized</i>	<i>Analytic Point</i>
Prorescer	Indigenous Reserve	20,000	State	?	political-legal	late 2000s	Ambiguity
Kolo Lands	Cahombo	18,200	Pinto, then CUCA	Herminio	mining transport	late 2000s	Inter-sectoral without expropriation
Union	Union	3,100	Commercial Union of Autos (Carvalho & Veiga)	General Gato	political-military	mid 1990s	Inter-sectoral without expropriation
Fonseca	Luiz	2,000	Luiz	Fonseca	?	mid-1990s	Fragmentation and imperfect continuity

7.4.1 Ambiguity: *Procescer*

A massive 20,000 ha reported land concession known under the name ‘Procescer’ is indicated to the north and east of Amaral, covering much of the area of the old colonial indigenous reserve (see Map 7.1 on page 316 above). At first glance, it seems to be an example of apparent unequal landholding structure, and colonial continuities in such inequity. However, upon closer examination there is still considerable ambiguity in the claim, and the practical implications for and relations with small-scale farmers are more complex. On one hand, *Procescer* could be interpreted, problematically, simply as an expropriation by the powerful national attorney general, who has been criticized as a biased legal defender of the regime, and grown rich enough to buy up luxury real estate in Lisbon. On the other hand, *Procescer* could be read as small (\$15,000) dead-end project, a speculative but voided claim, confused with a much smaller plantation by the provincial (not national) Attorney General, and which has almost zero material effect on the everyday lives of people in the area.

Along the road to Kalandula, a sign reading ‘Procescer’ points off to an unclear double-track dirt road heading east through the bush and fields. The non-activity and ambiguity of the project is materially illustrated by the plaque’s fading paint, increasingly hidden also by overhanging vegetation, making it easy to miss in the morning fog as cars speed by on the paved road just minutes before the incline up to the municipal capital and the famous waterfalls.

However, it is by no means clear that anything is happening with *Procescer*. The company *Procescer* is listed as being commercially registered in April 2008 as an Anonymous Society to an address at an unmarked building in downtown Luanda.⁷⁰⁹ *Procescer* was mentioned by villagers in the area as having run into difficulties with the land title, and indeed there appear to be other overlapping claims in the area. So, when people refer to the plantation of the ‘Procurador’ (Prosecutor) it is not always clear whether they mean the Provincial or National one. The provincial attorney general, reportedly has a much smaller plot of a few hundred hectares in the area near a small colonial-era dam on a stream. The ambiguities further include the name, *Procescer*, which implies and meshes procurador, procreation, and support for growth (*crescer*). Yet, despite its prominently sized area, I found no other references in any newspaper or documents to *Procescer*.

Moreover, the simple continuity with colonial inequality could also be questioned. The indigenous reserves that were established in that area were done so by colonial officials who denied and overrode a Portuguese settlers’ claim for 3,900 ha in that area, due to the presence of indigenous farmers.⁷¹⁰ The colonial correspondence related to the claim also shows arguments between state officials who were clearly upset when the claimant “offended authority” given his “pretensions and ambitions” in the name of a “civilizing mission,” but his actions, they argued,

⁷⁰⁹ DdR III, n79, April 30, pp. 3133-3137.

⁷¹⁰ The Amaral reserves are part of only a handful listed in Ramos’ (1970) index of Boletim Oficial legislation. However, cadaster maps show many areas listed as reserves, so it is possible that these were also registered in the BO and not mentioned by Ramos, or that these other reserves did not go through the formal BO publication process, or there was change in laws regarding registration of indigenous reserves. A closer review of the BO would help to resolve these questions. Clarence-Smith (1985: 141) notes “between 1912 and 1932 in Angola ninety-eight square miles were set aside as native reserves.”

would actually result in the opposite. The overall colonial regime was exploitative of course, and much of the land around the reserves and some parcels therein would be alienated.

In terms of the notions of concentration, hierarchy, and fragmentation, the land area for Procrsceser was apparently some 20,000 hectares, of such a size that if implemented and fenced off it would considerably restrict numerous peoples' access to water, land, paths and roads, villages, forests, and hunting and grazing lands – it would in short be represent both a concentration of land and a fragmentation of the countryside. As with the next plantation discussed below (Cahombo/Kolo), the large land area in the proposed Procrsceser area has benefited from improved access to transport in the form of paved inter-municipal roads. Also worth noting is that the extensive area considered for Procrsceser was kept intact – that is, not further fragmented into colonial plantations – because it was hierarchically categorized as unfavorable land and set aside as an indigenous reserve. In other words, yesterday's hierarchy became today's potential concentration.

At the moment, Procrsceser appears deeply dormant, if not dead, and this reinforces the point that if we overestimate and simplify elite exploitative capacity in both the colonial and post-colonial eras, then we miss some important historical continuities in the form of *divergent* state propaganda, practices, and projects designed in the name of *protecting* social interests (as mentioned in section 7.3.5 above). A one-sided account would miss, in essence, the histories and transformations of how people and the state have devised and deployed Polanyian social protection counter-measures. Perhaps people will attempt to reactivate the Procrsceser land claim (or a modified version of it) in the future, perhaps after the area has become lucrative in relation to the waterfall tourism projects to the north and the logistics center to the south near Lombe. But such processes would almost certainly involve historically informed discussions and debates concerning social protection, rather than any simple expropriation.

7.4.2 Inter-sectoral I: Cahombo/Agritrade/Terras de Kolo

Looking closely at two of the most significant private plantations in Malanje can illuminate some of the analytic and political stakes of thinking critically about spatiality in order to understand the political economy of Angola and Africa more broadly, past, present and future.

These plantations illustrate that in order to understand the structure of wealth and power in contemporary Angola – including the private appropriation of large chunks of land and any implications for poverty and justice in Malanje – we must first understand the spatiality of different colonial and post-colonial conjunctures of agriculture, mining, industry, transport and construction. This approach flatly contradicts simplistic conceptualizations about the primacy of enclaves in Angolan political economy – these plantations originated, grew, morphed, shrank, and re-appeared distinctly not as enclaves but rather were enmeshed in complex and changing social, economic and political processes. And the approach here of carefully analyzing actual current and colonial Angolan geographies also helps to resolve debates about constraint and negotiability in African political economy – debates that could be enriched by more nuanced attention specifically to relations between power and space.

The plantations do not indicate an outright accumulation by wealthy elite from the center dispossessing local farmers, but rather emerged during the colonial era in provincial centers of

agrarian capitalism that were generating their own economic geographies, and for which dispersed infrastructures and processing was increasingly key. Accordingly, when these plantations were socialized in the 1980s, deteriorated during the war and then privatized, it represented less a continuity of exploitation from Luanda than a historically influenced revival in a new conjuncture of military-business logistics.

Firstly, the roughly 18,200-hectare Kolo Lands Plantation in the western part of Malanje Province, just north of Soqueco, near the Lucala River (see Map 1.4), is owned by Renato Herminio, an elite figure in both the transport sector and, through ITM Mining, in one of the internationally controversial ‘blood diamond’ areas at the Kwango river alluvial diamond areas some 200 km away near the eastern border of Malanje. The plantation, known in colonial times as Cahombo Plantation, was established in 1937 by one of Malanje’s most important agro-industrialist, Aires Santos Pinto, and was later merged into the CUCA Group – one of the largest colonial diversified business groups controlling the national beer company, agro-industry, trade, construction, etc.⁷¹¹ The plantation was nationalized following independence in 1975, and run as a state enterprises with cooperatives until conditions deteriorated with the expansion of war in the 1980s. The Cahombo plantation was then privately claimed in the mid-2000s, several years after the end of decades of war.

Figure 7.13 Sisal Harvest and Drying at Cahombo Plantation, late 1950s



Source: GDM (1959)

The colonial history of the Cahombo plantation illustrates cross-sectoral links, as well as trans-local and transnational ones. Absorbing several other Malanje agro-industrialists, the Santos Pinto provincial diversified business empire expanded, and (with the director’s son marrying the daughter of the province’s top administrator) would come to span numerous areas and sectors.⁷¹²

⁷¹¹ CUCA is the abbreviation for Companhia União de Cervejas de Angola (the Angola United Beer Company), and is the national beer today. See Guerra (1979: 145).

⁷¹² The director was Hernani Neves de Valera, and the Malanje administrator José de Oliveira Leitão. See Angola Norte, 1956 April 21, and Santos Pinto’s obituary, Angola Norte, March 6, 1954. The land records seem to indicate the plantation land was acquired from Carl Theodor Toener and Diether Hans Giesbert (whose names seem to indicate Dutch, German, or Afrikaner backgrounds).

Santos Pinto came to Angola in 1921 after a stint in Brazil during the revolution in Portugal during WWI. He established his firm in Malanje with his brother in the 1930s. The Cahombo Plantation would profit in the booming 1950s as a large user of forced labor in Malanje to cultivate sisal, tobacco, palm oil, coffee, corn, and cotton. Cahombo would gradually expand in size, and Santos Pinto established its headquarters in a prime bay-front office tower in downtown Luanda now occupied by the major Eusebios construction company, and another office in downtown Lisbon.

As with other settler plantations after the armed nationalist revolts in Malanje and Angola in 1961, Cahombo shifted to heavily mechanized production in order to reduce reliance on Angolan laborers, and, with village removals and a land rush, it expanded into cattle ranching and meat processing.⁷¹³ With the economic boom in during the 1960s (driven by coffee and oil revenues and counter-insurgency military spending on infrastructure and personnel), construction and commerce flourished, and the Santos Pinto firm diversified further into heavy consumer goods, as well as vehicles (Volvo, Honda, tires), insurance, and so on. At some point during the consolidation of colonial businesses in the late 1960s it was absorbed by massive CUCA Group of Manuel Vinhas.

In sum, on the eve of independence and the ensuing destruction and exodus by fleeing Portuguese, Cahombo was part of complex, spatially and sectorally integrated agro-industrial conglomerates. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the independent socialist Angolan state would try to restructure Cahombo and the rest along statist socialist lines as well as cooperatives, but ultimately be thwarted primarily pressures of falling oil prices during the 1980s recession combined with the heavy military expenses and disruption caused by US and South African support to UNITA rebels (a problematic situation also exacerbated by state enterprise management problems).

In 1977 Cahombo was grouped together with Fazenda União and other plantations to constitute the Cacuso Group of Production Units (the Cacuso AUP), one of six groups in Malanje.⁷¹⁴ The title would be formally transferred to the state by February 1979, and a year later President Jose Eduardo dos Santos would travel to the plantation to give a speech exhorting increased production.⁷¹⁵ According to the former director of the Cacuso Group, these AUPs formed part of the state's massive plan to restructure this agro-industrial heritage to transform Malanje into a socialist breadbasket for much of the country.⁷¹⁶ However, as detailed in Chapter 5, the disruptions of the war soon made achieving even modest local production next to impossible. People fled the countryside, equipment and materials were damaged, were stolen or deteriorated, well-illustrated in the picture on page 320 above of the skeleton of the rice mill constructed by Santos Pinto in 1974 (at the time, the largest in Africa).

⁷¹³ *Actualidade Económica*, April 18, 1974, p.7.

⁷¹⁴ See *Jornal de Angola*, Nov 1, 1977. The others were Cangindongo, Esperança (also of Santos Pinto), Zanga and Santronef. This was based in Ministry of Agriculture Dispatch 93/77 of October 11th, and followed the resolutions from the 3rd Plenary of the Central Committee of the MPLA. See also Desp 78/77 of 11 July.

⁷¹⁵ See *Jornal de Angola*, Feb 27, 1980.

⁷¹⁶ Interview, Luanda, 2011.

The same diamonds that UNITA would use to fund its activities were also key to the new owner of Cahombo.⁷¹⁷ In the late 2000s, Cahombo was granted to the (reportedly Mozambican⁷¹⁸) transport and diamond magnate Renato Herculano Teixeira Herminio via the company Agritrade. As discussed in section 4.3.3, Herminio co-founded the Brafrikon construction company that was reconstructing the paved highway from Cacusó to Malanje, passing a few dozen kilometers from Cahombo. Herminio acquired the plantation in a privatization facilitated by the Angolan National Private Investment agency, with varying reports of expected investment of \$2.6 and \$6.2 million, and 47 jobs to be created.⁷¹⁹ By 2013, Cahombo reportedly had roughly 4,000 cattle imported from Brazil, and 24 residences, a restaurant, airport, and slaughterhouse.⁷²⁰ Herminio had gained his fortune through the logistics of supplying by road and by air equipment, fuel, food, materials, etc, to the diamond mining industry. In particular, he worked closely with ITM Mining, which had been active in Angola since 1976. In contrast to labor-intensive informal alluvial (river bed and surface) diamond mining, intensive diamond extraction involves expanding economies of scale that in turn require massive digging and rock processing machinery, which all must be imported, maintained and fueled. Herminio and associates have also been engaged in a series of high profile lawsuits and counter-lawsuits with Rafael Marques regarding alleged human rights violations at alluvial diamond mines near eastern Malanje associated with their Sociedade Mineira de Cuango.⁷²¹

The contemporary dynamics of the Cahombo plantation illustrate the ways that the profits and experience from the extensive on-the-ground (and airborne) logistics of food, mining, and military have been mobilized to invest in a former socialist state farm that had attempted to revive and restructure the extensive colonial agro-industrial network that the plantation had been part of. The travails of flying in 17,000 liters of fuel to the deeper Lunda diamond mines were the subject of a 2003 French documentary, *Tankers en Plein Ciel* ('Tankers in the Sky').⁷²² With economic liberalization in the early 1990s, Herminio also established various trading firms to import food to supply the mines, partly in conjunction with the Thanda Vatu Group.⁷²³ He is also involved with the automobile company Intraco, established in 1977 to supply the diamond and construction industry, and its fleet of 51 RoadAfrik gasoline tanker trucks that run the highway route from Luanda up through Malanje, passing somewhat near the former Fazenda Cahombo, past Lombe, and on to the diamond mines in neighboring Lunda Province. In addition, TransAfrik also ran flights delivering food aid during the war for WFP, and perhaps for the government.⁷²⁴ Some of these flights had been attacked and shot down near Malanje by UNITA with US stinger missiles (manufactured in southern California) in March 1991 and July 1994,

⁷¹⁷ Cf. Ferguson (2005).

⁷¹⁸ Dietrich (2000: 157-8, 70).

