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## NO PEACE FOR ELEPHANTS:

Unregulated domestic ivory markets in Angola and Mozambique

*Prepared by Tom Milliken, Alistair Pole and Abias Huongo*

*Edited by Tom Milliken*

TRAFFIC East/Southern Africa

April 2006

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**Front cover photograph:** Curio market with ivory goods, Maputo, Mozambique, April 2004.

**Photograph credit:** Helena Motta, WWF Mozambique.

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*Credit: Alistair Pole*

**Ivory tusks on sale in Luanda, Angola, in  
June 2005**

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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS REPORT

<b>CITES</b>	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
<b>CoP</b>	CITES meeting of the Conference of the Parties (number designates which meeting)
<b>Defra</b>	Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (UK)
<b>DNFFB</b>	National Directorate of Forestry and Wildlife (Mozambique)
<b>DRC</b>	Democratic Republic of the Congo
<b>ETIS</b>	Elephant Trade Information System
<b>FRELIMO</b>	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
<b>IUCN</b>	IUCN — The World Conservation Union
<b>AOA</b>	Angolan kwanza (currency)
<b>MA</b>	Ministry of Agriculture (Mozambique)
<b>MIKE</b>	Monitoring Illegal Killing of Elephants
<b>MINADER</b>	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (Angola)
<b>MINUA</b>	Ministry of Urban Affairs and Environment (Angola)
<b>MPLA</b>	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
<b>MZN</b>	Mozambique metical (pl. meticais) (currency)
<b>PSFW</b>	Provincial Services for Forestry and Wildlife (Mozambique)
<b>RENAMO</b>	Mozambique National Resistance
<b>SADC</b>	Southern African Development Community
<b>UNITA</b>	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
<b>USD</b>	US dollar (currency)
<b>WWF</b>	WWF, the global conservation organization

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

*Tom Milliken and Alistair Pole*

### Angola

Recent reports suggest that Angola is fast emerging as an important country in the illegal trade in African Elephant *Loxodonta africana* ivory (Milliken *et al.*, 2004). For the most part, however, the country's wildlife trade remains poorly understood. Owing to a prolonged civil war that only ended with the signing of a peace agreement on 4 April 2002, there have been no systematic surveys of Angola's wildlife resources for over three decades.

This study marks a first attempt to conduct a spot check and assess the ivory trade in Luanda, Angola's bustling capital and major port city on the Atlantic Ocean. From 4 to 10 June 2005, TRAFFIC researchers visited retail outlets and craft markets in and around Luanda to collect information on the amount of ivory available for sale, ivory prices and sources, and other trade dynamics. As information relating to Angola's legislation on the hunting of elephants and trade in ivory was not readily available, investigating the current legal status of the species and trade in elephant products was an important aspect of the survey. The following results derive from this effort:

- The Government of Angola, through its National Assembly, formally approved the country's membership in the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) on 17 January 2001, however, this decision has yet to be gazetted. Moreover, the Minister of Foreign Affairs has failed to file an instrument of accession with the Swiss Government, the requisite procedure for becoming a member of the Convention. Finally, it remains unclear to what extent the Angolan authorities have apprised the CITES Secretariat of these developments and sought guidance to complete the process. Consequently, with the accession of Lesotho to CITES on 30 December 2003, Angola now remains the only southern African country that is not a Party to CITES.
- Current legislation relating to the hunting of elephants and the trade in elephant products in Angola dates back half a century to the colonial era with *Decree 40.040 of 1955* and *Decree 2:873 of 1957*. The fees relating to the issuance of hunting licences and penalties for the illegal killing of animals, however, have subsequently been updated, most recently through *Decree 36/99 of 1999*. Regardless, there is an urgent need to review and update the substance of Angola's legislation that relates to wildlife in general and wildlife trade and CITES in particular.
- Implementation and enforcement responsibilities for the country's wildlife laws lie principally with the Institute of Forestry Development in the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. Regardless, very little, if any, meaningful enforcement has taken place in recent years, largely as a result of the absence of political will within government and a lack of human capacity and resources.
- Despite legislation stating that the possession of ivory without proper documentation is illegal, a total of 41 retail outlets were observed selling ivory products that collectively were estimated to weigh a total of 1 573.4 kg during this survey. About 90% of this ivory was found at the Mercado do Artesanato (Artists' Market) at Benfica, south of Luanda.

- Little information was gathered on the presence and operation of ivory carving workshops in Luanda, but it appears that most local craftsmen work from their homes. Further, it appears that significant quantities of ivory are being carved in neighbouring Congo Basin countries to the north and routinely imported into the Angolan market in violation of CITES.
- Observations of local conservationists and long-term residents suggest that the ivory trade in Luanda has increased dramatically in recent years, possibly doubling in scale within the last year. By the same token, the majority of retail traders indicated that Luanda represented a growing market for ivory products, and that such business was generally good.
- Raw ivory appears to be relatively easy to acquire for vendors in the main market, with prices ranging from USD35 per kg up to USD100 per kg. While it is likely that some of this ivory is derived from Angolan elephants, the majority of the stock is believed to originate in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The high proportion of French-speaking traders in Luanda's principal ivory market further suggests a strong link with the ivory trade in Francophone countries in Central Africa immediately to the north of Angola, particularly DRC and Congo (Brazzaville).
- There is no evidence to suggest that the conditions noted in *Resolution Conf. 10.10 (Rev. CoP12)* for the control of internal trade in ivory are being met or implemented in Angola. As a non-Party to the Convention, the country is under no formal obligation to CITES in this regard. Still, the continued trade in ivory has serious implications for Angola's remaining elephant populations, which are thought to be small and highly fragmented (Blanc *et al.*, 2003). Further, the current trade is believed to involve a persistent illegal importation of unprocessed elephant tusks and worked ivory products from neighbouring countries that are Parties to CITES.
- Angolan authorities responsible for developing policy and enforcing legislation in the wildlife sector showed a genuine enthusiasm to address ivory trade issues. The desire to better monitor and protect the country's remaining elephant populations, however, faces two significant obstacles. Firstly, the political will of senior politicians remains very much focused on social issues and rebuilding the collapsed infrastructure of the nation in the post-war period, rather than with the environment in general and wildlife in particular. This sector remains a remote secondary concern on the national agenda of priorities. Secondly, environmental institutions in Angola remain very weak and the capacity of the wildlife authorities to carry out their duties is routinely circumscribed by a lack of human and material resources.
- There is a need for a protracted programme of external support to assist Angolan wildlife authorities in their efforts to build strong environmental institutions from which to protect and manage the country's wildlife resources. Assisting Angola to complete the interrupted process of accession to CITES would be an important first step in this regard. Reviewing and updating Angola's antiquated wildlife legislation is called for, as well as a broad programme of capacity-building and training for law enforcement personnel, including police and Customs officers.

## Mozambique

Since emerging from a long civil war in 1992, Mozambique has experienced uninterrupted stability and persistent economic growth. While national development priorities have focused on other socio-economic issues, the wildlife sector has made far more limited progress. Still, elephant numbers appear to be increasing,

but ongoing trade in ivory continues to be reported. Maputo, the country's capital city and major port on the Indian Ocean, has been the focus of two ivory trade studies or spot checks over the last six years (Martin and Stiles, 2000; Milliken, 2002).

This study represents a comparative spot check to update the status of the ivory trade in Maputo since April 2002. On 13 June 2005, TRAFFIC researchers visited retail outlets and open-air curio markets that had been previously assessed, recording the number and type of ivory products available for sale. Information on Mozambique's wildlife policy and legislation was also researched through a review of relevant literature and Internet sources. The following results stem from this assessment:

- The colonial wildlife legislation that Mozambique inherited at the time of independence was inherently inadequate in the modern context. Fortunately, wildlife policy and legislation has improved in recent years, following the development of a *National Forestry and Wildlife Strategy* in 1997 and the promulgation of the *Forestry and Wildlife Law (Law 10/99 of 7 July 1999)* two years later. It appears that subsequent regulations to this law, adopted in June 2002, provide a sound legal basis for the strict regulation of national and international trade in ivory.
- Mozambique became the 66<sup>th</sup> member of CITES on 23 June 1981, however, the country's legislation remains insufficient to implement the Convention. According to the ranking used in the CITES National Legislation Project, established under *Resolution Conf. 8.4* to assess national laws for implementation of the Convention and take remedial action as necessary, Mozambique's legislation is in Category 3, indicating "legislation that is believed generally not to meet the requirements for the implementation of CITES".
- Implementation and law enforcement responsibilities of these new laws and regulations fall to the National Directorate of Forestry and Wildlife in the Ministry of Agriculture. Previous studies have indicated a very inadequate situation in terms of implementation. In fact, in June 2005, there was little evidence to suggest any meaningful law enforcement activity in the market place to inhibit the open display and sale of ivory products. It was noted, however, that a government advertisement in the local media publicized the new legislation and called upon vendors and possessors of wildlife products, including elephant ivory, to register and license their products and businesses by 30 June 2005. This appeared to be an attempt to 'set the stage' for a more concerted law enforcement effort.
- Despite legislation which calls into question the legality of the trade, in mid-June 2005, a total of 3254 ivory products were found openly displayed for sale in at least 45 retail outlets in Maputo. Nearly 20% of the ivory products observed were available in the duty-free lounge area of the international airport and, once purchased, could only be taken out of the country. This arrangement is a flagrant violation of CITES that, unfortunately, has been noted on numerous occasions since as early as 1993.
- The scale of Maputo's ivory trade appears to have increased in recent years. The number of ivory products found in many locations in mid-2005 was at least double that which was reported in 2002. Further, there appeared to be more open-air pavement markets and up-market shops with ivory in the current survey than previously reported, as well as more outlets at the international airport.
- Precise information on ivory price or the scale of ivory carving and processing in the country was not available, but some vendors mentioned that ivory is carved in the north of the country. The integration of ivory as a decorative accessory feature in large Makonde-type wood carvings possibly represents a recent expansion of the trade that has not previously been noted.

