REVIEW OF "GOVERNING IN THE SHADOWS: ANGOLA'S SECURITISED STATE", BY PAULA CRISTINA ROQUE[1]

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"Governing in the Shadows: Angola's Securitised State[3]" is a book published in English by Hurst & Company, in London, by Paula Cristina Roque. Paula Roque is a Portuguese-Angolan independent researcher who works in the crisis group of the Southern African Institute for Security Studies, based in South Africa. In "Governing in the Shadows[4]", Paula Roque deepens and condenses the work she has been doing as a security and international relations researcher, building her corpus based on interaction with key sources belonging to the security apparatus: intelligence officers and the military. The book suggests that Angola's security apparatus is the basis of the power maintenance structure of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (*Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola*, MPLA, in portuguese), the party that has ruled the country for almost five decades.

In essence, Paula Roque's argument is that the security apparatus of the Republic of Angola holds the real power over the country's destiny, associated with the other internal and party spheres. The security house of the Presidency of the Republic controls the defense, security and intelligence sectors, and has unlimited financial resources under its wing, such as the loan

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3 This book has comments on the back cover from some academics: Tony Hodges, Antonio Tomás, Jocelyn Alexander and Jakkie Cilliers.

4 In the angolan political lexicon, the word "shadow government" was used for a long time by the UNITA party. It was Jonas Savimbi who introduced this term into the angolan lexicon. Currently, UNITA maintains an administrative structure called the "shadow government".

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made by China to Angola. In other words, control of power is fundamentally exercised through the ability to distribute economic and social benefits to other internal sectors (the Presidential Guard Unit, internal, external, military and paramilitary intelligence services) and external sectors (politicians, journalists, judges, diplomats, professional associations and civil society).

The book's cover image depicts an angolan policeman inside the Coqueiros Stadium in Luanda, in front of a crowd awaiting the arrival of Pope Benedict XV, who visited Angola on March 21, 2009. In terms of structure, "Governing in the Shadows" is a book divided into six chapters.

The first chapter, entitled "The component parts", outlines the composition of the parts of the angolan security system. In essence, the chapter portrays the way in which the angolan security apparatus was constituted. Paula Roque announces right at the start that the focus of her approach is the security apparatus itself, and not the MPLA, the party that has supported the government since 1975, nor former president José Eduardo dos Santos. The chapter talks about the MPLA, the presidency of the republic, and the others, the other parts of the apparatus involving various sectors of angolan society. In her account of the parts that make up the security apparatus, the author discusses Angola's transformations over the last 45 years, such as the internal struggles and the social actors involved in them: the MPLA, the death of Savimbi and the affirmation of Isaías Samakuva at the head of UNITA, the emergence of the *Convergência Ampla de Salvação de Angola* (Broad Convergence for the Salvation of Angola) - Electoral Coalition that brought together dissidents from UNITA, the MPLA, the Social Renewal Party (PRS) and other small parties anchored in the figures of Abel Chivukuvuku and André de Mendes Carvalho 'Miau', contestants in the 2012 elections. The chapter also portrays the position of the historic political parties in the field of political dispute, the position of the churches and the role of the media, both public and private, in maintaining the system, as Jon Schubert (2017) called it in his book entitled "Working the System: A Political Ethnography of the New Angola".

The second chapter, entitled "A strategy of securitized hegemony: outmanoeuvring the Enemy", presents the country's historical circumstances between the 1990s and 2000s, a period in which the security apparatus was consolidated. The chapter also deals with the most uncertain periods in the history of the angolan armed conflict, discussing the political and military agreements (Bicesse in 1991 and Lusaka in 1994) between the government and UNITA and the internal and external actors involved - the *Troika* of Observers (UN, Russia, Portugal and the USA). In essence, the chapter discusses how the war and the military victory in favor of the MPLA were fundamental

factors in the consolidation of the angolan security apparatus. Both internal (the formation of the AAF, the integration of senior UNITA officials into the defense and security bodies and the death of Jonas Savimbi) and external (the availability of mineral resources, business opportunities with national and foreign companies from central capitalist countries) factors contributed to this.

The third chapter entitled "The shadows government: guarding the guardians" addresses the structures that make up the security apparatus, as Paula Roque called it. In this chapter, the author develops her argument by describing how the 'shadow government' was effectively created in the period that corresponded with the end of the Angolan civil war in 2002, in which President José Eduardo dos Santos, with paternal power, welcomed the insurgents and organized two fundamental sectors around the presidency: the military house – also called security – and the civil house. There are also two structures which, in the author's view, operate in parallel and outside the formal control mechanisms: parliament, the courts, the council of ministers and society in general. Also in this chapter, Paula Roque tells how the Constitution approved in 2010 strengthened the powers of the president of the republic and, consequently, of the two parallel structures that guarantee the reproduction of power by governing in the shadows. They are, in essence, where the negotiations of real angolan power take place, as the author sees it.

The fourth chapter entitled "The Angolan Armed Forces: a strained national pillar" portrays the long history of the Angolan Armed Forces, especially during the two decades of military peace. The chapter also discusses the lines of command of the Armed Forces, their internal composition and their role in the defense of national territory, as well as the power relations they maintain with Angola's military allies. In this chapter, Paula Roque seeks to highlight the missions that the Angolan Armed Forces have undertaken, especially in the conflicts in the Great Lakes region, particularly in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The chapter deals with the current president's time as defense minister under José Eduardo dos Santos. The chapter also highlights the role that the Armed Forces have played in the management of natural resources, especially in the control of mining areas, and the economic benefit that senior officers have accumulated in terms of wealth. In other words, the military structure is a pillar of Angola's governance apparatus and is also part of the benefits.