⁷¹⁹ See ANIP (2015) 'Relatorio Annual,' http://www.anip.co.ao/ficheiros/pdfs/Relatorio_Anula.pdf, p. 67; ANGOP (2013) 'Malanje governor visits farms in Quizenca commune,' Feb 4; ANGOP (2013) 'Governador inteira-se do funcionamento da fazenda Terra de Koló na comuna de Soqueco,' Feb 3.

⁷²⁰ ANGOP (2013) 'Malanje governor visits farms in Quizenca commune,' Feb 4.

⁷²¹ These are documented in a series of reports culminating in Marques' book *Blood Diamonds*. See England, Andrew (2015) 'Angola activist in fight to highlight alleged corruption,' *Financial Times*, May 1.

⁷²² See *Tankers en plein ciel 1/5 727 Transafrik/Air Gemini*, uploaded by honkongjulus, Feb 8, 2010, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8hISNpTEAa8>; 'Transafrik – all you need to know about it,' <http://www.pprune.org/archive/index.php/t-28400.html>.

⁷²³ See <http://www.thandavantu.com>, and <http://www.agritrade-ao.com>.

⁷²⁴ Bartlett, L. (1993) 'U.S. airline pilots swap gold braid for African adventure,' *Agence France-Presse*, Sep 29.

and in Huambo in December 1999.⁷²⁵ The Kolo Plantation was reported as part of the general set of economic activities linked with the Kapanda Agro-Industrial Pole, particularly as a potential purchaser of animal rations (corn and/or soy).⁷²⁶

In addition to contemporary transport profits being plowed back into a colonial agrarian structure, the contemporary reconstruction of roads has also facilitated access to the plantation. The plantation is about 20 kilometers off the main Luanda – Malanje highway, and when the plantation was being revived plans were in the works to re-build the nearby inter-municipal road from Cacuso through Soqueco to Kalandula, which has now been completed. In other words, the road network serving towns ranked according to their administrative hierarchy has reinforced the favorable access of the former colonial plantation.

So, in sum, it is out of the very grounded geographies of logistics support to diamond mining that colonial Cahombo plantation has found new owners as Kolo Lands. The plantation is at present reportedly focusing on cattle (particularly Zebu Nelore from Brazil), and some corn. It is viewed by some as a connection between the large cattle areas of the north (also established in the colonial times, in Camabatela), and the Kapanda project in southern Malanje (see Chapter 5).

7.4.3 Inter-sectoral II: The (Auto) Union Plantation

The Union Plantation's name indicates the trans-sectoral linkages mentioned above, taking the moniker from the colonial owner, the Commercial Union of Automobiles. The Union Plantation is near Cambunze, just north-west of Cacuso. Like Cahombo's trajectory, the colonial Union Plantation (Fazenda União) was part of a major diversified business group during the colonial era, then became part of the post-independence socialist production unit group in Cacuso, and then was privatized to an apparently well-connected individual, this time an army general in the early 1990s, rather than 2006 as with Cahombo.

The original colonial company, the Commercial Union of Automobiles, grew in size, wealth and influence as roads and transport increased in the 1950s, fed by and feeding the agrarian commercialization that would eventually also help spark rural nationalist revolts in 1961. As the colonial regime and settlers responded to the revolt by replacing agricultural labor with tractor mechanization and militarized patrols in the 1960s, the Union company would get numerous lucrative contracts to supply the government and construction contractors with machinery for road construction and other public works. Indeed, the initial credit to purchase and establish the large plantation came from the administrator of the Asphalt Company of Angola (in which one of the two plantation owners also held a share). The Union built a new office in the middle of downtown Malanje across from the Radio Station, and had posh gatherings. The two main owners of the Union company – Joaquim de Carvalho and João Abrantes da Mota Veiga – also had diverse interests in coffee, cattle, asphalt, real estate, trade, manufacture, and other sub-

⁷²⁵ (1991) 'UNITA downs transport plane, kills nine foreigners on board,' Associated Press March 23; (1996) 'Missile seen unlikely against TWA 800,' Dow Jones, Sep 4.; Siona, C. (1999) UN wants to look for downed planes,' Associated Press, Jan 5.

⁷²⁶ SODEPAC (2010) 'Pólo Agro-Industrial de Capanda: Master Plan/Plano Director,' pp. 141, 814, <http://sodepacangola.com/joomla/pdfs/cap2.pdf>, <http://sodepacangola.com/joomla/pdfs/cap7.pdf>; ANGOP (2009) 'Fazenda Pungo Andongo conta com fábrica de ração animal,' May 13.

sectors that also boomed in the 1950s and 1960s.⁷²⁷ Indeed, the plantation was known for its sisal production, which went to make the sacks used to bag coffee beans destined, mostly via Louisiana, for shelves across the US – once again illustrating the linkages between trade, transport, and production.

As with Cahombo, the plantation would be nationalized as part of the socialist Cacuso production unit, but then shortly thereafter disrupted indirectly by war and then damaged and neglected for two decades further. The plantation area is still recognizable and widely familiar, located near the main Luanda-Malanje highway, and the informal Cambunze food market there that has expanded greatly alongside the improved highway where passing small-scale traffic stops for snacks or to bring food back to Luanda.

Sometime in the mid-1990s, the plantation appears to have been privatized as a several thousand hectare parcel to the (retired?) army general Ciel de Conceição Cristovão (“Gato,” or ‘Cat’ in English).⁷²⁸ The reasons for his particular interest in this plantation are not entirely clear to me yet (perhaps familiar relatives?). Several managers of the nationalized plantations during the socialist period would acquire as privatized plantations significant parcels of the former state farms.⁷²⁹ Or possibly the plantation was privatized to General Gato for security reasons. As described in the previous chapter, UNITA had attacked and captured many of the plantations in the area over the preceding decade. It appears that after some fighting in December following the Lusaka peace accords in November 1994, by early 1995 the government had re-established control over the area around the Union Plantation, and the Luanda-Malanje road had reopened. It was in that context that the plantation was then transferred to General Gato.

Gato had fought with the MPLA in the early days of the 1960s, apparently in the northern region around Cabinda, and in February 1977 as a FAPLA Commander he was appointed director of the Port of Luanda, a period of economic and political turmoil described in the preceding chapter.⁷³⁰ As a Lieutenant-Coronel he then served as Vice Minister of Defense from March 1979, and headed the Air Force until December 1981.⁷³¹ In 1986 he was promoted to Major General, and in 1989 he signed the accords for Cuban Troop withdrawal (see picture below). He served on the MPLA’s Central Committee in 2009 at least, and was honored together with Kopelipa in 2005.⁷³²

The commercial registry shows that, beginning in 1994 at least, General Gato was involved in a number of new businesses with other elites, about which little public information is available. In 1997 he appears to have formed with his family the company that runs the plantation, Ciefil (Ciel and ‘fil’ perhaps as an abbreviation for filhos, children). He appears to have also business dealings in communications, transport, construction and apparently a 15% share in a diamond concession (around 2004), and in late 2014 was appointed as Secretary General of the Ministry of Industry.⁷³³ In 2011, the Ciefil plantation seems to have hired the NGO ADRA founder and

⁷²⁷ See Guerra (1979). See *Actualidade Económica*, Sep 20 1967, p.12, ‘Acompanhando o desenvolvimento de Angola: Crescendo para server, a União tornou Malanje mais cidade!’

⁷²⁸ <http://www.jmjangola.com/uploads/fernando.pdf>, p. 5. Curihingana, F. (2013) ‘Agricultores expõem produtos,’ *Jornal de Angola*, May 19.

⁷²⁹ Including Kissol, and Cacuso. Alternatively, one could postulate a possible link with the Cuban troops stationed near the plantation area.

⁷³⁰ ATD (2009).

⁷³¹ (1981) ‘Angola fires defense aides,’ *Washington Post*, Dec 8, p.A23; ATD (2009).

⁷³² AGNOP (2006) ‘Presidente da República condecora individualidades angolanas,’ Nov 11.

⁷³³ Despacho 434, Nov 28; Angop (2004) ‘Endiama assina acordo de concessão mineira,’ Aug 11.

Angola's top rural development expert, Fernando Pacheco, to elaborate an investment plan for a credit proposal to the Angolan Development Bank.⁷³⁴

Figure 7.14: General Gato signs Document of Cuban Troop Withdrawal Jan 10, 1989⁷³⁵



In sum, the large well-known Union Plantation certainly illustrates aspects of Peters' and others arguments about wealth elites obtaining privatized land, but in contrast this accumulation has not apparently come at the cost of direct dispossession, nor, as I've argued elsewhere, have the plantations been profitable (nor been seen as avenues of great profit). I have not seen or heard indications of local displacement from people familiar with the area (though I have not personally conducted interviews in the immediate area), partly perhaps because the plantation was for a long time a state enterprise, and, earlier, in colonial hands. Moreover, Peters' argument misses a significant part of the story to understand transformation and continuities, namely the importance of trans-sectoral links and the involvement in agrarian production of transport and military logistics that have repeatedly come to the fore in specific historical conjunctures, rather than as either peculiarly new developments or as innate features of African political economy.

7.4.4 Imperfect continuity in global context: The Luiz / Fonseca claim

In the study area around Kuzuka a plot of some 2,000 ha illustrates imperfect continuity with the colonial period, and perhaps more importantly fragmentation of the agrarian structure. In this example, a colonial agent – who had been tasked with writing a manual for agricultural officers to be more friendly than commanding – himself ended up usurping land. After independence, part of this plot was apparently later registered by parents of a now internationally famous, self-proclaimed originator of the *kuduro* dance style and music. This episode illustrates some of the imperfect continuity with the colonial era in terms of the land claims, as well as the patterns of the late-colonial land rush and the global relations of contemporary claims.

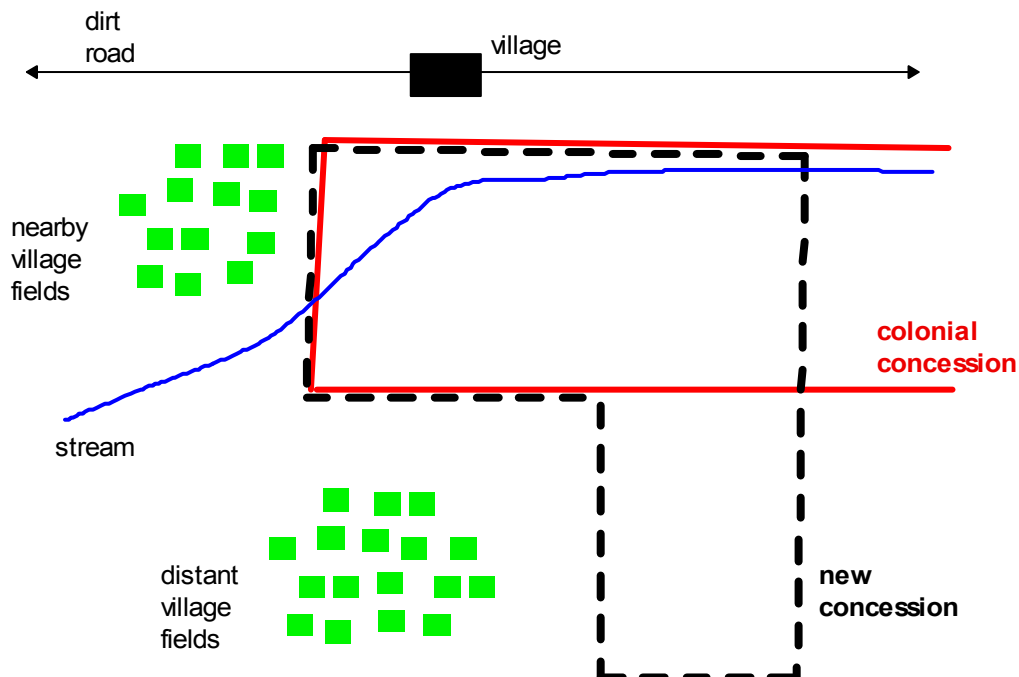
⁷³⁴ <http://www.jmjangola.com/uploads/fernando.pdf>.

⁷³⁵ Source: <http://www.dw.de/dez-anos-acordo-de-paz-a-dif%C3%ADcil-constru%C3%A7%C3%A3o-de-uma-nova-angola/a-15842277>.

In the study area, one of the largest and most central land claims during the colonial era was that of João Josue Luiz, a Portuguese staff member of the Provincial Settlement Board (JPP) established in the early 1960s. What is notable about this claim is how an agent purportedly working for kinder, gentler rural development would himself be castigated for an overly ambitious land claim.

Luiz lived in Luanda, and had published for the Angola Cotton Institute in 1966 a pamphlet about a new position and approach in extension, called an “Auxiliary” to the Rural Agent. The gist of the advice was, in surprisingly frank terms, to avoid the past bad habits by rural agents of incurring debts, getting involved with local women, cheating farmers, taking bribes and fleeing the service. Instead, his pamphlet argued, “The Rural Agent’s Auxiliary is a service of the state, and not a service of the patron as it was before” (Luiz 1966: 12). How ironic, then, that he would be castigated by the JPP’s Support Group in Malanje, for making a 1968 land claim that encompassed some 200 hectares that neighboring villagers had already prepared, and then telling the villagers to go find land elsewhere. The JPP Group requested that he prepare new land for them (notably, not giving land back, though some parts of his initial claim were indeed struck down). And, moreover, the JPP reported him to the Council on Subversion and Counter-Subversion.

Map 7.7: Simplified Schematic of the Luiz/Fonseca Concessions



By the mid-1990s, a big part – but not all – of the old colonial Luiz claim appears to have been claimed by the Fonseca family (the area delimited by dashed black lines in the highly schematic Map 7.7). The area in these land claims remains almost completely uncultivated, despite its proximity to various villages in the area, and its use during colonial times. Though more interviews need to be done, the claim appears to be that of middle-upper class parents of

the famous Angolan musician and dancer Tony Amado. In the 1990s in the city of Malanje, Amado, drew on the dance styles of Michael Jackson to form a new *kuduro* style of dance combined with minimalist electronic beats whose harsh sound and contortions would give form to the dizzying energies of oil and war and soon be swept up by the youth of the informal neighborhoods of Luanda. With musicians and dancers fueled by re-circulated oil wealth, this musical style has become known across the world (Moorman 2014).