- In June 2005, there was little evidence to suggest that the Mozambique authorities were implementing the requirements for internal trade in ivory noted in *CITES Resolution Conf. 10.10 (Rev. CoP12)*. Nor did Mozambique submit a report to the CITES Secretariat, pursuant to the *CITES Action plan for the control of trade in African elephant ivory* addressing unregulated domestic ivory markets, for consideration at the 53<sup>rd</sup> meeting of the CITES Standing Committee.
- Subsequent to this survey, at the 53<sup>rd</sup> meeting of the CITES Standing Committee, TRAFFIC and WWF unsuccessfully advocated that trade sanctions be imposed against Mozambique for its continual failure to implement CITES requirements for domestic trade in ivory. Thereafter, it appears that government authorities have taken some law enforcement actions to seize ivory products in Maputo and possibly other parts of the country. Credible reports concerning the absence of elephant ivory products in Maputo's markets were reported in mid-October 2005. If so, such positive actions represent the first major crackdown on the country's internal ivory market since joining CITES nearly 25 years ago. Future monitoring is required to assess whether this is simply a one-off short-term development or a lasting policy with a sustained commitment to implementation.

## Recommendations

### *Elephant management and protection*

In Angola, where the distribution and status of the African Elephant is poorly understood, a systematic survey of the country's remaining elephant population needs to be undertaken. In order to achieve this, international financial support and technical assistance will certainly be necessary.

### *Improving policy, legislation and regulatory measures*

In Angola, the process of formally acceding to CITES needs to be completed with the presentation of an instrument of accession to the nearest embassy of the Swiss Government. In addition, Angola would greatly benefit from the appointment and funding of a qualified person to work within the Institute of Forestry Development to help establish a programme for the future implementation of CITES in the country.

In Mozambique, urgent steps need to be taken to ensure that the country's legislation is sufficient to implement CITES in order to avoid the imposition of sanctions pursuant to *Resolution Conf. 8.4* at the 54<sup>th</sup> meeting of the CITES Standing Committee in October 2006. In this regard, it is also recommended that the government take immediate action to comply with CITES requirements for internal trade in ivory as outlined in *Resolution Conf. 10.10 (Rev. CoP12)* and *Decision 13.26*, as failure to do so also risks the instigation of punitive sanctions.

### *Addressing implementation and enforcement deficiencies*

In Angola, where the evidence demonstrates that a large portion of the ivory trade occurs in direct violation of CITES, measures to inhibit the routine import and export of ivory from the country is an urgent priority for action. As a first step to generate awareness and focus attention on wildlife trade issues, a workshop involving representatives from the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, the Ministry of Urban Affairs and Environment, the police, Customs and the border police should be held in Luanda.

In Mozambique, the most important issue to address is the apparent absence of effective law enforcement with respect to domestic trade in ivory. Government action to police the country's ivory trade in compliance with the CITES action plan to curb unregulated domestic ivory markets, established under *Decision 13.26*, must be demonstrated in order to avoid the imposition of punitive sanctions in the future.

### ***Enhancing ivory stock management***

In both Angola and Mozambique, there is a need to develop centralised, nationwide ivory stock management systems for tracking or auditing stocks in a consolidated manner. External assistance is likely to be necessary in both countries to achieve this goal.

### ***Monitoring ivory manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers***

Angola, as a future CITES Party, as well as Mozambique, as a longstanding member of the Convention, need to establish a nationwide registration of all ivory importers, wholesalers and retail vendors in order to comply with the requirements of *Resolution Conf. 10.10 (Rev. CoP12)* and *Decision 13.26*. Equally, the introduction of ivory stock recording systems for all ivory that can be legally traded on local markets need to be put in place.

### ***Implementing ETIS***

In Angola, it appears that ivory or other elephant products are rarely, if ever, seized, and no cases have ever been reported to the CITES Secretariat or TRAFFIC. Once the country joins CITES, participation in ETIS should be seen as an important responsibility for the government authorities and steps taken to ensure active engagement.

In Mozambique, participation in ETIS has been poor in the past and only four ivory seizure cases have been reported for inclusion in ETIS to date. The government must take steps to improve reporting of elephant product seizures to the CITES Secretariat or directly to TRAFFIC to demonstrate effective compliance with the reporting requirements of *Resolution Conf. 10.10 (Rev. CoP12)*.

## INTRODUCTION

*Tom Milliken*



Map showing the position of Angola and Mozambique in southern Africa

Ivory trade in southern Africa is, generally speaking, better regulated than in any other part of the continent. That said, two countries in this region stand out as serious anomalies and continue to harbour significant unregulated domestic ivory markets. Interestingly, both countries—Angola and Mozambique—share a common history as former Portuguese colonies that were crippled at the onset of independence by long, debilitating civil wars. Now, in Mozambique, more than a decade of peace has seen dramatic progress towards nation-building and economic growth, but in Angola, just three short years have passed since conflict ended. With far greater national priorities at hand, attention to the wildlife sector lags far behind other more pressing development aspirations in both of these resource-rich countries where some 70% of the people are estimated to live below the poverty line (Anon., 2005a; Anon., 2005b). Perhaps for this reason, illicit trade in

ivory has found a conducive environment and is able to flourish without the distraction of government oversight or impediment.

It needs to be recognised, however, that unregulated domestic ivory markets in Angola and Mozambique are not just a national issue. They serve to undermine the conservation policies of neighbouring nations and present a major challenge to the sustainable use aspirations of the region as a whole. The 14-nation Southern African Development Community (SADC), of which Angola and Mozambique are members, also includes the only four African Elephant *Loxodonta africana* range States whose elephant populations are in Appendix II of CITES. The international community has recognised that wildlife policy, management and law enforcement in Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe is of a high standard and that elephant numbers are at least stable, if not rapidly increasing, in these countries. Since 1997, CITES has allowed these countries to benefit from conditional, one-off trade scenarios for a predetermined volume of raw ivory on only one occasion. Another such ivory sale has been approved under CITES once certain conditions have been met in the future; the earliest this transaction is likely to take place is in late 2006.

On the other hand, the Parties have been reluctant to approve annual trade options for raw ivory until such time that the two monitoring systems for elephants under CITES are fully operational. ETIS, which is managed by TRAFFIC on behalf of the CITES Parties to track trade in ivory and other non-ivory elephant products, is fully operative and has delivered comprehensive analyses on illegal ivory trade dynamics to two consecutive meetings of the Conference of the Parties (CoP) to CITES. These assessments are based on records of ivory seizures that have taken place anywhere in the world since 1989. Currently, ETIS contains over 10 500 global seizure cases

and is, perhaps, the single most influential factor in the determination of elephant policy under the Convention at the present time. The second system, Monitoring Illegal Killing of Elephants (MIKE) is a site-based programme that is designed to track the situation on the ground in over 80 specific locations in 42 elephant Range states across Africa and Asia. MIKE has yet to establish the agreed baseline, but the programme is expected to reach that milestone sometime in 2006. If so, it might be possible to produce the first MIKE analysis of illegal hunting dynamics in time for the 14<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Conference of the Parties (CoP14) to CITES in mid-2007.

As its name implies, the purview of CITES is ostensibly *international* trade in wildlife. That said, the fundamental linkage between domestic ivory markets, the illegal killing of elephants and trade in ivory has been firmly established (Martin and Stiles, 2000; Milliken *et al.*, 2002; Courouble *et al.*, 2003). With this in mind, the CITES Parties adopted *Resolution Conf. 10.10 (Rev. CoP12) on Trade in Elephant Specimens* which specifically recommends that all countries allowing domestic trade in ivory:

*Register or license all importers, manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers dealing in raw, semi worked or worked ivory products; and,*

*Introduce recording and inspection procedures to enable the Management Authority and other appropriate government agencies to monitor the flow of ivory within the State, particularly by means of:*

*compulsory trade controls over raw ivory; and,*

*a comprehensive and demonstrably effective reporting and enforcement system for worked ivory.*

Unfortunately, few elephant Range States in Africa and Asia have moved to implement these recommendations. The analytical outputs from ETIS, however, have played an instrumental role in focusing global attention on the detrimental impact of the world's unregulated domestic ivory markets on elephant conservation. In 2002, at CoP12, the first comprehensive analysis of the ETIS data demonstrated that illegal trade in ivory was most directly correlated to the presence of large-scale domestic ivory markets that exhibit poor law enforcement. This finding resulted in the CITES Parties' adopting *Decision 12.39* to establish an intersessional oversight process under the direction of the Standing Committee to assess compliance with the CITES requirements noted above for internal trade in ivory. The scope of this Decision was initially limited to 10 problematic countries (Cameroon, China, the DRC, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Japan, Nigeria, Thailand, Uganda and the USA), most of which had been identified through ETIS as being heavily implicated in the illicit trade in ivory. (Japan was added to the list because it had been allowed to benefit from a CITES-approved one-off sale of raw ivory in 1999). In recognition of the fact that many unregulated domestic ivory markets lie outside the specific target countries, the 50<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Standing Committee moved to extend the mandate of *Decision 12.39* to cover all African Elephant range States. CoP13 formally endorsed this development by approving, through *Decision 13.26*, an *Action plan for the control of trade in African elephant ivory* that had been drafted by the CITES Secretariat. This action plan calls for all African Elephant range States:

- to prohibit the unregulated domestic sale of ivory, whether raw, semi-worked, or worked;
- to instruct all law enforcement and border control agencies to enforce such laws and regulations; and
- to engage in public awareness campaigns to publicise these prohibitions.