The fifth and penultimate chapter, entitled "Changing the guard: João Lourenço's Presidency", deals mainly with the changes that took place in the structure of Angola's security apparatus with the succession of José

Eduardo dos Santos by the current president, João Lourenço. The chapter essentially tells the story of before and after September 2017, when João Lourenço replaced Eduardo dos Santos, and the changes he made to the defense and security agencies, as well as the recovery of intelligence figures who had been discredited. These include Fernando Garcia Miala and others within the security apparatus. The chapter also looks at the changes made to the presidential guard unit, the Angolan Armed Forces and the National Police, where Lourenço sought to remove all those who maintained a relationship of loyalty with José Eduardo dos Santos as a condition for his staying in power.

The sixth and final chapter, entitled "The times of monsters: Angola's response to Covid-19", looks at how the angolan authorities are dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic and the measures adopted to deal with its spread. The chapter also deals with the pressures that João Lourenço's presidency experienced during this pandemic period, with a scandal inside the security house, which led to measures and the removal of figures close to the president, as well as the pressures coming from society through street protests, the president's attitude towards the fight against corruption, defended as the main banner of his government. In the shortest chapter of the book, Paula Roque gives an overview of João Lourenço's government and the effects of his changes within the security apparatus.

Our critical reading of "Governing in the Shadows" suggests four points based on the sociology of the angolan political field, as well as supported by the concept of "history by analogy" by Mahmood Mamdani (1996) in his book "Citizen and Subject. Contemporary Africa and the legacy of Colonialism". History by analogy consists of making the analysis and explanation of the angolan security state dependent on the comparison made with the historical reality of Russia. Also based on the perspective of Carlos Cardoso, Elísio Macamo and Nelson Pestana (2002) in their text entitled "*Da possibilidade do político na África lusófona: alguns subsídios teóricos*", we understand the Angolan political field as a process in the making, corresponding to specific perceptions of the political.

The first critical point is the attempt to understand the empirical *corpus* from which Paula Roque draws up her approach to theorizing about the angolan security apparatus. There is a series of interviews that can be seen spread over the six chapters of the book that allow us to follow the author's sources of information. These interviews vary in terms of the sociodemographic profiles of the interviewees and the year in which they were conducted. Overall, Paula Roque presents a book with around four dozen interviews ranging from 2004 to 2020. Most of them took place in 2004, 2015 and

2019. The first group consists of interviews with former UNITA combatants conducted in the city of Huambo, in the period immediately following the end of the civil war between the Angolan Armed Forces (AAF) and the residual UNITA forces. The second group includes interviews with former military intelligence officers, some belonging to UNITA, civilians, journalists and angolan opposition politicians. The third group consists of interviews with intelligence officers between the cities of Luanda, Angola and Lisbon, Portugal. There are also records of testimonies, also known as *testemunhos*, which are suggested to have taken place in 1998, 2004 and 2019. The interviews were conducted in 2008, 2012, 2014 and 2020, the latter being the year of the Covid-19 pandemic.

The second critical point has to do with the ambiguities in the empirical *corpus* of "Governing in the Shadows". Paula Roque codifies the profile of her interviewees in a general way, although she reveals the characteristics of a few interviewees, such as the former president of UNITA, Isaías Samakuva. In other words, the way in which the interviewees are presented can be a relevant factor in making the information gathered plausible, but at the same time it makes it difficult to understand their empirical universe. Despite the fact that this is a sensitive subject, the sociodemographic profiles of Paula Roque's interviewees have the potential to cause interpretative distortions in the empirical *corpus*.

The third point of criticism is argumentative and concerns the use of the analogy between the security apparatus of Angola and Russia. "Governing in the Shadows" suggests an overvaluation of the security apparatuses of countries like Cuba, Russia and China, which have important relations with Angola, and the fact that these countries, especially the first two, have played a crucial role in providing training, technical assistance and military equipment to Angola over the last four decades. In other words, the fact that Russia's secret services have played a crucial role in maintaining power in that country, ruling in the shadows, is an analogy with Angola because of the influence and characteristics observable in the relationship between political power and the defense and security services. The fear expressed towards Russia's secret services is by extension the same as that expressed towards Angola's intelligence apparatus. They are presented as being omnipresent and omniscient. Their efficiency results from the way they operate in society and the degree of secrecy they produce.

History by analogy consists of importing the Russian model for the purpose of analyzing the intricacies of the angolan security apparatus, which is said to have played an important role in keeping José Eduardo dos

Santos in power for 38 years. It so happens that at least half of this period took place during wartime. War, here, has the potential to weigh in as an analytical variable in maintaining political power in the hands of Eduardo dos Santos, as a result of a combination of political and military factors and the availability of resources. In other words, the political economy of power must be taken into account. An analysis focused solely on the role played by the angolan intelligence services in maintaining political power could run the risk of ignoring equally relevant variables. The maintenance of power in the hands of José Eduardo dos Santos was helped by more forces than just the internal and external intelligence services, as well as, to a certain extent, by the domestic, regional and international political and economic context that was favorable to him.

The fourth point of criticism concerns the fact that the book gives more prominence to military structures - such as Hélder Vieira Dias and José Maria - to the detriment of civilian ones, and that it overlooks the role played by the so-called *futunguistas*[5] in building up the angolan security apparatus throughout the 1990s.

"Governing in the Shadows: Angola's Securitised State" has the merit of presenting a theoretical contribution to the social sciences, african and security studies, when it tries to explain the intricacies of the angolan defense and security apparatus. More than confirming the omnipresent power of the security apparatus, Paula Roque's book provides an opportunity to think about ways of scrutinizing the actions of this body in angolan society.

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5 They are senior civil servants in the angolan political apparatus (presidency) who worked in José Eduardo dos Santos' most restricted circles. Some of them would later head strategic sectors of the government.

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