In sum, the Luiz-Fonseca plot illustrates striking – but certainly not total – continuity between colonial and post-colonial land claims, which appear to represent a significant influence on current patterns of land use. Both the colonial Luiz claim and the post-independence Fonseca claim can only be understood as part of much broader processes (a speculative colonial land rush fueled by exports, urban construction and counter-insurgency, on the one hand, and on the other massive dislocations related to an internationalized post-Cold War diamond-fueled insurgency). The importance of the concession's repercussions in terms of concentration, hierarchy fragmentation for this particular area was described at the beginning of this chapter, namely how the area's cassava farmers' resulting patterns access to land, water, transport, and markets shape their time, labor, and remuneration. The example is a highly schematic one, partly for the sake of anonymity and practical limitations to research, but it is nonetheless indicative of broader tendencies seen in the land records and in field research.

7.4 Conclusion

Through the use of a notion of agrarian configuration, this chapter has brought together the other themes and evidence in the dissertation through a focus on questions of land. In contrast to the other chapters, the concern here has been less with the specific reasons for and administrative dynamics of contemporary state reconstruction projects (as with roads, Kapanda, and markets), and more of a focus on understanding who is able to benefit from such projects in relation to the overall socio-spatial structures and dynamics around land. The chapter both critically examined and went beyond conventional explanations that emphasize elite land grabbing in Angola. At the beginning of the chapter, I briefly examined contemporary cassava production, sale, and marketing in the two study villages in order to illustrate how the most important contemporary agrarian issues involve but surpass just the aggregate amounts of land claimed in concessions, and instead are importantly shaped by the broader spatial agrarian configuration of fragmentation, hierarchy and concentration. In so doing, this chapter has provided the first in-depth documentary evidence and analysis of the great depth and extent of agrarian restructuring under colonialism in Angola. In the last part of the chapter, I built on this reconsideration of the agrarian history of colonialism and returned to the present to briefly examined four prominent plantations. The analysis of these four examples illustrated how Western Malanje's agrarian configuration is rooted in the ways in which settler colonialism shaped land use, structure, and access, but has also emerged recursively in relation to roads and markets that – as the previous chapters showed – have also been shaped by colonialism, war and liberalization. The end result contrasts with conventional interpretations of Angola's political economy as one of enclaves and ephemeral trade, and instead provides a new empirically grounded and conceptually nuanced understanding of the Angolan geography and history, and well as providing new perspective on the character and dynamics of contemporary reconstruction.

Chapter 8 : Conclusion: Beyond Contradictions

Research for this dissertation set out with several key, concise questions in mind, both analytic and practical: why is the Angolan state implementing rural reconstruction projects in the way that it is, and what is the distribution of benefits? In order to take a fresh, careful, geographical approach to these questions, in Part I this dissertation has emphasized explicit considerations of spatiality in critically reviewing conventional approaches to understanding Angola and providing a re-interpretation of some of Angola's historical context. Then, Part II looked specifically at three sorts of reconstruction projects (roads, growth poles, and markets) and their relationship with land. Rather than only focus on elite profit and control as a way of understanding reconstruction, I've sought instead use an emphasis on spatiality to understand such reconstruction projects as shaped by conjunctures of multiple geo-historical processes associated with colonialism, war, and liberalization. Although I did not set out with such an emphasis on history and war, during field research it became overwhelmingly clear to me that any real understanding of contemporary reconstruction would have to seriously address these.

The notion elaborated in Chapter 7 of agrarian configuration helps go beyond rentier and gatekeeper models by emphasizing the complex geo-historical relationships of infrastructure and land in rural areas. It also enables a more precise understanding of the patterns of reconstruction in Angola, and particularly how they react to or reinforce old or new patterns – in contrast to viewing reconstruction largely as driven by political and economic forces across relatively blank spaces. And, importantly, it helps in understanding the distribution of benefits in reconstruction. Infrastructure projects appear to be reinforcing some of the much older historic patterns associated with dispossession, rather than just the common view of facilitating direct, immediate accumulation through dispossession. The partial reproduction of an older agrarian structure under new post-independence conditions also means that elite accumulation from agricultural production is limited by the lack of the once-assured cheap labor, and subsidized and regulated markets. These recognitions in turn allow us to understand the seemingly contradictory phenomena of reconstruction having widespread popular consent in rural areas, but with serious problems still to be resolved, and persistent calls for yet even more (problematic) reconstruction projects. The appearance of development through reconstruction projects – amidst continuing problems – is not a direct indication of elite venality or lack of public minded intentions; even rational, liberal and technocratic measures are likely to have limited effects if they do not address the agrarian configuration that the preceding chapters together describe.

Moreover, when analysts underestimate the depth of colonial rule and protracted war in the countryside, so too they underestimate the reasons for rural reconstruction efforts and the actual extent of post-war improvements in living conditions in rural areas. And, consequently and very importantly, hence they also underestimate the patterns and extent of rural consent to political rule. Some commentary on Angola since the latest drop in oil prices has emphasized the fragility of the regime and the manifestations of such fragility in crack downs on protests in Luanda. Such an emphasis on fragility – and repression as a consequence – may be misplaced, partly because such analyses often don't sufficiently appreciate the geo-histories of Angola more broadly.

My re-interpretation of Angola has broader significance partly because Angola is often portrayed as an example that is so extreme in its socio-spatial divisions related to exports of extractive resources that it illustrates clearly the important underlying trends shaping African political

economy more generally. Issues of mineral revenues are likely to remain important, if not increasingly so, particularly as major efforts, supported by the World Bank, are now underway on a more thorough inventory of the geological resources in Africa, and as the technology of exploration and extraction becomes ever more proficient. Whether and how global demand for such natural resources (and particularly oil) will rebound or boom again in the near future is unclear, especially given the extent to which China has already transformed, the structural problems in the US and Europe, and competition from elsewhere. In trying understanding Angola's future as well as its, past and present, this dissertation has also contributed to the field of geography by showing how spatial thinking and practices emerged in Angola, and continue to be very important today. The study also contributes to a geographical understanding of processes at work throughout the very significant broader West Central Africa region.

Throughout the dissertation, I have also considered different roles of cartography, mapping and spatial conceptualizations. In Chapter 2, I tried to critically examine how contemporary conventional interpretations emphasizing the primacy of trade and enclaves in the historical political economy of Angola are shaped by the use of maps that have been produced based upon – and help reify – colonial historiography. Conversely, in novel ways, I also critically examine how Twentieth Century colonial mapping activities have shaped contemporary understandings of ethnicity in such recent interpretations of Angola's historical political economy. In Part II, I also situate such colonial ethnic mappings for purposes of forced labor and taxation within a broader set of colonial orderings of space with regard to transport, marketing, and land. A contribution of the dissertation is this bringing together of transport, marketing, and land in terms of cartographic representation, colonial plans and actual practices. Overall, my examination of cartography and different representations of space contributes to my argument in the sense that the conceptions of space in late-colonial regional development programs that were deployed as counter-insurgency were influential for post-independence Angolans who not only revived them but sought to adapt them for socialist aims, and have recently tried to renew, modify and expand such plans with an emphasis – influenced by intervening decades of war, liberalization, and oil revenues – on logistics and private contracting.

In addition, I have made a range of various other contributions, large and small, empirical and analytic, which were elaborated more in the introduction. Here I can flag again a few of the most significant. I retell the history of land in Angola through a first detailed examination of colonial land archives. In so doing, I also retell origins the origins of nationalism in Angola, and the armed liberation struggle. I have tried to piece together one of the first actual locally specific accounts of the rural course of the war. The dissertation also combined ethnographic and historical research to carefully examine the massive road projects that have been at the heart of the reconstruction process in Angola, and figure centrally in notions of a proliferating 'Angola model' of 'resources for infrastructure' throughout the continent. Through my study of roads, as well as Kapanda, I have also helped contextualize some of the most significant people and projects in the country. In sum, through such empirical and conceptual work, I have helped to begin a much needed and long overdue critical contextualization and scrutiny of prevailing concepts used to understand Angola, and, by implication, much of Africa more broadly.

In so doing, I have also critiqued how the notion that approaches to markets were just superficially adopted and then jettisoned as part of adaptive strategies of extraversion ignores how neoliberalism was leveraged upon Angola through coordinated action in international credit markets lead by the United States after decades of externally supported war had devastated the

economy and indebted the government amidst a deliberately engineered global oil glut. This notion also assumes that markets in Angola were never really deeply pervasive, and instead were geared around economic enclaves and petty trade by Portuguese settlers. Indeed, it is only by erasure – by denying the geo-historical reality, experiences, memories and dreams of deep and extensive agro-industrial markets – that conventional analysts can claim that state elite simply switch approaches to marketing whenever it suits elite interests.

8.1 Questions for Further Research

There are however also a number of other issues and area that could also prove productive and illuminating to pursue in further research. It may well be asked, to what extent are the dynamics that I have described specific to Malanje? As the recent census data makes very clear, there are many other farmers beyond Malanje; their histories and conditions have yet to really be critically studied or conceptualized. The 436,000 ‘rural’ inhabitants in Malanje make up just a small portion (less than 5%) of Angola’s agrarian population. Based on an understanding of Malanje and available sources, further research in the other major agricultural regions of Angola could prove illuminating. There are some studies and news reports to draw on, and some very rough patterns can be gleaned through a basic analysis of fairly cursory and limited statistics. Part of my argument though has been against simplistic notions of an enclave around the Malanje region, and Candido’s (2013) work supports this. More work in particular does remain to be done about the legacies of Angola’s massive coffee sector – the fourth largest in the world at independence – which has received almost no serious study, aside from Seleti’s (1987) dissertation (which stops before the coffee boom of the 1950s-70s).

Especially with regard to the geo-histories of other parts of Angola, the question of UNITA remains in many ways a black box in this dissertation. This is somewhat an outcome of my methodology and the still tense situation for conducting rural and historical research in Angola. Nonetheless, some research has been done in and on the central and southern regions that were the strongholds UNITA, but not with much attention to late colonial and contemporary agrarian issues.⁷³⁶ However, it is also recognized that UNITA’s practices varied considerably, over time and space. And so the particular intersection of the specific course of UNITA’s guerilla war and the actual structure colonial plantations appeared in my research on Malanje – the sparse lands, state efforts, and intensive capital there provided sustenance, targets, and cover for fighting.⁷³⁷ Moreover, some possible rural roots of UNITA in Malanje may be signaled by reports of ‘banditry’ at these plantations during the transition to independence, and the question of rural protest on the plantations (aside from the Kassanje revolt) in general during the colonial period deserves more research.⁷³⁸

⁷³⁶ Pearce (2011, 2015), Roque (2014), Peclard (2005); Cf. Cahen, M. (2015) ‘Book review: Stephen A. Emerson, *The Battle for Mozambique: The Frelimo-Renamo Struggle (1977-1992)*,’ *H-Luso-Africa*, <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=42879>, and Emerson’s reply, <https://networks.h-net.org/node/7926/discussions/57498/review-cahen-emerson-battle-mozambique-frelimo-renamo-struggle-1977>

⁷³⁷ Compare some literature on colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe and Mozambique, as well as the PBS Frontline documentary on Charles Taylor in Liberia, ‘Firestone and the Warlord.’

⁷³⁸ This can likely be pursued in the civil and criminal records for Malanje in the national archives.

These remain important questions that go beyond current news media focus at the moment on the defamation trial of Rafael Marques for his book about alleged abuses in the Kwango diamond mining areas. Related to questions of UNITA, traditional authority, and patrimonialism is the question of what has actually happened in the northern parts of Malanje and the Baixa de Kassanje since the late colonial period. Aggregate statistics show the Baixa became heavily mechanized in the late colonial period, and the eastern part of the Baixa was increasingly shaped by diamond mining, but little else has been published. What has happened there and in the northern parts of Malanje has largely not been studied, but a rough picture could be composed from news reports (as with my account of 1980s war disruptions around Kota), but some careful oral history would be very pertinent.

Following up the broad contours sketched in this dissertation with more detailed research on agrarian economy and social relations will likely also prove illuminating. State agriculture promotion efforts turned in recent years to promote commercial inputs on credit, but the actual much more widespread informal rural credit relations have yet to be studied in Angola (the issue however did not receive great attention by Baptista 2013), though other agrarian research points to rural credit as potentially a key mechanism of control and differentiation. State attention to agriculture has also recently increased again, given the recent decline in oil prices, as part renewed rhetoric about economic diversification. Continued research in my study area could also illuminate trajectories of the state projects and the private land concessions. The Soqueco road has been finished in early 2013, prompting questions about possible decline in Kota, and new land pressures in Mwanya.

8.2 Angola Beyond Contradictions

Angola is frustratingly contradictory – that much is obvious and perhaps cliché. That reality is also compounded by frustratingly vague and sweeping assertions about Angola and its contradictions by scholars and advocates that leave much room for improvement in terms of serious understanding, advocacy and change. There is a need to understand and explain contradictions by narrating the actual diverse histories and geographies of Angola, rather than just resorting to staid pathologizations. My analysis suggests that much public discussion may be misplaced in its concern about whether BRICS loans are enabling authoritarianism, or on subsidized but neo-imperial loan rate terms, or whether the infrastructures being built are decent quality or not. Such discussion does not actually examine what is being built in Angola, where, how or why. Such questions are usually narrowly framed about the rational rule of law in contracting out and constructing roads, for example, but lack a proper geo-historical understanding of the socio-spatial structure being built by such roads. Large projects are happening, but, like Kapanda, their greater significance sometimes lies in indicating much broader geo-historical processes that have not hitherto been sufficiently appreciated. While land concession titles have been claimed, they are often not effective, and also bear important relation roads. Roads are being rebuilt, but along a specific colonial pattern of primary highways and continue to be shaped by geo-historic security concerns. Addressing the constraints arising out of roughly a century of settler colonialism, protracted war, and leveraged liberalization will require at the very least recognizing the existence and geo-histories of those constraints. Simply blaming an imagined ethnicized cabal for contemporary contradictions sometimes seems easier and more obvious at first sight, but actually obstructs more precise understanding and hence the much-

needed recognition of possible strategies for effective change. If one underestimates the war-related destruction outside Luanda, then one is more likely to see reconstruction as driven more by elite profits than actual geo-historically more significant and widespread memories, experiences, materialities and visions. Mobilizing to tackle the contradictions of development in Angola means not re-launching the same old standard thread-bare criticisms that do not resonate popularly, but rather requires understanding what is really happening in order to be able to engage in effective strategies of change.