All African Elephant range States were obliged to report to the CITES Secretariat by 31 March 2005 on ivory trade developments in their countries. Neither Angola, a non-Party to CITES, nor Mozambique submitted reports. The first assessment of Africa's response took place at the 53<sup>rd</sup> meeting of the Standing Committee

(SC53), which was held during the last week of June 2005 in Geneva, Switzerland. TRAFFIC's ivory trade assessments in Angola and Mozambique were undertaken to support the CITES action plan process under *Decision 13.26*. In fact, information contained in this report was summarised and provided to the CITES Standing Committee in a briefing document issued jointly by TRAFFIC and WWF (Anon., 2005d). Among other things, this document specifically called for an immediate suspension of all trade in CITES-listed specimens to and from Mozambique in view of the open trade in ivory products in the departure lounge area of Maputo's international airport. It also urged the CITES Secretariat to visit Angola and assist the country to become a Party of the Convention (Anon., 2005d).

In the event, the members of the Standing Committee did not commit to the actions advocated by TRAFFIC and WWF. Rather, the CITES Secretariat was instructed “*to continue to monitor closely the illicit trade in ivory involving China and other markets around the world, including countries in Africa that are not elephant range States*” and “*to report in detail at the 54<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Standing Committee upon implementation of the action plan*” (Anon., 2005e). Further, “*the Committee welcomed the offer by the representative of South Africa, on behalf of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to assist relevant range States, especially Angola, Lesotho and Mozambique*” (Anon., 2005e).

While these actions may have temporarily postponed the ‘day of judgment’ for Mozambique and Angola on their continuing unregulated trade in ivory, the iterative CITES oversight process will certainly continue to unfold. In this regard, both countries have been flagged as problematic countries of concern (Anon., 2005d). This report serves as a baseline study concerning the scale of the ivory trade in Maputo and Luanda, the capital cities of these two African nations, in June 2005. Unless government authorities in Mozambique and Angola move decisively to impose corrective measures that adequately regulate internal trade in ivory in compliance with CITES requirements, it is very likely that the CITES Secretariat will have little choice but to move forward with the imposition of trade sanctions at some point in the future. Illicit trade in ivory is a serious matter and the global community has mandated national action or punitive consequences for offending countries.

## DOMESTIC IVORY TRADE IN ANGOLA

*Alistair Pole, Abias Huongo and Tom Milliken*

### Background

Angola has suffered over 40 years of intermittent war. The liberation war against the Portuguese colonists started in 1961 and only ended when independence was declared in 1975. A civil war of ideologically competing groups almost immediately ensued, pitting the Soviet bloc-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which assumed the reins of government, against the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) rebel forces supported by apartheid South Africa and the Western powers. The end of the Cold War resulted in a short-lived peace accord being signed between the two parties in 1991, followed by elections that the MPLA subsequently won. This electoral victory was rejected by the UNITA forces and, in 1992, Angola's civil war erupted once again and raged for another decade. Conflict effectively ended with the death of the UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi, in February 2002, leading to another peace agreement being signed between UNITA and the Angolan Government on 4 April 2002. The civil war ultimately claimed an estimated 1.5 million lives and displaced more than four million people within the country (Anon., 2005a).

With peace finally at hand and a commitment to rebuild a country wasted by over four decades of conflict, Angola faces an enormous challenge. The country can, however, rely on a significant endowment of natural resources to generate wealth for nation-building purposes. The main resources providing an income for the country at present are oil, diamonds, and a variety of base metals, while an expanding Atlantic coast fisheries industry and timber trade show great promise for further economic diversification (Anon., 2005a). In the future, tourism, based on the country's biodiversity, is also a potential area for economic growth. In this regard, Angola was ranked ninth in terms of flowering plant richness in an assessment of African countries, including Madagascar, and 23<sup>rd</sup> globally in terms of mammal richness and endemism (Anon., 1992). Altogether, a total of 276 mammal species, including four endemics, and 872 birds species, of which 12 are endemic, have been noted in Angola (Anon., 1992).



*Credit: WWF-Canon/Jo Benn*

**Bullet-riddled buildings in Huambo, Angola**

At one time Angola was believed to have been a significant stronghold of the African Elephant. In 1981, it was speculated that there were a maximum of 12 400 elephants in Angola (Cumming *et al.*, 1990). During the civil war, however, UNITA combatants, using South Africa as a complicit conduit to international markets, were actively engaged in large-scale elephant poaching and ivory smuggling between 1975 and 1986; the revenues generated from such trade were reportedly used to purchase weapons and supplies for the war (Kumleben, 1996). Limited survey work carried out in 1989 and in 1992 resulted in an estimated national elephant population of around 8000 animals (Blanc *et al.*, 2003), but these estimates were largely speculative. It is believed by some that the majority of these elephants were subsequently killed during the third and final phase of the civil war from 1992 to 2002 (P. Vaz Pinto, pers comm., 8 June 2005). In any event, the current parameters of Angola's elephant population are only slowly emerging as movements in and around the heavily-mined country begin to allow improved observation and anecdotal information to come to the fore. Systematic conservation and monitoring, however, remains a distant and unrealised goal at the present time.

Using the current IUCN system of categorizing elephant numbers, Angola's elephants comprise an estimated 36 'definite', 0 'probable', 150 'possible' and 60 'speculative' (Blanc *et al.*, 2003). Thus, according to IUCN's African Elephant Database, not more than 246 elephants are thought to occur in Angola. It is worth noting that all of the elephants noted as 'definites' represent animals or their offspring that were translocated from Botswana to Quiçama National Park in 2000 and 2001. More than anything else, however, the current IUCN estimate reflects the poor state of knowledge and the lack of any recent survey work in the country. Local observers are quick to point out that credible reports of more elephants have recently been noted in Bikuar National Park; further, an elephant bull was recently seen about 60 km east of Luanda, possibly indicating the presence of outlier populations in areas that previously were not considered part of country's elephant distribution (P. Vaz Pinto, pers com.). All indications suggest that Angola's elephants are widely dispersed through the northern, southern and possibly eastern parts of the country, but probably occur at very low densities throughout their range.

The linkage between domestic ivory markets and continuing illegal killing of elephants and trade in ivory (locally referred to as *marfim*) is firmly established (Milliken *et al.*, 2002 and 2004). The current situation in Angola is of concern for two major reasons. Firstly, the scale of the trade could conceivably lead to the systematic extirpation of local elephant populations before the government could even begin to protect and document them. Secondly, if local elephant populations disappear altogether, local ivory markets could become dependent upon sources of ivory from outside the country, impacting elephants in nations that are Parties to CITES.

There have been no previous studies of the ivory trade in Angola, however, recent reports and information coming from ETIS, one of the two formal monitoring systems for elephants under CITES, suggest that the country has become an important outlet for ivory products from neighbouring countries (Milliken *et al.*, 2002 and 2004). For this reason, Angola was deemed by TRAFFIC a priority country for which to assess contemporary ivory trade dynamics.

## Methodology

Field work for this study took place from 4 to 9 June 2005, in Luanda, Angola. The methodology used during this study was based on that outlined in the study of the ivory trade in three West African countries (Courouble *et al.*, 2003). The data collected during market surveys included information on the following:

- the number of outlets selling ivory products
- the quantity of ivory on display
- the type of ivory products and their retail price
- the source of the ivory
- the shop/stall owner
- frequent consumers
- the number of ivory carving workshops
- the number of carvers and whether they work ivory on a full-time or part-time basis
- the source and price of raw ivory

As no previous studies on the ivory trade in Angola have been conducted, unlike the situation in many other parts of Africa, the results of this survey necessarily constitute baseline information from which future comparative assessments may be made. In this regard, anecdotal information was collected on the perceived growth or decline of the availability of ivory in Luanda, according to the personal evaluations of local Angolans interested in wildlife conservation.

All ivory observed during the survey was classified according to the CITES Ivory and Elephant Product Seizure Data Collection Form, which has the following categories:

**Raw ivory**—refers to whole tusks which remain in a raw state or whole tusks which may derive from sport hunting or other activities, including those that are mounted or polished. In addition to whole tusks, raw ivory includes tusks that have been broken or cut into pieces, but otherwise have not been shaped or processed.

**Semi worked ivory**—refers to ivory that has been shaped or processed to some extent but which will undergo further processing at a later stage. Examples would include ivory blocks that have been fashioned into name seal blanks, but are not yet finished products.

**Worked ivory**—refers to carved or manufactured ivory items that are finished products. Examples would be piano keys, chopsticks, game pieces (e.g. chess sets, mah jong pieces, billiard balls, etc.), carvings, composite sculptures, and other finished products.

**Fresh ivory**—refers to ivory that is deemed to have been recently poached. Such ivory typically has blood or particles of flesh attached to it, does not show evidence of discolouration or cracks from ageing, and sometimes exhibits sharp (as opposed to worn or blunt) edges on the lip cavity end of the tusk when it was removed from the animal using an axe, machete or other sharp tool.

**Old ivory**—refers to ivory that is deemed to have been held in storage for a considerable amount of time, typically exhibiting a weathered appearance with discolouration, cracks and brittleness as noticeable features.

Assessing the quantity and price of ivory items on display at the Mercado do Artesanato presented a problem for the researchers, as the volume of ivory products displayed was substantial and many of the stall owners were suspicious of individuals discussing—but not ultimately purchasing—ivory. As the ivory items ranged from unique large sculptures to hundreds of tiny, mass-produced trinkets only 1–5 cm in height, it was decided that counting everything at the market was impractical. It was, however, possible to take photographs of a number of stalls under the premise that they would be sent to family members or other potential buyers. In fact,

subsequent viewing of these images allowed the number of ivory items at these stalls to be counted with greater accuracy than if they had been counted at the stall surreptitiously. To arrive at a reasonable estimate for all the stalls that were selling ivory at the Mercado, the stalls were categorized as follows:

- exclusively selling ivory;
- mixed curios with large items of ivory; or
- mixed curios with small items of ivory.

With the exception of unique large carvings, much of the ivory on offer represented a range of products that were repetitively displayed from one stall to the next. As such, it was found that the number of items for each product category could be estimated from the photographs and these values could then be extrapolated to represent the total number of stalls for each of the categories noted above.

The methods used in this survey are roughly comparable with those employed by Martin and Stiles (2002) in the surveys they

conducted throughout 13 African countries in 1999, and with those used by Corouble *et al.* (2003), who surveyed three West African countries in 2002. It is the nature of these studies that they rely to a considerable extent upon subjective and anecdotal information obtained from ivory traders, manufacturers and vendors that can not always or easily be verified for accuracy through quantitative data sources or other means. As stated by Corouble *et al.* (2003), such studies will also suffer from issues of accuracy in terms of recalling what was actually observed at each location in cases where there was a lot of information to record. However, the purpose of these surveys is not to establish absolute values in terms of ivory trade volumes (either as the estimated total number of products observed or as the estimated total weight of the ivory products observed). Rather, the data are used to offer robust snapshots of current market dynamics that are generally indicative of overall market trends and conditions. This report offers an insight into the situation in Angola, a country that has not been subjected to scrutiny in the past.



Credit: Alistair Pole



Credit: Alistair Pole

Market stalls in Angola showing the repetitive nature of the type of ivory items displayed by vendors. These photos were used after visits to stalls to estimate numbers of items seen on sale.

With respect to the data on retail ivory prices, it should be noted that the currency codes of the International Organization for Standardization are used in this report, namely AOA for the Angolan kwanza and MZN for the Mozambiquan metical. At the time of this survey, June 2005, AOA89 was equal to one US dollar (USD). It should also be noted that no attempt was made to bargain with the stall owners and the first price quoted was the price recorded. Most vendors indicated a willingness to talk about the price indicating that better—that is to say, cheaper—prices probably could have been achieved, but serious bargaining was not entered into as this could give an impression of serious intent to buy. And finally, it needs to be appreciated that no ivory was purchased at any time during the course of this survey.

In addition to the market survey data, a number of interviews were conducted to investigate the current legislation relating to the trade in ivory and also to find out how the present legislation is being implemented. The following individuals were interviewed during the field study:

- Tomas Pedro Caetano—Director General, Forestry Development Institute in Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
- Soki Kuedikuenda—Director of Natural Resources in the Ministry of Urban Affairs and Environment
- Vladimir Russo—Manager of the National Biodiversity Strategy in the Ministry of Urban Affairs and Environment
- Nkosi Luta Kingengo—Head of Fauna for the Institute of Forestry Development in the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
- Pedro Vaz Pinto—Director General of the Kissama Foundation

## Results

### *Legislation and Policy*

#### *Legal Framework*

All extant legislation governing wildlife conservation and use in Angola dates back to the colonial era. *Decree 40:040 of 1955* was published in the Official Bulletin of Angola (*Boletim Oficial de Angola*) on 9 February 1955. This legislation was actually written in Portugal and related to the protection of flora, fauna and soils in all of the Portuguese-controlled colonies. It lists all animals of significance in one of two annexes:

*Annex 1—Animals for which hunting is not permitted*

*Annex 2—Animals for which hunting is permitted*

Both the savannah elephant (*Loxodonta africana africana*) and the forest elephant (*L. a. cyclotis*) were classified in Annex 1 giving them protection and making either subspecies illegal to hunt without a special licence.

Following this development, the Angolan authorities brought out *Diploma Legislativo n.º 2:873 (Decree 2:873 of 1957)* which was published in the Official Bulletin of Angola on 11 December 1957. This legislation served to regulate the hunting of wildlife species in Angola in line with *Decree 40:040 of 1955*. The legislation outlined a number of different classes of hunting licences encompassing subsistence (local) hunting, agricultural (crop protection) hunting and sport hunting for Angolan residents and visitors. This legislation confirmed the classification of elephants into forest and savannah forms in Annex 1, making it illegal for people to hunt either

type without a special licence. With the establishment of Annex 3, a special (supplementary) hunting licence (Class F) could be issued by the authorities for the hunting of elephants. Accordingly, it was possible to hunt up to a maximum of two forest elephants (1000 escudos<sup>1</sup> for the first animal and 2500 escudos for the second), and three savannah elephants (1000, 1500 and 2000 escudos, respectively) per licence. Hunters issued these permits were not allowed to shoot elephants with ivory that weighed less than five kilogrammes, but it remains ambiguous whether this specification related to each tusk independently or the combined weight of both tusks.

*Decree 2:873 of 1957* also provided legislation for the possession and trade of wildlife products, including those from elephants, in the following provisions:

*Article 86—Whoever kills an elephant, hippo or rhinoceros should inform the authorities within 30 days of the animal being killed. The same applies for all animals listed in Annex 1. Also:*

- *The person should provide the authorities with the hunting permit when reporting the animal that has been killed.*
- *If the authorities confirm the killing is legal they shall issue the hunter with a permit for the trophy, skin and meat.*
- *Each tusk or horn shall be issued with a tag that shall have its own number, the date and an official stamp.*
- *Each time an animal is reported killed, the hunter shall be charged a fee as set out in Annex 13.*
- *If local authorities do not think the animal was killed legally, they have the right to confiscate the animal while they investigate.*
- *The hunter can only appeal to the Governor within 30 days of confiscation.*

*Article 90—No one or company can dedicate its activities to the commercialisation of ivory, skins, rhino horn, meat and other hunting related products without having authorisation based on Model A. Authorisation does not replace any other conditions or requirements of the Decree.*

*Article 91—Companies involved in the commercialization of wildlife products are required to keep a registration book with data such as the names of hunters, hunting licence numbers, dates, species, etc.*

*Article 92—No one is allowed to commercially sell ivory or rhino horn unless specified under Article 86 and still require the correct documentation. Unless the person who sells the ivory or rhino horn is a company that has authorization in terms of Article 90 then the correct permit is required. If buying from a company then the correct authorization should be acquired.*

*Decree 2:873 of 1957* has been updated several times to change the fee structure and, in some cases, to adjust the status of certain species. Under the most current legislation, *Decreto executivo conjunto*<sup>2</sup> n.º 36/99 of 27 January 1999, both subspecies of elephant are maintained in Annex 1 delineating species for which hunting is prohibited. The fine for someone caught illegally killing an elephant is UCF<sup>3</sup>1740. Further, Article 3 of the legislation specifies that there is an additional fee of UCF75 for killing any animal listed in Annex 1, and Article 20 states that the fine should be multiplied by a variety of factors, which for elephant is a factor of five. Thus, the fine for someone illegally killing an elephant in Angola at the time of this writing is:

<sup>1</sup> As this legislation was drafted in Portugal, but applied to Portugal's colonial holdings, it is interesting to note that licence fees were given in escudos, the currency of Portugal, but not of Angola. <sup>2</sup> Translates as 'Combined Executive Decree' as it involves both the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. <sup>3</sup> The UCF—*Unidade de Correção Fiscal*—is a currency unit used to adjust the monetary intent of fees, penalties and other legislated costs originally expressed in the official currency, the kwanza, at the time they were promulgated. The Ministry of Finance introduced the UCF as a unit of measure against which fees, penalties and other costs could be adjusted to compensate for depreciation owing to high levels of inflation or currency devaluations. Currently UCF1 = AOA38 and USD1 = AOA89.