The findings of this research leave me both more optimistic than cynics about the presumed long-standing power and venality of elites, but also more pessimistic/realistic about the likely very limited possibilities and effects of wholesale adoption of liberal 'rule of law' reforms, particularly in light of how the hugely important processes associated with colonialism, war and liberalization continue to shape Angola's provisional reconstructions.

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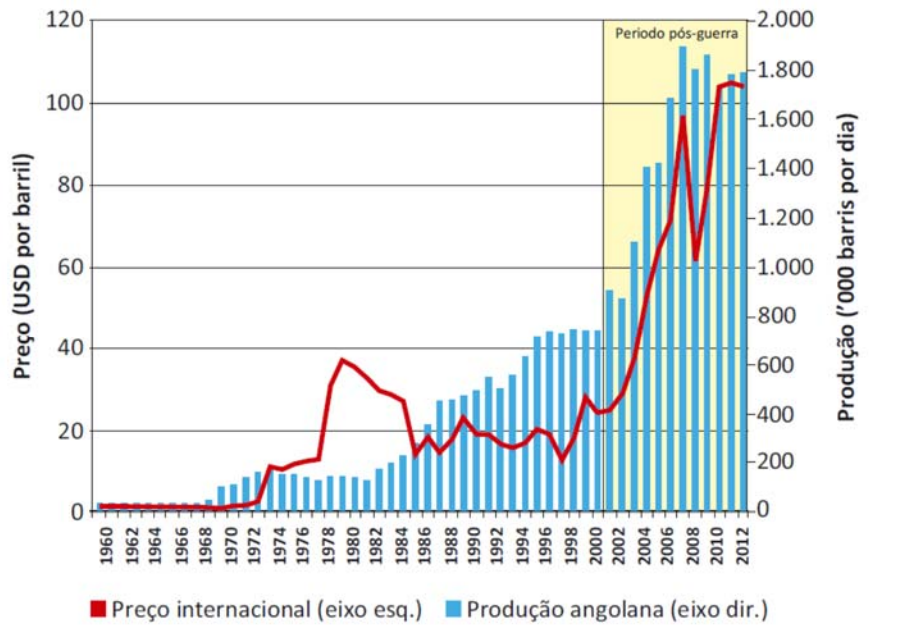
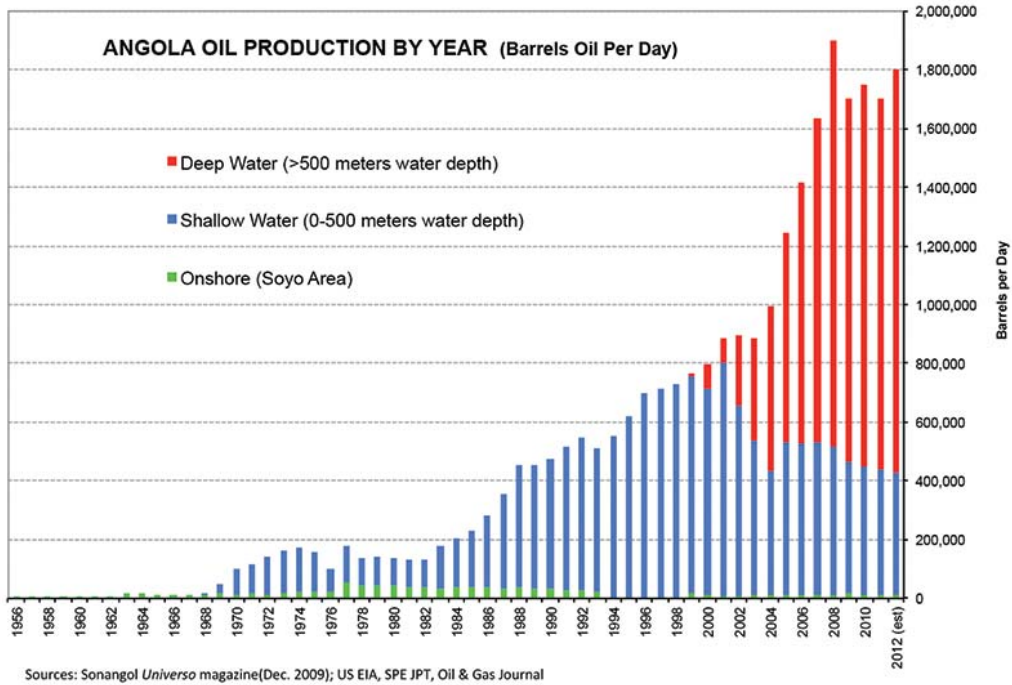
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Appendices

Appendix A: Oil Production in Angola	403
Appendix B: Exchange Rate and CPI, 1990s to c.2010	404
Appendix C: Colonial Exchange Rates.....	406
Appendix D: Malanje Population by Racial Category and Concelho/Circunscrição, 1972	407
Appendix E: Indigenous Taxation Numbers, Amounts, and Relative Size, 1900-1960.....	409
Appendix F: Kapanda, Oil and Brazil.....	411
Appendix G : Map Legend for Colonial Growth Poles	413
Appendix H: Debates on the New Village (‘Aldeia Nova’) Project at Waku Kongo/Cela	414
Appendix I: Omboio Lyrics	416
Appendix J: Colonial Army Units in Malanje, 1960-75.....	417
Appendix K: Road Construction before the 1962 Autonomous Roads Board of Angola	418
Appendix L: 1992 Official Map of the Fundamental National Highway Network.....	420
Appendix M: Distribution of Seeds to Angolan Farmers 1960-73 (kgs).....	421
Appendix N: Late-Colonial Road Construction and Usage Statistics	422
Appendix O: Summary of 24-Hour Traffic Count	424
Appendix P: Cassava Purchase Price by Size.....	425
Appendix Q: Events and Media Related to Land, 2001-2009	426
Appendix R: Selected Rural Land-related Studies of Angola	428
Appendix S: Colonial Hamlets/resettlements in Eastern Zone.....	434
Appendix T: Farmer Associations in Malanje, c. 1985	435
Appendix U: Map of Settlement Schemes.....	436
Appendix V: Map of Tractor Parks	437
Appendix W: Land Concessions in Malanje by Municipality, 1994-2003.....	438
Appendix X: Partial Inventory of Legislation Related to Rural Land in Angola, 1676-2014....	439

Appendix A: Oil Production in Angola



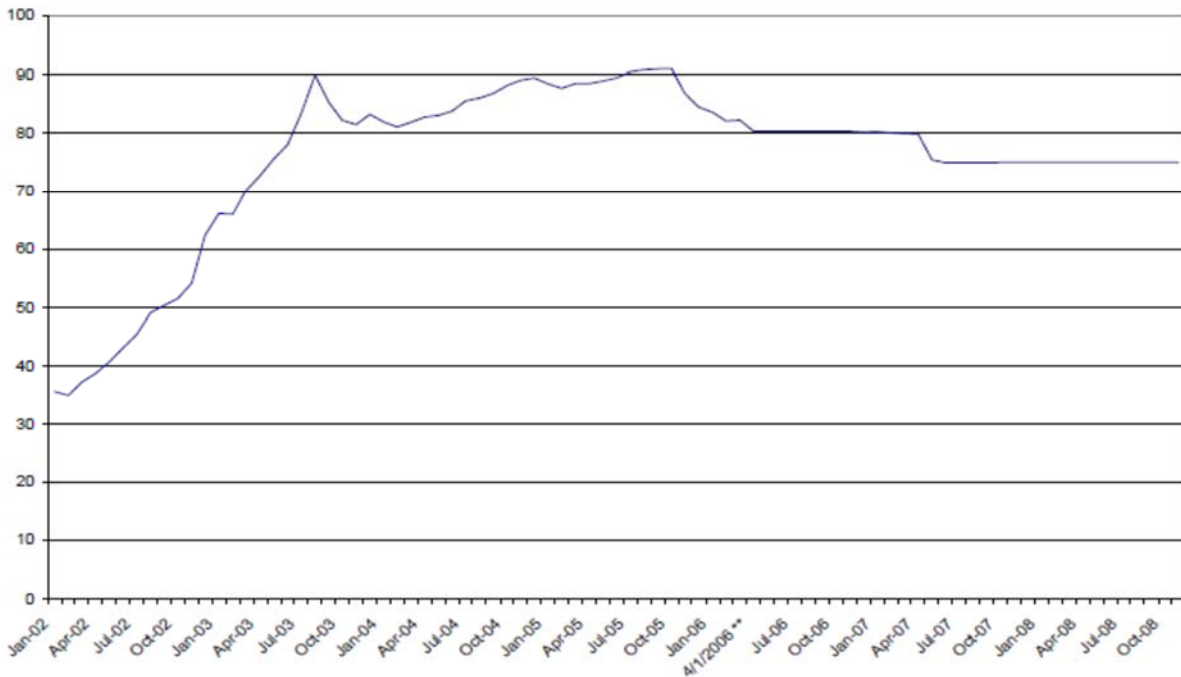
Sources: Koning, Tako;⁷³⁹ CEIC (2014)

⁷³⁹ (2013) 'Solving the Mystery of Angolan Oil,' AAPG Explorer, April <http://archives.aapg.org/explorer/2013/04apr/historical0413.cfm>

Appendix B: Exchange Rate and CPI, 1990s to c.2010

Date	Currency code and Name	Rate
1994	AON novo kwanza	34,200 to 850,000
January to June 1995	AON novo kwanza	1,000,000 to 2,100,000
1 July 1995		1000 AON -> 1 AOR (kwanza reajustado)
July to December 1995	AOR kwanza reajustado	2,100 to 13,000
1996	AOR kwanza reajustado	13,000 to 210,000 to 194,000
1997	AOR kwanza reajustado	194,000 to 253,300
1998	AOR kwanza reajustado	253,300 to 594,000
1999	AOR kwanza reajustado	594,000 to 5,400,000
1 December 1999		1 million AOR -> 1 AOA (kwanza)
2000	AOA kwanza	5.4 to 16.3
2001	AOA kwanza	16.3 to 31.12
2002	AOA kwanza	31.12 to 57.47
2003	AOA kwanza	57.47 to 86.88 to 78.61
2004	AOA kwanza	78.61 to 85.90
2005	AOA kwanza	85.90 to 88.97 to 80.58
2006	AOA kwanza	80.58 to 89.01 to 80.57
2007	AOA kwanza	80.57 to 74.78 to 75.16
2008	AOA kwanza	75.16 to -

Angola: Nominal Exchange Rate of Kwanza vs. US Dollar 2002-2008



Source: Kyle (2010: 14)

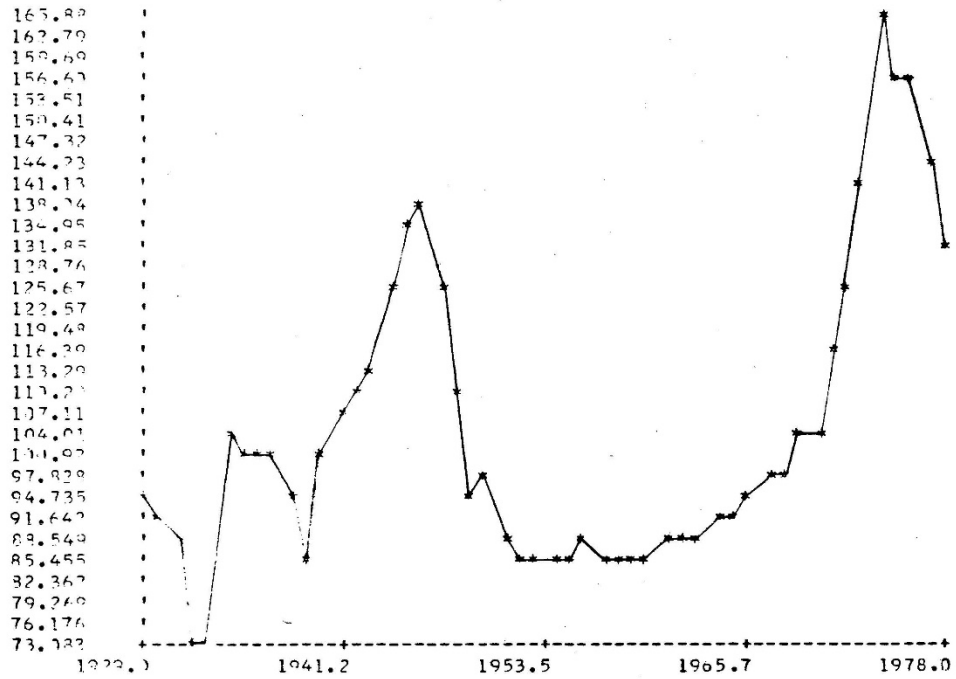
Exchange Rate, LCU/\$, 1960-2014

1960	2.87E-08	1991	5.51E-08
1961	2.87E-08	1992	2.51E-07
1962	2.87E-08	1993	2.66E-06
1963	2.88E-08	1994	5.95E-05
1964	2.88E-08	1995	0.00275
1965	2.88E-08	1996	0.128029
1966	2.88E-08	1997	0.22904
1967	2.88E-08	1998	0.392824
1968	2.87E-08	1999	2.790706
1969	2.86E-08	2000	10.04054
1970	2.86E-08	2001	22.05786
1971	2.82E-08	2002	43.53021
1972	2.71E-08	2003	74.6063
1973	2.45E-08	2004	83.54136
1974	2.54E-08	2005	87.15914
1975	2.56E-08	2006	80.36807
1976	2.94E-08	2007	76.70614
1977	2.99E-08	2008	75.03335
1978	2.99E-08	2009	79.32817
1979	2.99E-08	2010	91.90572
1980	2.99E-08	2011	93.93475
1981	2.99E-08	2012	95.46796
1982	2.99E-08	2013	96.51828
1983	2.99E-08	2014	98.30242
1984	2.99E-08		
1985	2.99E-08		
1986	2.99E-08		
1987	2.99E-08		
1988	2.99E-08		
1989	2.99E-08		
1990	2.99E-08		

Source: WDI

Appendix C: Colonial Exchange Rates

The Real Escudo-Dollar Exchange Rate
(1929-78 base 1936 = 100)



Source: Macedo (1979: 21); cf. Sousa (1967, 1971)

Appendix D: Malanje Population by Racial Category and Concelho/Circunscrição, 1972

		km ²	%	White N	%	Mestiço N	%	Black N	Total N
CAOMBO		5290	5.4%	318	0.75	38	0,13	28788	29034
	Sede	2314	2.4%	76	0.6	12	0.08	13312	13400
	B. Horizonte	2468	2.5%	137	1.41	19	0.19	9557	9713
	Micanda	508	0.5%	5	0.08	7	0,11	5899	5911
XA MUTEBA		10347	10.6%	169	4.97	77	0.32	23244	23490
	Sede	5974	6.1%	52	0.61	44	0.51	8404	8500
	longo	1918	2.0%	31	0.74	16	0.38	4094	4141
	Cassange	2545	2.6%	86	0.79	17	0.15	10746	10849
FORTE REPÚBLICA		7569	7.7%	44	0.2	10	0.04	21842	21896
	Sede	3483	3.6%	43	0.39	2	0.01	14290	14335
	Lusitano	2698	2.8%	1	0.02	6	0.12	4730	4737
	Tua	1389	1.4%			2	0.07	2822	3824
LUQUEMBO		10436	10.7%	93	0.24	30	0.7	38384	38507
	Sede	1217	1.2%	46	0.32	21	0.14	14178	14245
	Quimbango	3347	3.4%	34	0,19	9	0.05	17765	17808
	Dombo	1399	1.4%	13	0.2			6441	6454
	Capunda	4573	4.7%						
CANGADALA		5801	5.9%	109	0,42	78	0,30	25241	25428
	Cangandala	1065	1.1%	45	0.57	31	0.39	7787	7863
	S. MigCaribo	534	0.5%	33	0.73	17	0,36	4470	4520
	Bembo	2751	2.8%	10	0.13	13	0,17	7232	7355
	Culamagia	1451	1.5%	31	0.36	17	0.29	5752	5790
NOVA GAIA		13336	13.6%	234	0.54	136	0,31	42336	42706
	Sede	3729	3.8%	130	0.65	65	0.32	19769	19964
	Lombe	6389	6.5%	48	0.58	51	0,59	8514	8614
	Quizenga	2349	2.4%	40	0,39	15	0.14	10055	10110
	P. Andongo	869	0.9%	15	0,37	5	0.12	3998	4018
CACUSO		5559	5.7%	459	1.27	317	0,88	35215	35991
	Sede	819	0.8%	1247	1.5	163	0,99	18015	16425
	Lombe	1154	1.2%	123	1.08	91	0.79	11173	11387
	Quizenga	1526	1.6%	49	1.3	30	0,80	3666	3745
	P. Andongo	2024	2.1%	40	0,80	33	0,74	4361	4434
QUELA		4373	4.5%	330	1.2	51	0,18	27046	27427
	Sede	1411	1.4%	200	1.8	26	0,23	10835	11061
	Xandel	2015	2.1%	65	0.73	15	0,17	8742	8822
	Momi	946	1.0%	65	0.88	10	0,13	7469	7544
MARIMBA		5940	6.1%	28	0.14	59	0.29	19751	19838
	Sede	1679	1.7%	21	0.33	47	0.75	6164	6233
	Cahombo	1230	1.3%	5	0,07	5	0.07	7016	7036
	Tbo Aluma	3031	3.1%	2	0,03	7	0,10	8571	6580
MUCARI		2081	2.1%	226	35	127	0.47	26195	26548

	Caculama	345	0.4%	93	1.04	65	0.78	8723	8881
	Catala	689	0.7%	84	1.42	38	0.64	5778	5900
	Muquixe	204	0.2%	38	0.71	18	38	5257	5313
	Caxinga	843	0.9%	11	0.17	6	0.09	6437	6454
	Monte Alegre	4788	4.9%	165	1.11	40	37	14597	14802
	Sede	817	0.8%	139	1.59	21	34	8560	8720
	Milando	1159	1.2%	22	0.71	4	0.18	3046	3073
	Lemba	2812	2.9%	4	0.18	15	0,49	2991	3010
	BRITO GODINS	3019	3.1%	386	2.59	25	0,16	14487	14898
	Sede	1760	1.8%	302	8.41	19	31	8526	8847
	Mufuma	1259	1.3%	84	1.88	6	0,09	5961	6051
	KALANDULA	7037	7.2%	697	0.76	163	0,17	90485	91345
	Sede	1051	1.1%	215	1.33	110	0.68	15837	16163
	Cateceo Cangola	1527	1.6%	37	31	7	0,04	16977	17031
	Cota	1088	1.1%	153	0.76	22	0.11	19760	19935
	Cuale	2721	2.8%	67	0,27	8	0.03	34044	24119
	Quinge	650	0.7%	125	39	16	0.11	13867	14008
	MALANJE	2222	2.3%	6525	6.78	6687	6.95	82980	96193
	N.S. Assun	46	0.0%	4862	24.1 6	4439	22.06	10817	20118
	N.S.F. MaxInde	49	0.1%	1205	7.53	2125	13.38	12667	15997
	Sag Coração de Jesus	315	0.3%	208	39	64	37	33978	23250
	S. Paulo Apóitolo de N'gola	277	0.3%	48	0.79	3	0.03	6033	6073
	S João Baptista de Qulmbamba	368	0.4%	23	37	8	0.09	8190	8221
	S Agostinho Cangando	437	0.4%	16	0.26	5	0.08	6051	6073
	S. José de Cam-bondo	135	0.1%	35	1.02	10	39	3385	3430
	S. Cristóvão de Cambaxe	231	0.2%	52	0.32	17	37	6176	6345
	S. António do Quissol	364	0.4%	76	0.86	16	0.18	8694	8784
	QUIRIMA	9827	10.1%	158	0.84	85	0.18	18590	18783
	Sede	3018	3.1%	22	32	18	0.18	9893	9933
	Sautar	6809	7.0%	136	1.54	17	0.19	8830	8816
	TOTAL	97714		9841	1.87	7873	1.5	509161	536875

Source: Ponte (1973: 38-9)

Appendix E: Indigenous Taxation Numbers, Amounts, and Relative Size, 1900-1960

Year	Number of People Taxed	Total Amount of Indigenous Tax	Indigenous Tax as % of Principal Revenue Sources	Indigenous Tax as % of Total Revenue	Revenue
1901-02		1,345			
1902-03		310			
1903-04		3,839			
1904-05		1,511			
1905-06		2,790			
1906-07		1,535			
1907-08	56,883	34,094			
1908-09	119,449	72,021			
1909-10	118,783	143,250			
1910-11	128,527	154,331			
1911-12	122,046	148,150			
1912-13	159,622	238,722			
1913-14	246,308	369,402			
1914-15	239,181	359,760			
1915-16	189,906	285,827			
1916-17	321,392	481,617			
1917-18	484,447	653,514			
1918-19	501,875	759,627			
1919-20	557,254	2,591,249		28%	
1920-21	584,752	2,981,153		24%	
1921-22	649,928				
1922-23	819,209				
1923-24	692,568				
1924-25	699,799				
1925-26	665,516				
...					
1929		58,864			
1930		46,500			
1931		41,730	51%		
1932		39,884	52%	29%	136,499
1933		40,378	46%	27%	150,196
1934		42,000	45%	27%	154,096
1935		41,500	47%	24%	176,259
1936		39,500	47%	17%	235,669
1937		39,000	46%	18%	216,446
1938		42,828		18%	232,869
1939					257,808
1940		46,411	41%	19%	244,926
1941		50,325	42%	17%	291,251
1942		53,839		16%	330,414

1943					396,717
1944					464,509
1945		60,887	30%	11%	532,653
1946	768,697	64,156		10%	617,304
1947	683,498	66,161		8%	808,971
1948	801,357	67,662		7%	914,363
1949	822,759	77,275	18%	7%	1,101,927
1950	856,841	88,744		8%	1,141,740
1951		93,295		6%	1,444,811
1952		93,593		6%	1,685,350
1953		98,560		5%	1,937,373
1954		99,196		4%	2,206,435
1955		105,313		4%	2,479,126
1956		111,257		4%	3,124,645
1957		115,097		5%	2,530,075
1958		116,864		5%	2,469,565
1959		120,464		5%	2,589,209
1960		120,733		4%	2,730,797

Sources: Diniz (1929: 152), Anuário 1923: 21, 24; Dilolowa (1978); Seleti (1987); Bebiano (1938: 18) gives slightly lower figures for 1934 (39,234) and 1935 (36,576). See also Marques
 Nb: the currency changes by 1929. Principal revenue sources were generally indigenous taxes, import and export taxes, and industrial, real estate, and stamp taxes). I anticipate in the future conducting disaggregated analysis of all sources as percentage of total revenue.

Appendix F: Kapanda, Oil and Brazil

Kapanda was part of Brazil's strategy to obtain much needed oil. While oil would not necessarily directly benefit Odebrecht per se, Odebrecht was increasingly involved in petrochemicals and had been closely linked with Petrobras since the latter's inception: From the very start, Norberto Odebrecht joined forces with what would become Brazil's largest company. At first, his company built support facilities for Petrobras teams in the municipality of Candeias. Later came water treatment plants, offshore platforms, bridges, canals, dams, warehouses, power houses, dredging services, labs, housing, clubs, workshops and roads, among others, in every part of the country.

Petrobras had been building up its knowledge in deepwater production. This was because economic crisis in the 1970s reduced foreign investment (and the constitution prevented foreign operation of the Brazilian oil industry), and oil imports kept rising (partly for the petrochemical industry, which was becoming a significant part of Brazilian industry), while the country was facing huge foreign debt. Petrobras was pushed to keep domestic oil prices low to counter inflation, and thereby accumulated billions of dollars in debt. As both international prices and Brazilian imports of oil rose in the 1970s, Brazil sought on the one hand to reduce import dependency, by investing heavily in ethanol and by investing in offshore research, and on, the other hand, to secure access to stable import supplies.

Brazil's relations with Angola must be seen in the context of this broader quest for oil import security. In 1972 Braspetro was created to explore for oil overseas,⁷⁴⁰ and after Brazilian President Geisel recognized Angola's new MPLA government, Angola solicited Braspetro in 1975 to help find an oil field just off the coast of northern Angola.⁷⁴¹ This was followed a year later by a credit line to Angola of \$50 million.⁷⁴² In April of 1979, the Brazilian Mines and Energy Minister announced Brazil would buy oil from Angola, with Angola's Petroleum Minister visiting Brazil in May and announcing an agreement to supply 15,000 barrels per day in exchange for Brazilian technical assistance in oil and Petrobras' efforts in surveying and exploiting oil fields. It was emphasized this was part of long-term economic cooperation.⁷⁴³ In August 1979 it was announced that Angola had granted Petrobras exploration rights together with SONANGOL, Texaco and Total.⁷⁴⁴ The next year the two countries signing an Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation Agreement establishing a Brazil-Angola Commission.⁷⁴⁵

Brazil's desire to secure Angolan oil only strengthened in the early 1980s. In 1980, Brazil had been importing 43% of its oil from Iraq – supplies that dropped by 164,000 barrels per day by

⁷⁴⁰ "We've proved there's nothing wrong with our oil prospecting technology or the qualifications of our technical people. Our problem is the geology of Brazil. We just haven't found large deposits of domestic oil yet ... So we decided to get involved in overseas exploration ... We had two main reasons: to expose our technical people to first-hand experience in oil-producing regions and to create good will for Brazil, to guarantee us a steady supply of oil from diversified sources." (1982) 'Brazil Hones Oil-Drilling Skills Abroad, Looks to Hit Gusher at Home,' Associated Press, April 24.

⁷⁴¹ (1976) 'A funnel for goods to black Africa,' Business Week, November 1, Pg. 38

⁷⁴² Cunha (2002: 152).

⁷⁴³ (1979) 'Brazil, Angola sign oil Cooperation Protocol,' Xinhua, May 13.

⁷⁴⁴ (1979) 'Brazil-Angola Oil Co-operation,' BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, Sep 4.

⁷⁴⁵ Rizzi (2005).

the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war.⁷⁴⁶ In the mid 1980s, Brazil had also made oil-for-commodities deals with the USSR, Nigeria, Iraq. To the USSR Brazil would send food, manufactured goods, steel and oil platforms.⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴⁶ (1980) 'Brazil to Buy Oil,' Xinhua, Oct 10, (1980) 'Brazil's nuclear and oil affairs,' BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, Oct 10.

⁷⁴⁷ (1985) 'Brazil, Soviet accord tied to countertrade,' Globe and Mail, March 20.

Appendix H: Debates on the New Village ('Aldeia Nova') Project at Waku Kongo/Cela

The importance of a locally rooted engagement is illustrated by a series of public exchanges in Angola's daily newspaper, the state-owned *Journal de Angola*, particularly concerning the \$150 million New Village Project which was implemented by an Israeli conglomerate and sought to develop an integrated agro-industrial complex composed largely of war veterans resettled on the premises of a former Portuguese settler colonization scheme.⁷⁴⁸ After several years, the project had come under increasing critical scrutiny, and came to be discussed as symbol of the governments' rural development efforts and the problems therein. The episode illustrates how evocative memories of conflict, suspicions of motives and ulterior interests, critiques of foreign intervention combined with glorification of foreign models, ideas of government (mis)management, and images of the future were used, not just coldly rational "cost-benefit" calculations.⁷⁴⁹

A range of criticisms began to be aired in popular media about the project. In June 2009 the head of a local association in one area explicitly called it a white elephant.⁷⁵⁰ Analyst Fernando Pacheco made links with a broader argument about the government's agricultural strategy: "The idea of reconstructing the plantation model that existed during the colonial period, as many are trying to do, doesn't make any sense ... The unnecessary occupation of vast areas of land, without any use, as the Portuguese did, depriving peasants of land for their use, is economically irrational, socially unjust, ecologically dangerous, and politically imprudent ... some of the megalomaniacal projects that are in course or planned are potential ecological disasters."⁷⁵¹ A year later, in a lengthy, critical, and well-prepared interview published in the Monday edition of state paper *Jornal de Angola*, Pacheco stated "I think it would be cheaper, quicker and more politically and socially appropriate if we spent the money that we are spending on large projects, to produce cereals, to support small family farmers Viability has to be seen in various aspects, economic, financial, and even environmental."⁷⁵²

However, writing in the influential American journal *Foreign Policy* a few months later, a senior Angolan official in the project responded by invoking harmful foreign intervention:

Some people — including many foreign NGOs—seem to have an ideological interest in keeping African agriculture traditional. Well, traditional African agriculture might have had many interesting cultural aspects, but it was a disaster. The proof of this is that it kept Africans poor for thousands of years. It meant burning; no property rights—everything that impedes modernization.⁷⁵³

Subsequently, another defensive response came in the form of an editorial by the newspaper's editor six months later. What is notable in the editorial is that it begins by invoking legacies of

⁷⁴⁸ See Ribeiro, J. (2011) 'O preço da locomotiva,' Jan 30; Pacheco, F. (2011) 'Uma locomotiva demasiado cara,' Feb 10; 'Tudo sem máscara,' Feb 16; Evale, A. (2011) 'Jogo de máscaras,' Feb 14; and 'Críticas negativas,' Feb 17.