<i>Specific fine for killing an elephant</i>	- UCF1740 (AOA66 120, USD740)
<i>Additional fine according to Article 3</i>	- UCF75 (AOA2850, USD32)
<i>Multiply the fine by 5 (Article 20)</i>	- UCF8700 (AOA330 600, USD3715)
<i>Total</i>	- UCF8775 (AOA333 450, USD3747)

This actually represents one of the highest penalties in Africa for the illegal killing of elephants. Violators are given three months to pay the fine, and if such fines are not paid after three months, the case is sent to the legal courts for further punitive action.

Overall, however, the legislation governing protected areas, biodiversity and natural resources in Angola is seen as outdated. In mid-2005, a consultancy team from the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations was working with the Forestry Development Institute to review current legislation and assist in the development of new legislation. It is hoped that this effort will result in new legislation being in place by next year (T. Caetano, pers comm., 7 June 2005).

It is interesting to note that Angola's civil law system accords legal status to international conventions and treaties that are ratified by the government, on condition that they do not conflict with any current laws. Such conventions or treaties can then be used directly in the prosecution of violations if any of the terms or clauses have been contravened. It was reported that the Angolan authorities are already apparently using CITES to govern the importation of trophies and live animals by requiring the correct CITES documentation from the country of origin (V. Russo, pers. comm., 6 June 2005).

### *Government authorities*

After the signing of the first peace accord in 1991, the Angolan Government put the oversight of protected areas and wildlife under the control of the Institute of Forestry Development in the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MINADER). At the time, the environmental sector did not have its own ministry but was placed under the State Secretariat in 1992. In 1997, the Ministry of Environment was established, but for a period of two years no Minister was appointed. The Ministry of Environment was then incorporated with the Ministry of Fisheries in 1999. A new ministry was finally established in 2002 under the title of Ministry of Urban Affairs and Environment (MINUA) and, in 2004, a minister was formally appointed.

As a result, the status of the environmental sector within the Angolan Government has not had much stability with both ministerial institutions and Ministers changing regularly. Within MINUA, the Department of Natural Resources and the Department of Environment do not have independent offices but are spread out in other ministries. A major cause of confusion and inefficiency is that the control of protected areas and wildlife is retained by the Institute of Forestry Development in MINADER. The Institute of Forestry Development has been responsible for protected areas and wildlife for over 30 years and consequently this is where existing capacity and personnel are found. Current restructuring of government institutions and the rationalisation of human resource capacity calls for such personnel within the Institute of Forestry Development to relocate within MINUA, where the authority for protected areas, wildlife and natural resources will rest (S. Kuedikuenda and N.L Kingengo, pers comm., 7 June 2005). This is not possible, however, until the two environmental departments within MINUA are allocated suitable office space from which to conduct their affairs. Until this

crucial issue is resolved, effective development and implementation of policies regarding protected areas and natural resources will remain problematic and pending.

### *Implementation and enforcement*

Authority for the implementation and enforcement of legislation relating to the protection of elephants and trade in ivory and other elephant products is primarily the responsibility of the Institute of Forestry Development. This body is also the designated permit-issuing authority for international wildlife trade, corresponding to a CITES Management Authority. The Institute has a total of 526 rangers throughout the whole of Angola, but most are generally poorly trained and equipped. In 2003, there was a plan to incorporate a number of former UNITA soldiers into the Institute of Forestry Development to bring the total number of rangers up to 1500. However, funds have not yet been made available to achieve this. Currently, there is one vehicle per province, making effective monitoring and policing of the protected area estate virtually impossible.

The Institute of Forestry Development also has a Division (*Divisão de Fiscalização*) whose specific role is enforcement of wildlife legislation. It remains unclear, however, what this Division does in terms of law enforcement with respect to trade in ivory, and what happens to ivory if and when it is ever confiscated. It was learned that the Institute of Forestry Development has recently put forward proposals for controlling the open trade in ivory at certain places in Luanda, but such initiatives have not met with the political will to enforce them. It was not possible to conduct interviews with Customs officials to ascertain the situation regarding the monitoring and confiscation of ivory products being imported or exported from Angola's ports of exit and entry.

### *Ivory stockpiles*

According to staff at the Institute of Forestry Development, there is no information on any stockpiles of ivory in Angola (N.L. Kingengo, pers. comm., 7 June 2005). Some of the elephant ivory seized in Namibia around 1989 and 1990 is believed to have originated in Angola. As seizures, such ivory was made ineligible for commercial international trade under the CITES-approved one-off sales allowed Namibia in 1997 and 2002. Recurrent investment in the storage and maintenance of this ivory is costly, according to Namibian officials, and if the ivory's provenance can be shown to be Angola, it may be possible to return it to the authorities in that country under some kind of arrangement in the future. If so, then this stock would apparently become the only ivory formally under the control of the Angolan authorities in Luanda. Regardless, little concrete progress has been made on this matter and probably nothing further will transpire until Angola formally becomes a Party to CITES.

### *Angola and CITES*

The National Assembly of the Government of Angola approved the ratification of CITES on 17 January 2001, however, this approval is yet to appear in the Government Gazette, the next required step in the administrative process. Once gazetted, it is the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to deliver a formal instrument of accession to the nearest Swiss embassy, as Switzerland serves as the Depository Government for the CITES treaty. It is widely felt that the reason for this long delay is simply bureaucratic lethargy and does not have any political significance in terms of a 'change of heart'. In fact, the ratification of CITES does not appear to be the only government decision subject to bureaucratic inefficiency. For example, State membership in IUCN was approved by the National Assembly in 2001, but this decision was only gazetted in *Resolution 21/03 on 27 May 2003*, while the formal letter to IUCN was not sent until 14 October 2004.

Despite the approval of CITES by the Angolan Government in principal, and reports that certain aspects of wildlife trade are currently being regulated in compliance with CITES restrictions, there is little evidence to suggest the effective regulation of wildlife trade within the country. With respect to ivory trade in particular, the conditions of *Resolution Conf. 10.10 (Rev. CoP12) on Trade in Elephant Specimens* are certainly not applied so that Angola's domestic trade in ivory does not produce detrimental impacts elsewhere. Although Angola's legislation appears to buttress certain provisions, for example it does mandate the licensing of anyone dealing with ivory, lack of enforcement on any level means that none of the provisions of *Resolution Conf. 10.10 (Rev. CoP12)* are currently implemented effectively.

### *Participation in ETIS/MIKE*

The Director of Natural Resources in MINUA was aware of the CITES monitoring programme for elephants known as MIKE (S. Kuedikuenda, pers. comm., 7 June 2005), but Angola is currently not participating in this site-based system. Although the details and means of participation were essentially unknown, it was suggested that once Angola has become a formal member of CITES it was hoped that someone would come to Angola and explain how the country could participate in MIKE.

On the other hand, officials in Angola had no knowledge of ETIS, the other monitoring system under CITES used to track illegal trade in ivory and other elephant products. This is not surprising as Angolan authorities have never made and reported any elephant product seizures to ETIS, either directly to TRAFFIC or through the CITES Secretariat.

The failure of Angola to participate in ETIS directly does not mean that the country is not implicated in illegal trade in ivory. In fact, according to the ETIS data as of July 2004, between 1990 and 2003, Angola was reported as the country of origin, export, re-export or destination in 53 seizures of ivory that have taken place in some 12 countries around the world. Collectively, these seizures are estimated to involve over 3.1 t of ivory (when semi-worked and worked ivory products are converted to raw ivory equivalent values). Most seizures involved European countries, especially Portugal, the country's former colonial power. Within Africa, ivory from Angola has also been seized in neighbouring Namibia, Zambia and Congo (Brazzaville), and an Angolan national was arrested in Namibia in conjunction with at least one ivory seizure there in 1990. In terms of non-ivory elephant products, Australia seized 23 elephant hair bracelets in 1996, and France seized 104 pieces of elephant skin in 1999, all reportedly originating from Angola.

In the ETIS analysis of over 9400 ivory seizure records presented to CITES CoP13, Angola was identified as a country of secondary concern amongst the 35 countries which accounted for the greatest portion of the seizures (Milliken *et al.*, 2004). Using agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis, which groups nations according to the degree that the characteristics of their trade in ivory are statistically similar, Angola featured in a large 'catch-all' group of eight countries that also included Côte d'Ivoire, Mozambique, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Sudan, Uganda and the United Arab Emirates (Milliken *et al.*, 2004). This group of nations was, relative to the other 12 groups in the analysis, infrequently implicated in ivory seizures that were of modest weight (Milliken *et al.*, 2004). However, as none of the countries in this group contribute ivory seizure data to ETIS on a regular basis, and trade dynamics come into focus almost entirely through seizure information supplied by other nations, the data under-represent the true picture. In other words, the frequency and scale of the ivory trade is believed to be far greater for this group than what is actually 'captured' by the available seizure data. Further, the countries in this cluster also exhibited high values for corruption and generally very low values for law enforcement effort (Milliken *et al.*, 2004). Four of the African countries, Côte d'Ivoire, Mozambique, Sudan and Angola, also were seen to have large, active, unregulated internal markets for ivory. All of these factors serve to inhibit the

successful interdiction of illegal trade in ivory and are cause for concern. Although the only country in the group which is a non-Party to CITES, Angola has emerged as a country of concern in the ETIS analysis.