⁷⁴⁹ The foreign models/interventions pairing could be seen as an assertion of equal standing in international affairs related to national legitimacy.

⁷⁵⁰ (2009) 'Projecto Aldeia Nova à beira de um 'elefante branco,' *Radio Ecclessia*, July 1.

⁷⁵¹ Pacheco, Fernando (2009) 'O agronegócio e o futuro da agricultura angolana,' *Novo Jornal*, 24 June.

⁷⁵² Pacheco, Fernando (2010) 'Modernizar a agricultura demora gerações,' *Jornal de Angola*, 14 June,

⁷⁵³ Cerqueira, J. (2010) 'A New Angolan Model,' *Foreign Policy*, Sept/Oct.

conflict and foreign intervention, namely the 1975 invasion of the project area by military forces from apartheid South Africa. The subsequent visceral aspects of disorder and dirtiness are contrasted to the recent project-led improvements:

In the streets of Waku Kungo, at night, after diner, the kids play carefree, they ride bicycles, spend the last days of vacation happy and carefree. This is priceless. When the specialists, who I appreciate very much, say to me that Aldeia Nova is very expensive, today I have things that allow me to disagree. Happy children, well fed, clean and eager to return to lessons, are in their thousands in Waku Kongo ... This is priceless.

Pacheco's response is basically correct, but it is the cold quantitiveness of his response that is the main contrast with Ribeiro's weighty imagery of happy children: "The price of the engine is, yes, extremely high. PAN has already had \$150 million investment, far higher than that of the Basic Social Services Program for the entire province of Kwanza Sul in the last 6 years."

Subsequent letters in the newspaper by a hitherto unknown project functionary emphasized Pacheco's foreign connections by pointing out that he sometimes used his "mask" as agronomist or member of the national NGO ADRA, but was also involved (as coordinator) of the Social and Political Observatory of Angola (supported by George Soros' Open Society Foundation). Amongst a range of snipes, the letter noted that Pacheco "speaks in numbers as if life was only numbers", criticized him for being arrogant and "so obstinate in producing negative criticisms", implying that these were due to "jealously or some personal reason."

These terms of debate, seemingly petty and cynical distractions and gratuitous ad hominem guilt by association, actually have much deeper roots in both earlier advocacy and debates about corruption, governance and human rights in Angola, and, inextricably, in Angola's actual experience as the major cold war proxy battlefield in southern Africa.

Much more research needs to be done on Aldeia Nova, particularly given recent changes in management (and ownership) of the scheme.

Appendix I: Omboio Lyrics

The lion is foolish because it went to eat palm nuts in Mr Mbonga's field.
What filth!

O Leão é parvo porque foi comer dendem na lavra do Sr. Mbonga.
Que porquice?

Kumosi, kuvali, kutende, kulikuangula, cinyama, hosi ya londa, komunda, yikalia ondende, kumbonga ngulu we

I'm going to my mother
To receive care [after domestic mistreatment]
I'm going to my father
To receive care
I'm going to my mother

Vou para a minha mãe
Receber feitiço
Vou para o meu pai
Receber feitiço
Vou para a minha mãe

Ngenda ku maya i~ yawe
Ndi ka tambula owanga
Ngenda ku tate yayawe
Ndi ka tambule owanga
Ngenda ki mai yayawe

The goats in the field
The sables in the village
We don't want to eat anymore
Because we're full

Os cabritos na lavra
As palancas na aldeia
Não queremos mais comer
Porque estamos repletos

O lohombo kepia kepia
Olomanga kimbo
Aye ka tulivali
Aiya tuekuta

Credits: Transcription by John Spall, Translation by João Abel, c. late 2012, my translation from Portuguese to English

It is the culture of our ancestors

É cultura dos nosso antepassados

Ovisila viakulu

Let the train go
Because it is sacred
Let the train run
Because it is sacred
Let the train stop
Because it is sacred
Let the train rumble
Because it is sacred

Que ande o comboio
Porque ele é sagrado
Que corra o comboio
Porque ele é sagrado
Que pare o comboio
Porque ele é sagrado
Que trepide o comboio
Porque ele é sagrado

Omboio yikola
Omboio yende
Kilupuke yilupuke
Omboio yikola

Yitalame yit
Yisusume, yisusume

Run and let's go
Alone you can talk
Run and let's go
Because alone you can talk about mother

Corra e vamos
Sozinho pode te falar
Corra e vamos
Porque sozinho pode te falar da mãe

Lupuka tuende
Lika liove ci popia okuetu
Lupuka tuende
Lika liove ci popia mai

Appendix J: Colonial Army Units in Malanje, 1960-75

Dates	Malanje	FR	DdB	Cacuso	Marimba	Quela	Etc
1960/06 – 1962/07	B5/C62						
1960/06 – 1962/07	B5/C61						
1961/02 – 1963/03	C66						
1961/02 – 1963/03			C67				
1961/05 – 1963/08	Cv0121						
1961/06 – 1963/10			B159/C169	B159/C167		B159/C168	
1961/07 – 1963/11	B185/C190	C193 (>1962/7)		B185/C191	C193	B185/C190	
1961/10 – 1964/02	B325/C327		B325/C328	B325/C326			
1963/08 – 1965/10	B460/C457, C458, C459	B460/C457, C458	B460/C459	B460/C457, C459			
1964/01 – 1966/03	Bv627/Cv626	Bv627/Cv624		Bv627/Cv625			
1964/10 – 1967/01	B725/C723	B725/C722	B725/C724	B725/C722, C724	B725/C723		
1965/02 – 1967/02				C759			
1965/04 – 1967/05				C795			
1965/09 – 1967/12	B1855	B1855/1413			B1855/1415		1414 NG
1966/11 – 1968/11	B1895	B1895/C1611			B1895/1610		1609 NG
1967/05 – 1969/07	CArt1702			CArt1702			
1967/07 –	B1919	B1919/C1717			B1919/C1718		1716 NG
1968/01 – 1970/03	B2832	B2832/C2307			B2832/C2308		2306 NG
1969/01 – 1971/01	B2859	B2859/2458			B2859/2460		2459 NG
1969/07 – 1971/08	B2878	B2878/2544			B2878/2546		2545 Quela
1969/12 – 1972/01	Bart2896	Bart2896/C2626			Bart2896/ C2624		C2625 Quela
1971/01 – 1973/09	BArt3835/ CArt3312	BArt3835/ CArt3314			BArt3835/ CArt3313		
1971/07 – 1973/10							C3411 Songo
1971/08 – 1974/10							Bart3853/ Cart3403 NG
1971/12 – 1974/03	Cart 3453,4,5						
1972/10 – 1974/11		B4511/72-2a			B4511/72-3a	B4511/72- 1a	
1973/08 – 1975/02		B4575/73-2a	B4575/73-2a		B4575/73-3a	B4575/73-1a	B4575/73- 3a Caombo

B= battalion, C=Company, Cv=Calvary

Source: Estado-Maior do Exército (2008) Resenha Histórico-Militar das Campanhas de África (1961-1974), Vol 7: Fichas das Unidades, Tome 1 – Angola – Livro 1.

Appendix K: Road Construction before the 1962 Autonomous Roads Board of Angola

Prior to the JAEA, road work remained for a long time under the Department of Public Works and Transportation. An initial Roads Brigade in Angola had been established in 1930, by Salazar as Colonial Minister, but was then dissolved in 1933.⁷⁵⁴ Nonetheless, prompted by the increasing road traffic on the initial work on roads under Norton de Matos, there was much further work on regulating traffic and classifying the different sorts of roads so as to be able to allocate responsibility for upkeep.⁷⁵⁵ Closely linked with the development of road work was the geographic survey work being done by Geographic Mission (re-)established in 1941 (an earlier one under de Matos had operated from 1921-4). And by 1942, with finances improving, a general road plan for Angola was under discussion, with hopes for paving the road from Luanda to Malanje.⁷⁵⁶ In 1943 the Brigada Autonomo de Estradas was established, given a significant 5,000,000 budget in 1945.⁷⁵⁷ A Roads Service was then established in late 1945 under the Public Works Department.⁷⁵⁸ By the mid-1950s there were at least 6 Brigade teams, with each working on a key national highway, with some 500 Angolan workers.⁷⁵⁹ In 1956 efforts were underway for new general road plans for Angola and Mozambique.⁷⁶⁰

The prospect of significant infrastructure projects appealed to Salazar's Portugal, like other countries during the recession (such as the US), including authoritarian ones. In the late 1930s, global recession eased slightly and Portugal's state finances improved, so a colonial Promotion Fund was established in 1938. However, the first full-fledged investment plan would not be launched until 1953, several years after World War II, in which Portugal remained neutral and was able to capture some economic gains.⁷⁶¹ As part of that 1953 investment plan, a 10-Year Plan for Road Work was drawn up, aiming to build 400-500km of road annually, with 1,500 paved, particularly for coffee growing areas, but also attentive to competition with rail and other uses of labor.⁷⁶² By 1959, however, although studies had been completed for 6,100 km of roads, only 1,500 had been graded, and only roughly 250 km had been paved.⁷⁶³ So, there was clearly

⁷⁵⁴ Brigada de Estradas (1933) Angola: Relatorio da Brigada de Estradas, Lisbon: Agencia Geral das Colonias, 3 vols. The Brigade was apparently headed by Portugal Colaço – see (1966) 'Estradas... Estradas... Estradas...' Actualidade Economica, n39, May 26, and Diploma Legislativo 87 in B.O. 18 of 1930, and Decreto 18268 in Boletim Oficial 1930.

⁷⁵⁵ A commission for classifying roads was established in 1933 (article 87 of Decreto LKei 22793). In 1929 the Driving Code was passed (Diploma Legislativo 77), replaced in 1931, elaborated in 1935, and replaced again in 1954 (Diploma Legislativo 39672).

⁷⁵⁶ (1942) 'Um Plano Geral Sobre Estradas', BGU 206-7: 108-9.

⁷⁵⁷ The Brigade was established by Decreto 32707, and regulated by Portaria 4492, see the revised budget in Portaria 5230 of Augst 1945, BO 32. (1945) 'Despesas extraordinárias do orçamento das colonias,' BGU 235, p.330. Headed by Rangel de Lima - see (1966) 'Estradas... Estradas... Estradas...' Actualidade Economica, n39, May 26.

⁷⁵⁸ See Portaria 13 of October 23, 1945.

⁷⁵⁹ Ias Jornadas, 1957. The road brigades were (1) Andulo and Bailundo, (2) Dambe and Maquela do Zombo, (3) Lobito-Quibala, (4) SdB/Huila-Matala, (5) Luena-Saurimo, and (6) pavement studies. There were 11 engineers, 16 topographers (later 20), 5 technical auxiliaries, 12 capatazes, 12 drivers, 5 nurses, and 500 Angolan workers. See (1959) 'Estradas,' BGU n397 pp 132-4.

⁷⁶⁰ See Decreto 40569 April 13 1956; Dispatch of April 28th of 1956.

⁷⁶¹ Decreto 28924, Aug 16.

⁷⁶² See BGU 370, 1956, from O Seculo (Lisboa), 'As Estradas na Economia da Provincia', Angola Norte March 13 1954; Moutinho, José Rodrigues (1955) "A Estrada no Problema dos Transportes de Angola,' Presentation at the 1^o Congresso dos Economistas Portuguesas, 35-52.

⁷⁶³ See also (1959) 'Plano rodoviário,o BGU 395, p. 216.

interest in expanding the road network before 1961 and the felt need for military control prompted by the nationalist revolt, but there was insufficient means, finances, and pressure to do the actual road work before then.⁷⁶⁴

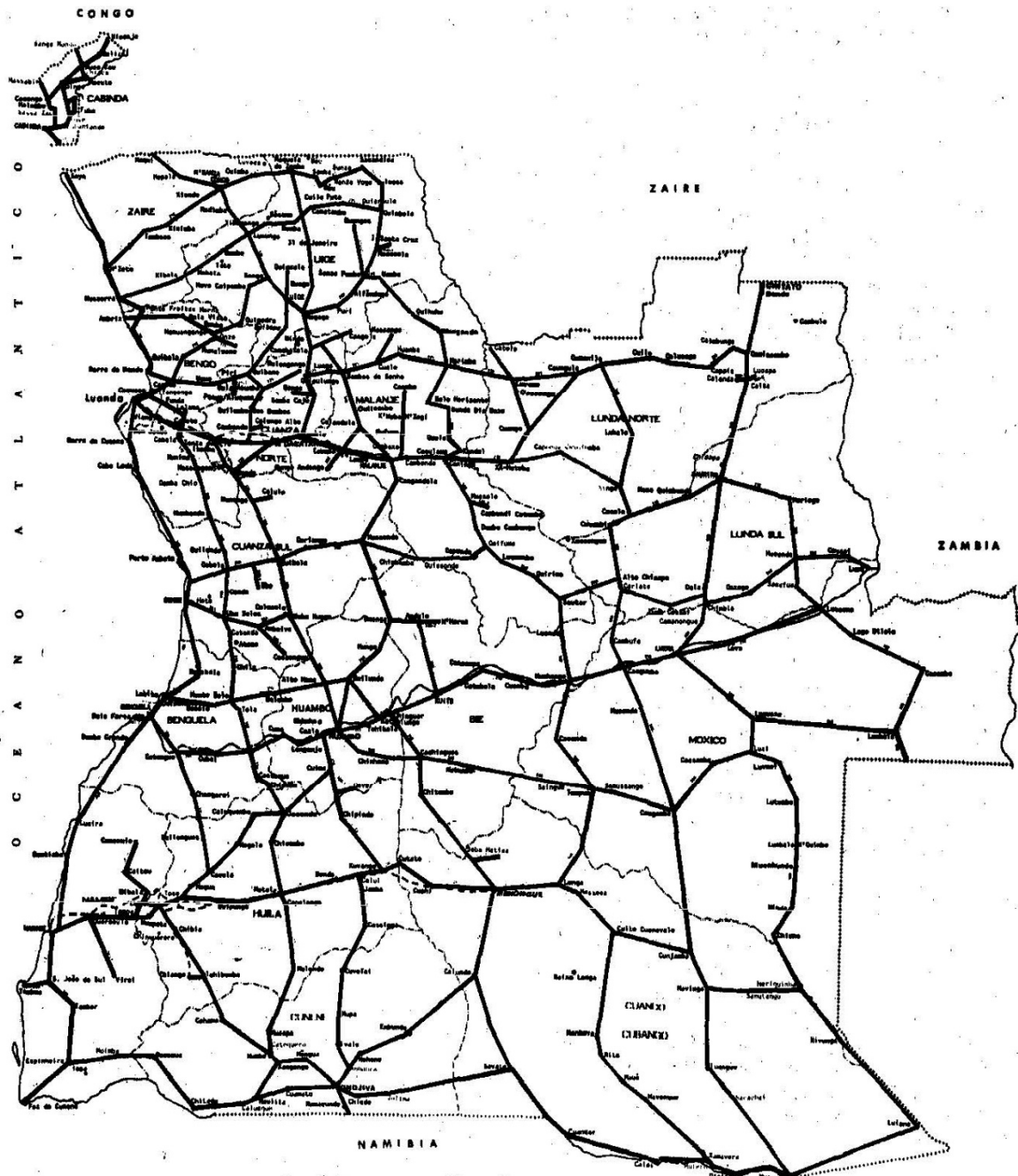
However, with the rising interest and funds for public investment, there were also investment decisions to be made, kinks in contracting regulations to be sorted out, and industrial allies to be supported. Major cement plants were established in Angola by the Champiland group, and by the 1950s cement production had boomed such that imports stopped by 1961. The lack of paved roads was not an expression of disinterest, but rather a calculation about how to most effectively spend scarce revenue. Economically, it made more sense to simply construct and maintain dirt roads in areas with less traffic (less than 50 cars per day, following a norm set at a roads conference).⁷⁶⁵ The competition with rail transport was also being considered.⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁶⁴ See (1959) 'Estradas: A execução do Plano Rodoviario,' BGU n403-4, pp. 131-4.

⁷⁶⁵ See J.E. Graça de Lemos (1957) 'Estradas económicas; estradas de terra,' Primeira Jornada de Estradas, p.; Moutinho, José Rodrigues (1955) 'A Estrada no Problema dos Transportes de Angola,' Presentation at the 1^o Congresso dos Economistas Portuguesas, 35-52.

⁷⁶⁶ BGU 373, Vasco Lopes Alves, at Conferencia Instituto Superior Naval de Guerra, 22 March, 1956, 'Elementos Politico-Logisticos Relativos a Angola.' See also Rego (1964).

Appendix L: 1992 Official Map of the Fundamental National Highway Network



Source: Diário da República, September 9, 1992, n. 36, p. 426.

Appendix M: Distribution of Seeds to Angolan Farmers 1960-73 (kgs)

	Cota			Amaral			Malanje				
	Maize	Beans	Groundnut	Maize	Beans	Groundnut	Maize	Beans	Groundnut	Rice	#
1960	75,408						753,418	505,732	420,342	528,774	>26,000
1961	87,120	42,220	88,100				859,910	576,877	452,963	676,600	>30,000
1962	62,720	34,200	75,480	29,130	18,320	24,620	942,970	690,272	529,712	803,827	>37,000
1963	60,050	37,560	74,040	17,470	21,240	82,430	705,770	540,623	607,396	692,048	~46,000
1964	54,200	32,120	65,360	21,705	13,200	15,820	621,681	461,195	613,897	667,282	
1965											
1966											
1967											
1968											
1969	22,270	21,100	22,400	13,380	6,760	5,920	313,295	303,871	390,856	1,043,947	
1970											
1971											
1972	27,754	23,112	34,136	16,113	9,976	11,323	357,976	329,004	483,185	891,667	
1973	16,560	21,155	33,950	14,110	9,613	14,353	289,652	339,576	433,016	834,716	

Source: Ministry of Agriculture Reports, 1960-73, MINADER Archives

Appendix N: Late-Colonial Road Construction and Usage Statistics

Road Grading and Paving

	Grading	Grading (Leal)	Total grading work done	Total asphalt km	Km asphalt added	Paving Growth rate
1940-50		99			92	
1950-60		1955			152	
1961		90	90		147	
1962		136	226		162	
1963	596	618	822		776	
1964	361	238	1183		630	
1965	206	204	1389		643	
1966	547	552	1936	3105	457	
1967	558	558	2494	3602	495 (550)	116
1968	648		3142	4160	558	134
1969	678		3820	4725	565	152
1970	765		4585	5317	592	171
1971	1126		5711	5956	638	192
1972	1084		6795	7075	1119	228
1973	1160		7955	7777	702	250

Source: Leal (1968); Dilolowa (1978: 321)

Expenditure on Road Building

	Construction (custos contos)	Conservation	Studies	Equipment
1963	235891			
1964	173798	72866		16168
1965	236028	84902	14269	23788
1966	277295	96497	15484	47566
1967	214104	108097	18893	37763
1968	524610 (a)	123046	22873	47738
1969	339789	134057	25674	55665
1970	408564	145268	12806	25229
1971	513235	168228	15014	115171
1972	649928 (b)	166021	15547	103887
1973	777566 (c) (d)	198241	15949	168982

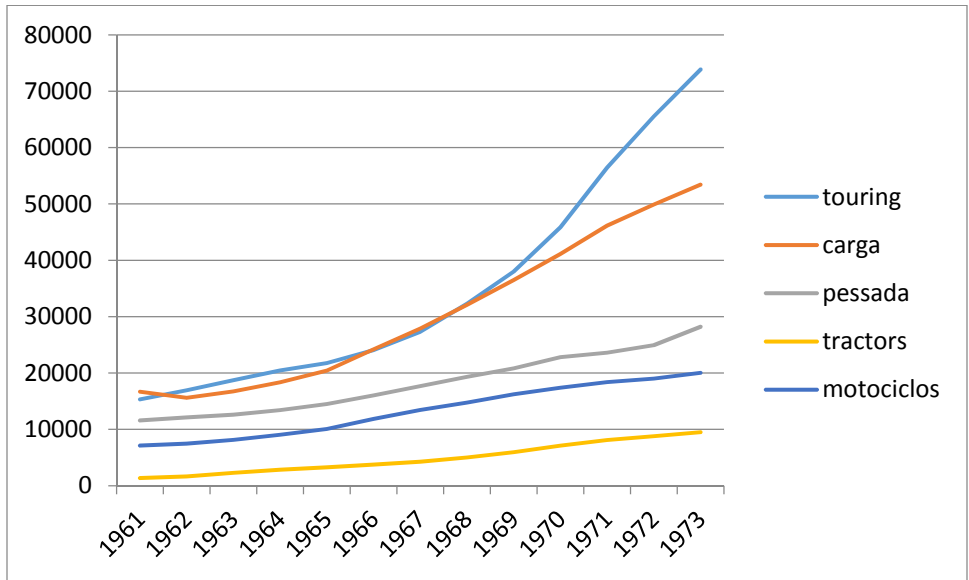
Source: Castro (1974)

(a) Includes 102733 contos, payments for works built in 1967

(b) Includes 51543 contos for works done in 170/1 and 84857 from 1972

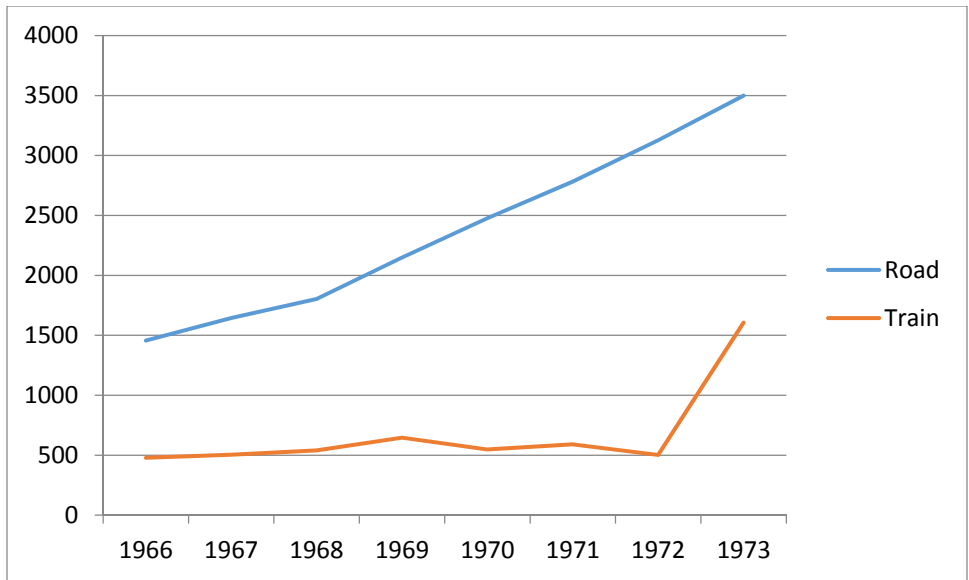
(c) and (d) To liquidate in the following years, 260800, and doesn't include 9500 spent on studies

Number of Vehicles Registered in Angola



(carga = cargo; pessada=heavy)

Movement Cargo (the y-axis units are 10⁶ ton-kilometers)



Source: Dilolowa (1978: 320)

Appendix O: Summary of 24-Hour Traffic Count

	West	East	Luanda-North	North-Luanda	Malanje-North	North – Malanje	Total
Bicycle	3	2	8	8	4	0	25
50cc motorcycle	40	58	86	69	98	84	435
>50cc motorcycle	1	4	2	1	7	4	19
Motor-tricycle	0	4	6	6	6	3	25
Car	130	133	30	32	85	87	497
Prado	106	122	13	9	37	31	318
Hi-Lux	126	123	17	12	33	29	340
Hi-Ace	58	41	5	9	46	50	209
Container	155	166	0	4	2	1	328
Bus	43	43	0	0	5	6	97
Carrinha	102	117	19	14	36	21	309
Large Truck	127	161	12	18	12	8	338
Total	891	974	198	182	371	324	2940

Source: field research

Appendix P: Cassava Purchase Price by Size

Location and Quantity (kg)	Average Retail Price (Akz/kg)	Transport Cost (Akz/kg)	Average Quantity Sold by Respondents (kg)
Luanda, > 500	91.4	10.9	3,168
Malanje, >500	68.0	8.6	1,088
Malanje, <250	62.9	7.2	106
Village, >500	55.9	0.6	1,004
Village, <500 & >250	43.8	0.2	314
Village, <250	43.9		136
Elsewhere, <500 & >250	46.7	2.6	311
Elsewhere, <250	42.6	0.7	127

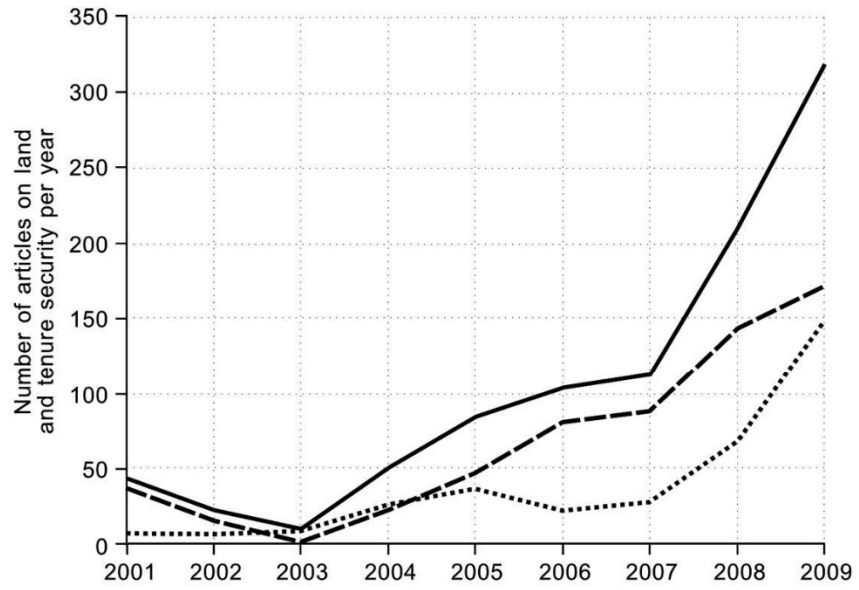
Source: Baptista (2013: Table 3)

Appendix Q: Events and Media Related to Land, 2001-2009

Year	Month	Event
2001	July	Government announces plans for a new land law
	Nov	Development Workshop holds workshops
	Nov	through July 2002 – DW conducts scoping study for Ministry
2002	Jan	Government forms Working Group with 90 days to produce legal drafts
	April	Ceasefire in war
	July	Draft of land law released for public consultation
	Aug	Land Network founded (possibly also November)
	Sep	Seminar at Agostinho Neto University on Land and Law
	Sep-Dec	DW holds workshops on results of the scoping study
2003	Jan	Land Network holds forum on land, calls for more debate
	Feb	FAO and Ministry of Agriculture land forum
	Sep	through March 2004, Land Network does consultations in 10 provinces
	?	Letter, report & consultation results sent to Parliament, seminars, radio
	Nov	Council of Ministers approves land bill
	Dec	Draft land law presented
2004	Feb	Land Network organizes seminar on land and poverty
	Feb	Government calls on civil society to organize debates on land bill
	May	Seminar in Huambo
	Aug	Land law approved by Parliament
	Oct	Land law signed by President
	Nov	Land law published
	Nov	Seminar on land in Huambo
	Nov	Land network releases report on land in Malanje
	Dec	Land Network theatre in Luanda
2005	Feb	Theatre in Huila
	April	Land Network study on Kwanza Sul released
	April	Land Day activities
	April	Land Network study of Land in Huambo released
	June	Theatre in Sumbe, Kwanza Sul
	June	Seminar on Land Rights
	Aug	Seminar in Benguela on natural resources
	Nov	Seminar in Malanje on land law
2006	March	Kilamba Kiaxi land seminar
	Jan	CESD study launched in Luanda
	Aug	Land rights manual launched in Kwanza Sul

Sources: Cain (2010); ANGOP; Rede Terra website; Palmer (2004, 2006)

Collected Angolan Media Stories on Land, 2001-2009



— Total number of articles	44	23	10	50	84	104	112	209	319
- - - Independent media	37	16	2	23	48	81	87	143	171
..... State press services	7	7	8	27	36	23	25	66	148