### ***Retail outlets and prices for ivory in Luanda***

In Luanda, ivory was found at various markets and retail outlets within and around the city. Places surveyed included the Mercado do Artesanato (Artists' Market) at Benfica south of Luanda, the small open market on the Ilha de Luanda Feira Panorama, three curio shops on the Ilha de Luanda, the Espelho da Moda tourist shop in the centre of Luanda, the Sonol tourist shop adjacent to the Tropic Hotel, and the Avalade, Tropic, Continental and Presidente Meridien Hotels (**Table 1**).

#### *Luanda Markets*



Credit: Alistair Pole

**Market stall displaying ivory in Benfica, Angola, in 2005.**

At the **Mercado do Artesanato** in Benfica, about 20 km south of Luanda, a total of 29 stalls were found selling ivory products, out of a total of 93 stalls featuring a wide range of other curios, including paintings, carved furniture, wood carvings, and animal products. Stalls selling ivory products represented 31% of the total number of curio vendors in the market. (There were also stalls selling clothes, food and drink, but these are not included in the totals as they represent entirely different product lines). The Mercado do Artesanato featured the greatest amount and

variety of ivory products seen in Luanda during the course of the survey. This market was visited on one occasion, on Sunday 5 June 2005, as this was reportedly the day of the week when the greatest number of vendors would be present. The following was observed:

- Seven stalls were found selling ivory products exclusively, including a significant number of large carved statues, busts and tusks laid out on wooden tables. It was estimated that these seven stalls had a total of 105 large carvings (>30 cm), 126 medium-sized carvings (10–30 cm) and an average of 50 small carvings (<10 cm) per stall, plus a further 200 small items, including necklaces, bracelets, bangles, key rings, hairclips, combs and other trinkets. A total of five pairs of unworked, but polished, tusks were also recorded at these stalls, as were small quantities of ivory name seal blocks, presumably for Asian customers.
- Thirteen other stalls were observed selling a mix of ivory products with other African curios, mainly carved wooden items. Vendors offered some large items of ivory, including a total of 78 large carvings (>30 cm), 130 medium-sized carvings (10–30 cm) and an average of 20 small carvings (<10 cm). A further 75 ivory products were observed, including necklaces, bracelets, bangles, key rings, hairclips and, combs. One stall also had three pairs of unworked, polished tusks (measuring 25 cm, 30 cm and 70 cm in length, respectively),

while another stall had two polished pairs of tusks that were estimated to be 30 cm and 45 cm long, respectively.

- Nine other stalls were observed selling a mix of ivory products with other curios, mainly carved wooden items, but did not feature any large items of ivory. It was estimated that these stalls had a total of 45 medium-sized carvings (10–30 cm) and an average of 20 small carvings (<10 cm) and a further 50 items, including necklaces, bracelets, bangles, key rings, hairclips, and combs. One stall had two pairs of polished tusks that were estimated to be 25 cm and 60 cm long respectively.



Credit: Alistair Pole

Pairs of polished, unworked African Elephant tusks on sale at the Mercado do Artesanato, Benfica, Angola, in 2005.

- The total amount of ivory on sale at the 29 stalls in the Mercado do Artesanato market was estimated to include **640 kg** of large carved items, **240 kg** of medium-sized carvings, **160 kg** of small carvings and **280 kg** of other carved items, giving an estimated total of **1320 kg** of worked ivory. Semi-worked ivory items accounted comparatively for a very small proportion of the ivory on display and were estimated at about **3.5 kg**. A total of 10 polished tusks were also observed, ranging from 25 cm to 90 cm in length, and estimated to weigh **105 kg**. Altogether, the total volume of ivory observed at the market was approximately **1428.5 kg**.
- The great variety of ivory products available at the market was obviously designed to appeal to a wide range of customers. Statues of geisha, Buddha and dragons, as well as chopsticks and name seals, were clearly designed to appeal to Asian clients. Carved animals and sculptures of African figures were more commonly bought by Western buyers. The standard of carving was generally high and many stall owners were reportedly the craftsmen themselves selling their own work. When questioned, many reported that their largest carvings, as well as stocks of raw ivory, were at their homes where they actually did the carving. When asked about the availability of raw ivory, most said it was relatively easy to get, but added that large tusks were hard to obtain. All of the vendors questioned agreed that business was good.
- During the two-hour visit to the market, about 20–30 foreign people, representing a wide range of nationalities, were observed, including Americans, Portuguese, Indians, and others from Europe and the Far East whose exact nationality could not be determined. Some of these individuals were observed purchasing

small ivory items such as bangles and necklaces whilst at the market. The stall owners listed a wide variety of clients who bought their ivory products, including Americans, Spanish, Italians, Portuguese, English, Chinese and Angolans.

- About 80–90% of the stall owners interviewed spoke poor Portuguese. Their first language was French, indicating that they came from Central African countries to the north of Angola. Those who identified specific home countries said they were from the DRC or Congo (Brazzaville). It was likely that most of the other French-speaking vendors were also from these two countries as well. The remaining stall owners were Angolans, but it was worth noting that their stalls typically featured very little ivory for sale in comparison to the other stalls in the market.
- Concerning the availability of large raw tusks, a number of stall owners indicated that they would be able to obtain such stock if given enough time. One owner in particular indicated, subsequent to the visit to his stall, that he had two sets of tusks at his house, one set weighing 25 kg per tusk and the other weighing 40 kg per tusk.
- A number of non-elephant products were observed at the market, including four Leopard *Panthera pardus* skins, two marine turtle shells, four sections of python skin (probably from the same python), crocodile skin, two small stuffed crocodiles (+/- 75 cm), and python- and crocodile-skin purses and folders. The Leopard skins were being sold for between USD200 and USD400 each. The sections of python skin were USD150 each and the turtle shells were USD100 each.



Credit: Alistair Pole

Ivory figurine on display in Angola, June 2005.

The **Sonol** is another artists' market adjacent to the Hotel Tropico on Rua da Missão in downtown Luanda. The market is set up in the entrance to an old underground car park, where the owner has an office and keeps some large pieces of ivory. The following was observed at the Sonol:

- At the open-air market, a large number of small pieces of worked ivory were observed, including 160 necklaces (ranging in price from USD30–USD60), six sets of five thin bracelets that together were USD60, eight large bangles for USD30, 38 bangles consisting of pieces of ivory bound together with elastic for USD50. Carved ivory figures of a sable antelope and a turtle were seen, with both items about 10 cm in size. The only large ivory items on display were a 30 cm crucifix selling for USD350 and two medium-sized carved figures measuring about 20–25 cm. There were also a total of 12 small carved figurines, but no unworked or semi-worked ivory was displayed. The total weight of ivory products displayed was estimated to be **45 kg**.
- In the office of the owner, there were three large carved figures, measuring 30 cm, 35 cm and 50 cm in size and selling for USD350, USD750 and USD1200, respectively, although a willingness to “discuss prices” was noted and the actual purchase would probably be less than what was quoted. Three other carvings were identified as “very old ivory” and were dark brown in colour. These items included a 30 cm

horn at USD400, a 15 cm Chinese-looking figure at USD150 and a 15 cm bust at USD150. The total weight of this ivory was estimated to be **15 kg**.

- The owner did not have any unworked ivory available, but indicated that he could get it within a few days time. He reported that he was currently buying raw ivory at USD35 per kg for small tusks and USD50 per kg for large tusks, all of which originated from Angola. He further explained that ivory from the south of the country was generally much dirtier (that is it had more brown in it) than that coming from the north of the country. He got most of his ivory from the north where he reported knowing villagers who could provide him with elephant tusks. This individual was not very fluent in Portuguese and it was suspected that he originally came from the DRC or Congo (Brazzaville).
- The owner said that he could get an official stamp to allow the export of carved ivory, but not for raw ivory. Raw ivory, however, could be exported through the port by putting it into a container for shipping. The owner said that most of the people buying ivory products from him were foreigners and he specifically mentioned Americans, Chinese and Portuguese.

A small open market was also visited in a car park on the bay side of the **Ilha de Luanda** close to the bridge. In that location, three curio stalls were found, one of which was selling ivory products along with other carved curios. The owner of the stall was Angolan and had a number of pieces of Hippopotamus *Hippopotamus amphibius*, as well as elephant ivory. His stall featured two 40-cm carved elephant tusks, one medium-sized bowl of fruit, and a number of small carvings and artifacts. The owner of the stall said that he could get raw ivory fairly easily and that it was selling for about USD100 per kg. The total weight of the elephant ivory on display was estimated to be **22 kg**, along with two kilogrammes of hippopotamus ivory.

### *Luanda Hotels*

**Le Presidente Meridien Hotel** is located on the waterfront (called the *Marginal*), close to the main port of Luanda and opposite the Port House. One small kiosk in the hotel's entrance foyer was found selling one piece of ivory, a 25 cm high bust of a lady with an ornate headdress for USD600. This piece weighed about **0.8 kg**. The lady running the kiosk said that they were selling the carving on behalf of someone else and did not know where the ivory or the carver originated. The hotel also had another shop on the sixth floor that sold jewellery and other curio items, but there were no ivory items on display.

The **Alvalade Hotel** is a new hotel situated on Avenue Comandant Gika. It had a small shop on the first floor that had a number of ivory products on display (**Table 1**).