Source: Cain (2010: 520)

Appendix R: Selected Rural Land-related Studies of Angola

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Appendix S: Colonial Hamlets/resettlements in Eastern Zone

District	Sub-Sector	# of reagruamentos	# of people
Moxico	Luso	79	62,064
	Cazombo	57	24,991
	Lucusse	22	9,578
	Cangamba	5	12,227
	G. Coutinho	41	7,923
	TOTAL:	204	116,783
Lunda	Dala	40	28,453
Cuando	Cuito	28	47,028
Cubango	Cuanavale		
	M'Pupa	32	5,000
	TOTAL:	60	52,028
TOTAL:		304	197,264

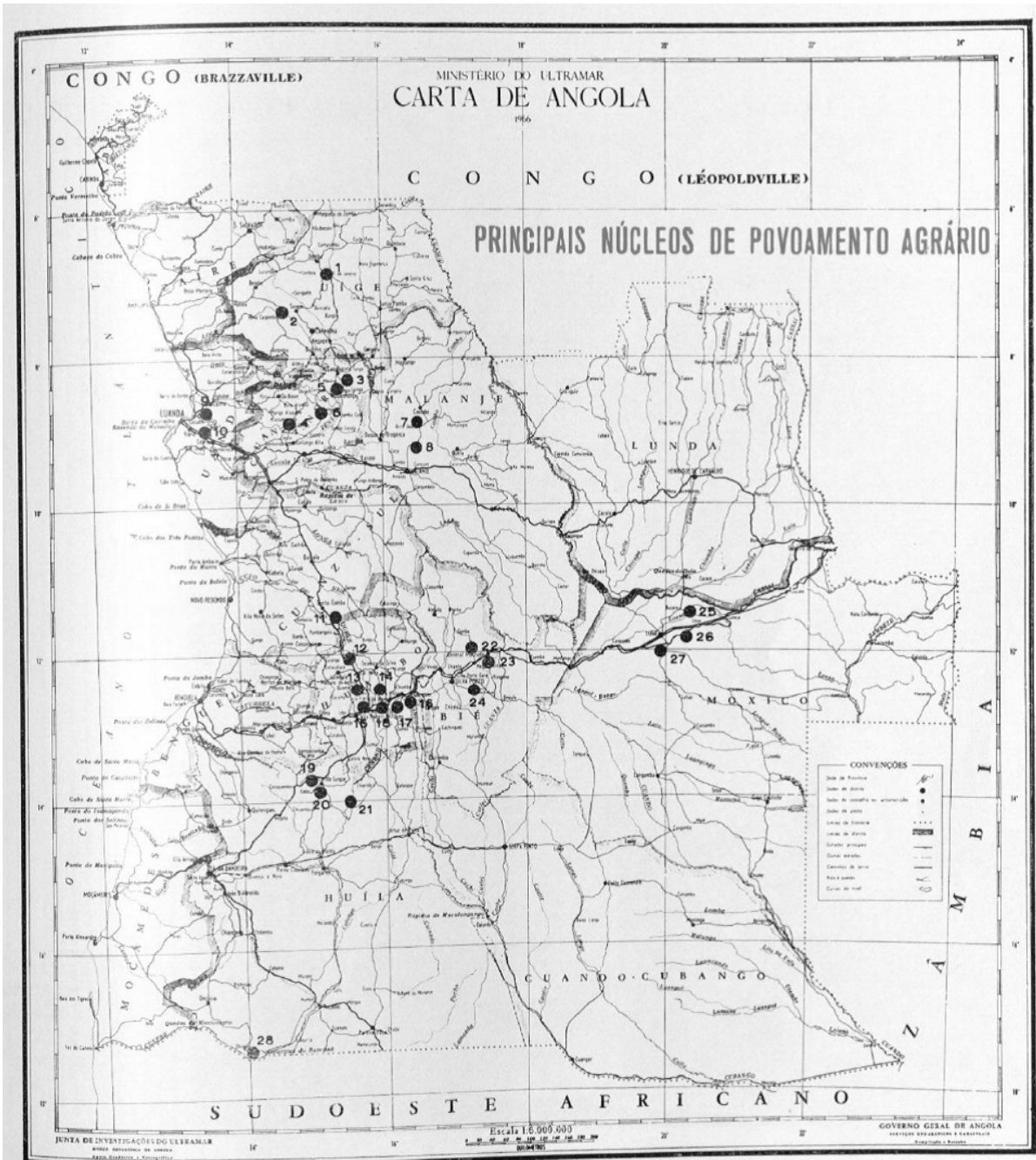
Source: EME (2006: 482); nb: it's not clear why only 304 of 1,936 reagruamentos are listed

Appendix T: Farmer Associations in Malanje, c. 1985

	# of Associations	Men	Women	Total
PRIORITIZED				
Lombe	15	1,264	270	1,534
Kota	20	1,095	271	1,366
Cacuso	24	1,105	192	1,297
Kalandula	20	2,176	100	2,276
Malanje	8	337	110	447
Cahombo Kunda	8	764	13	777
NOT PRIORITIZED				
Cacuso-sede	14	642	28	670
Lombe	2	56	11	67
Kota	10	432	39	471
Kalandula-sede	5	293	-	293
Malanje-sede	14	744	58	802
Caculama-sede	14	1,158	266	1,424
Cangandala-sede	8	610	130	740
Kiwaba Nzoji-sede	10	498	158	656
Quela-sede	7			840
Kahombo-Kunda	25			1,675
Marimba-sede	6			820
Massango-sede	9			789
Luquembo, Kambudi	17			1,866
TOTAL:	141			18,810

Source: Malanje Agricultural Archives

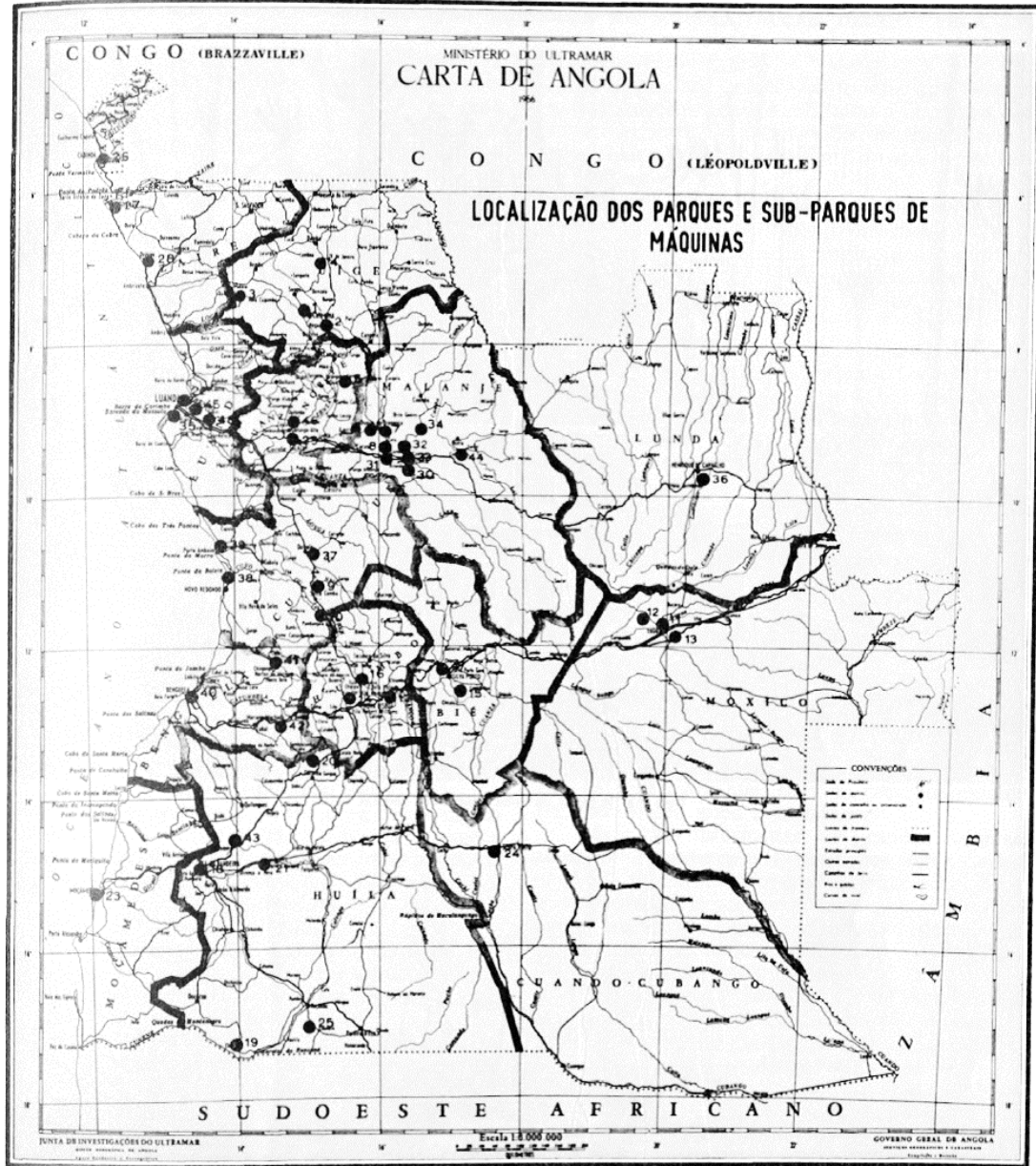
Appendix U: Map of Settlement Schemes



- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| 1 Damba | 10 Mabuia | 20 Caconda |
| 2 Vale do Loge | 11 Cela | 21 Vale do Cuê |
| 3 Luinga | 12 Luvemba | 22 Sande |
| 4 Quilombo dos Dem-bos | 13 Atuco | 23 Missene |
| 5 Bolongongo | 14 Chinguri | 24 Chicava |
| 6 Banga | 15 Cachaca | 25 Luxia |
| 7 Lutau | 16 Bela Vista | 26 Caminina |
| 8 Cole | 17 S. Jorge do Cubango | 27 Sacassango |
| 9 S. Nicolau | 18 Benfica | 28 Chitado |
| | 19 Lossol | |

Source: Reordenamento

Appendix V: Map of Tractor Parks



PARQUES E SUB-PARQUES DE MÁQUINAS

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 — Carmona | 13 — Luehia | 25 — Cuamato | 37 — Quihala |
| 2 — Negage | 14 — Nova Lisboa | 26 — Cabinda | 38 — Novo Redondo |
| 3 — Vale do Loje | 15 — Chicava | 27 — Santo António do Zaire | 39 — Porto Amboim |
| 4 — 31 de Janeiro | 16 — Saúlala | 28 — Quinzau | 40 — Benguela |
| 5 — Luínga | 17 — S. Jorge do Cubango | 29 — Salazar | 41 — Balombo |
| 6 — Duque de Bragança | 18 — Sá da Bandeira | 30 — Malanje | 42 — Ganda |
| 7 — Cole | 19 — Chitido | 31 — Lombe | 43 — Hoque |
| 8 — Lutau | 20 — Caconda | 32 — Quimbamba | 44 — Xandel |
| 9 — Santa Comba | 21 — Chicungo | 33 — N'Gola Luige | 45 — Onga Zanga |
| 10 — Pambangala | 22 — Bengo | 34 — Mufuma | 46 — G. Alto |
| 11 — Luso | 23 — Moçamedes | 35 — Luanda | 47 — Silva Porto |
| 12 — Sacassange | 24 — Serpa Pinto | 36 — Henrique de Carvalho | 48 — Viana |

Source: Reordenamento

Appendix W: Land Concessions in Malanje by Municipality, 1994-2003

Municipality	# of Concessions	Area of Concessions	Avg Area / Concession	Concessions w/ Valid Titles
Malanje	109	58,255	534	4
Cacuso	115	103,692	902	12
Kalandula	82	89,183	1088	5
Caculama	25	58,952	2358	1
Quirima	3	7,759	2586	
Massango	6	21,150	3525	
Luquembo	5	430	860	
Cunda dia Base	39	63,314	1623	
K. Katembo	19	48,532	2554	2
Kangandala	31	13,670	441	1
Marimba	33	120,532	3652	
Cahombo	34	31,552	982	
Kela	32	90,698	2834	
Kiwaba Nzoji	15	10,980	732	
TOTAL	548	722,570	1,319	

Source: Nzatuzoloa et al. (2004: 8)

	Concessions	% of Total Concessions	Area	% of Total Area
Agriculture	219	40	289,028	40
Agriculture and Livestock	274	50	361,285	50
Livestock	55	10	72,257	10
Total	548	100	722,571	100

Source: Ibid, p.9

Appendix X: Partial Inventory of Legislation Related to Rural Land in Angola, 1676-2014

Summary	Type	#	Year
	Regulamento	Feb 12	1676
	Alvará	Sep 18	1811
Revolutionary decree	Decreto	Aug 13	1832
	Portaria Régia	Oct 10	1838
Sale of national assets in overseas provinces	Carta de Lei	Nov 18	1844
Tempers 1832 legislation	Carta de Lei	June 22	1846
Legalization of sale of plantations belonging to Misericórdia de Luanda	Portaria Régia	June 12	1856
Addresses 1811 legislation; Sa de Bandeira – uniform legislation on concession of empty lands in colonies	Carta de Lei	Aug 21	1856
Colonização de Moçâmedes	Portaria Régia	Feb 28	1857
Huila colonization	Portaria Régia	Nov 2	1857
Sale of arimos by Junta da Fazenda de Angola	Oficio	Nov 26, #47	1858
Block sales of arimos	Portaria	May 17	1859
	Portaria	Jan 15	1861
	Decreto	Dec 4	1861
Land to Boers in Moçâmedes,	Oficio	April 28, #187	1892
On Land to Boers question	Oficio	May 30	1892
‘Regulamento da colonização,’ Colonia Agrícola	Decreto	Nov 16	1899
Constitution			1975
	Lei	21C	1992
	Decreto	46A	1992
	Resolucao	30	1994
Regulations for Law 21C/92	Resolucao	14	1995

Cunene concession use reiteration	Despacho	37	1995
	By-Law	1	1996
Gambos ranching reiteration	Despacho	12-S	1997
Land Commission			2002
	Decree		2003
Land Law	Law	9	2004
Implementing Regulations for Law 9/04	Decreto	58	2007

Sources: dos Santos (2004); Diário da República; <http://bibliotecaterra.angonet.org/>