The total estimated weight of ivory available in the shop was **32.6 kg**. The two woman running the shop said that all the ivory was supplied by a local man. They were aware it was illegal to export the ivory carvings, but said that small pieces should be no problem, while larger pieces could be sent in a diplomatic bag. The majority of their clients were Europeans and they mentioned that many were diplomats.

The **Hotel Tropico** on Rua da Missão had a small kiosk shop on the first floor that was selling a number of carved ivory items. Unusual items included a carved ivory pen in an ornate holder that was selling for USD80 and a set of six ornately carved ivory toothpicks set out against a carved wooden fish for USD80. In a separate cabinet were seven necklaces, four pairs of earrings, two bangles with gold inlay at USD75 each, 10 plain bangles and six small carved swans. There were also two small carved figures for USD50 each. The young and very

disinterested girl in charge of the shop knew nothing about the origin of these ivory products. The total weight of the ivory on display was estimated at **2.3 kg**.

The **Hotel Tivoli** is on Rua da Missão, just down the street from the Hotel Tropicico. It is a much smaller hotel, but had a small number of curios for sale in a glass cabinet in the foyer. One medium-sized carved figure (15 cm) was selling for USD135, and a range of smaller items, including three necklaces, two bracelets, six pairs of earrings and six finger rings. The total amount of ivory on display was estimated to weigh **1.8 kg**.

The **Hotel Continental** is situated just below the old Portuguese Fort on Rua Manuel Fernando Caldeira. It had a small kiosk shop on the ground floor that was selling some ivory products, including six small elephant carvings, three necklaces, six finger rings, five pairs of earrings and two bracelets with gold inlay. While researchers were visiting the premises, a man, who was probably from the Middle East, bought one of the necklaces. The total amount of ivory on display was estimated to weigh **1.2 kg**.

Table 1

The description, size, quantity, estimated weight and price (USD) of items of carved ivory on display in the Alvalade Hotel shop.

Description of item	Size	Quantity	Weight (kg)	Price
Large collection of fruit	10–25 cm	1	5.0	2050
Small collection of fruit	2–5 cm	1	0.3	200
Bust of Luis de Camões	20 cm	1	2.5	1500
Large carved figurine	40 cm	1	3.0	1400
Carved figurine	20–30 cm	7	1.5	500–750
Figure sitting in chair	15 cm	2	0.8	300
Carved tusk	50 cm	2	0.6	350
Carved bust	15 cm	2	0.8	400
Large carved hippopotamus	25 cm	1	1.5	750
Small carved hippopotamus	10 cm	2	0.3	100
Small carved sable	15 cm	2	0.2	150
Small carved zebra	10 cm	1	0.3	150
Carved giraffe	30 cm	1	0.3	150
Carved rhinoceros	20 cm	1	1.2	600
Carved rhinoceros	10 cm	2	0.4	200
Carved lion eating zebra	30 cm	1	1.0	500
Carved elephant	15 cm	1	0.8	350

### *Other shops*

The **Espelho da Moda** is a tourist shop in the heart of downtown Luanda and primarily caters to the tastes of wealthy foreigners. This shop featured a large number of carved wooden curios as well as T-shirts, flags and other products. In a glass cabinet, a selection of carved ivory products was found, including 22 small carved figures (10 cm), ranging in price from USD35 to USD50, 30 finger rings, five necklaces, 10 plain bangles, four carved bangles with gold inlay, five sets of five thin bangles and two pairs of large ornate earrings. The shop was run by two Europeans, one of whom told us it was illegal to export ivory, but that small items could easily be put in a suitcase or a pocket and that Angolan authorities would not bother with small amounts of ivory. The total amount of ivory on display was estimated to weigh **7.8 kg**.



Credit: Alistair Pole

Larger ivory pieces on sale in Luanda, Angola, in 2005.

Three different curio shops were visited on the **Ilha de Luanda**. The first was close to the northern point of the Ilha and had no distinct name.

The Angolan owner of the shop was also an ivory carver and offered a variety of ivory products, including one medium-sized female bust (15 cm) that was USD350 and smaller (10 cm) busts that were USD255. He also had five small animal carvings, three large plain bangles, five smaller bangles, four letter openers, a spoon, three necklaces, two napkin rings, six pairs of earrings, six finger rings and ten key rings. The observed ivory was estimated to weigh **3.8 kg**. The owner of this shop said that he could get ivory for USD60 per kg, but indicated that it was difficult to obtain. He thought that most ivory was coming from the DRC, but was sure that some was still available from Angolan sources. This individual was aware that it was illegal to have ivory, but stated that he had not had any problems from the authorities. He had official stamps that he could issue people buying wooden carvings, but said that there were no official stamps for ivory carvings. He did not seem to think that business was very good.

The second curio shop was about 100 m north of the Macau Chinese restaurant. It had very little ivory in it and the owner was not there. The only ivory products seen were one polished unworked tusk (30 cm), one necklace and a pen. This ivory was estimated to weigh **1.5 kg**.

The third small curio shop, **Marfinária Casa Esperança**, is attached to the Macau Chinese restaurant on the Ilha de Luanda. The owner is an Angolan and has his workshop adjacent to the curio shop. A number of ivory items were on display, including four carved dolphins for USD75, two carved sable antelope for USD40 and twelve carved giraffes ranging in size from 15 to 25 cm and in price from USD35 to USD80, depending on the quality of the carving. There was also one carved set of two zebras and, interestingly, three carvings of kangaroos for USD50 and four carved okapis for USD50. Kangaroos are obviously not indigenous to Angola. Similarly, okapis are endemic to the neighbouring DRC, but ivory carving of this species were also observed at the Mercado do Artesanato. The significance of this was unclear and could not be explained by the owner although he did know the name of the animal. Three necklaces, one small jewellery box (7 cm), four pairs of earrings and two letter openers were also displayed in the shop. Altogether, these products were estimated to weigh **5.5 kg**. The owner said that ivory was difficult to get and he did not do much ivory carving anymore as a result. White shavings were, however, observed on his work bench, indicating that someone had been carving ivory recently.

There was also a curio shop in the duty-free section of the **Luanda International Airport**. The shop was closed when visited, but ivory products could clearly be seen through the window, including 22 necklaces, six large plain bangles, four large carved bangles, five sets of bracelets, twelve pairs of earrings, ten key rings and two hairclips. The total estimated weight of these ivory products was **5.6 kg**.

Altogether an estimated total of 1573.4 kg of ivory was observed in Luanda's retail outlets in June 2005 (**Table 2**). As can be seen, 90% of this trade is associated with a single market, the Mercado de Artesanato. In comparison, very modest volumes of ivory are found elsewhere in the city, including outlets found at the major hotels.

**Table 2**

**Summary of surveyed retail outlets in Luanda**

<b>Outlet location</b>	<b>Number of outlets</b>	<b>Total estimated weight (kg)</b>
Mercado do Artesanato	29	1428.5
Ilha de Luanda market	1	22.0
Ilha de Luanda curio shops	3	10.8
Sonol	1	60.0
Le Meridien President Hotel	1	0.8
Alvalade Hotel	1	32.6
Hotel Tropico	1	2.3
Hotel Tivoli	1	1.8
Hotel Continental	1	1.2
Espelho da Moda	1	7.8
Airport	1	5.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>1573.4</b>

*Retail prices*

The two tables below give an indication of retail prices for ivory items prevailing in Luanda at the time of the survey. It is interesting to note that the prices at the Mercado do Artesanato (**Table 3**) were generally higher than those quoted in the curio shops and hotel outlets in Luanda (**Table 4**).

**Table 3**

Range of retail prices for ivory items at the Mercado do Artesanato, June 2005

Description of item	Approximate size	Average prices (in USD)
Raw polished tusks	60–90 cm	350–700
	40–50 cm	250–500
	20–40 cm	100–200
Carved figures	50 cm+	1000–2500
	30–50 cm	400–1200
	20–30 cm	200–600
	10–20 cm	60–250
Bust/heads	20–30 cm	300–800
	10–20 cm	100–400
	<10 cm	35–80
Figures of Christ	15–30 cm	150–400
Carved tusks	>50 cm	500–800
	<50 cm	350–400
Uncarved tusks (each)	>50 cm	350–500
	<50 cm	150–250
Selection of fruit	10–25 cm	1 050–2000
	<10 cm	200–350
Necklaces	200 g	40–80
	100 g	25–35
Bracelets	2 cm	30–40
	1 cm	60–100
	Set of five thin	40–75
Earrings	>3 cm	35–60
	<3 cm	15–20
Carved animals	1 kg	400–750
	800 g	300–500
	500 g	250–500
	300 g	100–150
	150 g	75–100
Chopsticks (set of 20)	20 cm	250
Stamp blocks (unfinished)	10 cm	50
Hair clips	10 cm	30–50
Key rings/necklace	5 cm	10–20
Combs	15 cm	20–30
Rings	2 cm	15

Table 4

Range of retail prices for ivory items at hotels and shops in Luanda, June 2005

Description of item	Approximate size	Average prices (in USD)
Carved figures	30–50 cm	800–1400
	20–30 cm	250–400
	10–20 cm	35–200
Bust/heads	30 cm	1500
	20 cm	350–500
	10 cm	35–80
Figures of Christ	30 cm	350
Carved tusks	50 cm	350
Selection of fruit	10–25 cm	2 050
	<10 cm	200–350
Necklaces	200 g	50–80
	100 g	30–40
Bracelets	2 cm	30–40
	1 cm	60–100
	Set of five thin	40–75
Earrings	>3 cm	30–50
	<3 cm	10–20
Carved animals	1–1.5 kg	500–750
	800 g	300–400
	500 g	250–500
	300 g	80–150
	150 g	50–80
Key rings/necklace	5 cm	10–20
Rings	2 cm	10–15

### *Ivory carving and manufacture*

Only one ivory workshop was visited during this survey. Located at the Marfinária Casa Esperança, a small workshop was found adjacent to a curio shop where the owner sold the items he apparently carved himself. The owner produced small items of ivory as he said it was difficult to procure large tusks and the market for ivory products was not so good any more.

Many of the stall owners at the Mercado do Artesanato said that they did their own carving at home. In that market, there were a number of stalls that seemed to be associated and it is possible that the products observed came from a single workshop. In one case, an elderly man from the DRC was consulted by the stall owners when we asked about getting large pieces of ivory. He showed photographs of some very large carved tusks (1.5–1.8 m) that he had done. This individual seemed to be in charge of a number of the stalls, and actually contacted the researchers three days after they had visited the market with a message that some large tusks were available at his house. While a visit would have provided a good opportunity to see if there was a workshop on the premises, the authors were advised against going to the location mentioned for safety reasons.

Despite the very open nature of the ivory trade in Luanda, the stall owners and craftsmen were wary and said that they were afraid of the authorities taking away their products. As previously mentioned, the majority of the stall owners did not speak good Portuguese, but rather used French as their first language, indicating their origins from countries other than Angola. Most traders who identified their origins said they came from the DRC.

Whether or not they were officially resident in Angola may have contributed to the level of suspicion they exhibited.

### *Sources and prices of raw ivory*

During the survey, ivory traders mentioned a number of provinces in Angola from which it was possible to obtain ivory, including Namibe, Bié, Huila, Zaire, Kunene, Kuando Kuabango and Uije. On the other hand, one trader mentioned that ivory was unlikely to originate from Bié, as historically elephants did not occur in that province (Crawford-Cabral and Veríssimo, 2005). Elephant densities in most other provinces, with the possible exceptions of Zaire, Uije and Kuando Kuabango, are thought to be very low and unlikely to sustain the observed ivory trade.

Many of the ivory traders and craftsmen said that some of their ivory comes from the DRC. It is likely that this is the most important source of ivory for the ivory trade in Luanda. The presence of a large number of craftsmen and traders from the DRC in Luanda also serves to support this assumption. The method by which ivory comes into the country from the DRC is not clear, but there is a large, unmanned boundary between Angola and the DRC and it would be very easy to smuggle from one country to the next (N.L. Kingengo, pers comm., 7 June 2005).

The price for raw ivory varied considerably. The owner of the Sonol Artists' Market said that he paid USD35 per kg for small tusks and USD50 per kg for large tusks. These were the lowest prices quoted and probably represent a reasonably accurate cost to the trader in Luanda. Other quotes from other traders and craftsmen varied from USD60 per kg up to USD100 per kg, but these prices appeared to be more in line with prices at which the traders would sell to a potential client.

### **Discussion**

A total of 41 retail outlets were found to be selling ivory products in Luanda during the course of this survey. Collectively, these vendors held an estimated 1573.4 kg of ivory (**Table 2**), with 90% of this stock found at the Mercado do Artesanato. As there is no historical information on the scale of the ivory trade in Luanda in the past, it is not possible to assess these results in a comparative manner. According to casual observations by local residents, however, the amount of ivory on display in Luanda has progressively increased since the end of the civil war. One author, who visited the Mercado do Artesanato in March 2004, estimates that the volume of ivory observed in June 2005 for this survey represents about twice the volume that was observed 15 months earlier.

Angola has significant mineral wealth, which has attracted an array of multi-national oil, diamond and base metal companies to the country. Finding a hotel room in Luanda during the course of this study was a difficult experience, indicating that there are a significant number of foreign visitors to the country. There is very little, if any, tourism, however, so the vast majority of foreign visitors are there either for business purposes or are working with aid agencies and diplomatic missions. Although many of the larger companies have been in Angola for some time, there has been a large increase in development since peace was achieved in 2002 after over 25 years of intermittent civil war. It was reported in 2003, for example, that oil firms alone plan to invest over USD 23 billion in Angola over the next five years (Shaxson, 2004). The development of these business interests, coupled with the post-conflict reconstruction effort, has resulted in a massive influx of money into Luanda, making it an expensive place to live and operate. The development of large-scale businesses attracting many foreign personnel, coupled with a pronounced lack of enforcement of the country's wildlife trade legislation, has probably greatly influenced the apparent growth in the ivory trade in Luanda.

The prices for ivory products in Angola were generally higher than those found in other ivory surveys, for example, in Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal and Nigeria in 2002 (Courouble *et al.*, 2003). To some extent, price differences can be attributed to the fact that Courouble *et al.* (2003) stated that they negotiated with traders to derive 'final' prices during their survey work. In Angola, as previously mentioned, bargaining was something that was not systematically done during this survey and the original prices quoted by traders were generally accepted at face value as the 'final' price although they are certainly at the high end of the scale. Another consideration which probably results in higher prices is that many of the ivory items observed in Luanda's markets were clearly carved elsewhere in Central Africa and transported into Angola for sale at the retail level. As such, prices would reflect additional transport costs, as well as any other associated expenses, especially any bribes paid to law enforcement personnel along the way.

Traders at the Mercado do Artesanato, where the majority of ivory observed in Luanda was found, all indicated that the market for ivory was good and indicated that they did not have a problem in sourcing ivory. This perception was in contrast to the views of curio shop owners and traders on the Ilha de Luanda, who all seemed to suggest that business was not very good and that ivory was getting harder to source. An important distinction is that the traders in shops on the Ilha de Luanda were Angolans whereas the majority of traders at the Mercado do Artesanato were from French-speaking countries, especially the DRC and Congo (Brazzaville).

The market for ivory appears to be patronised by a wide range of nationalities, with most traders readily identifying Americans and Europeans as buyers even before mentioning East Asian countries. The type of carvings on display also possibly give an indication of the market in that the large number of animal carvings and African figures are probably more geared for European and American consumption. There were, however, some products, such as chopsticks and name seal stamps, that evidently were intended to appeal to consumers from Asian countries in the Far East, but such products were clearly in the minority. Interestingly, the chopsticks and name seal stamps appeared to be sold in bulk quantities, indicating that they are probably bought by traders who will resell them either locally or in other countries.

On the surface, the necessary legislation appears to be in place in Angola to prevent trade in ivory and other elephant products, but it is outdated and certainly is in need of review, particularly if CITES ratification is to be pursued seriously. Perhaps the most immediate problem, however, is the lack of enforcement of existing legislation and regulations. While the principal government body responsible for enforcement, the Institute of Forestry Development in MINADER, has shown some inclination to rise to the occasion, such initiative has apparently been blocked by a lack of political will. It is surmised that the lack of political will probably stems from the fact that previous attempts to close certain informal markets have led to violence and even deaths (V. Russo, pers comm., 6 June 2005). Further, elections are planned for 2006 and the government wishes to avoid bad publicity that could be associated with such a move.

By the same token, there was considerable good will and support from officials in both MINADER and MINUA for this survey. Further, it was noted that assistance from the CITES Secretariat or other countries to help them effectively control the ivory trade in Angola would be welcomed.

## DOMESTIC IVORY TRADE IN MOZAMBIQUE

Tom Milliken

### Background

From the 15<sup>th</sup> century until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Portuguese interest in Mozambique was most directly stimulated by access to ivory and the global trade opportunities it afforded. For over three hundred years, Portuguese fleets collected vast quantities of elephant tusks at Mozambican seaports for commerce with the seemingly insatiable ivory markets of Asia. To the Indian Subcontinent, through Goa and to the Chinese mainland through Macau, Portuguese merchants exchanged African ivory for spices and silks which were then transported to Europe to meet the persistent demand for these precious commodities back home (Parker and Amin, 1983). Portugal's ivory trade relied upon an indigenous supply system involving the active collaboration of at least three major tribal groupings, with the resulting trade network stretching from Mozambique's coastal plain far into the interior of central Africa (Parker and Amin, 1983). By the 1590s, export records on the island of Mozambique suggest that some 440 t of ivory were traded annually (Blanc *et al.*, 2003).

There is little doubt that Mozambique's indigenous elephant populations, as well as those of present-day Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia and the DRC, declined in the face of such exploitation. By 1790, however, slaves replaced both ivory and gold as Mozambique's primary export, a development that severely disrupted the political stability of tribal alliances upon which ivory portage had depended (Parker and Amin, 1983). As a consequence of this disruption, the bulk of the central African ivory trade subsequently shifted northwards, particularly to Zanzibar, under the competitive aegis of Swahili Arab and Indian traders. Further, the subsequent European scramble for Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> century resulted in colonial powers carving up the interior of the continent into competing spheres of influence, again inhibiting the flow of ivory to coastal ports held by alien nations.

Through these shifting dynamics, Portugal managed to hold on to its major African possessions about a decade and half longer than most other European colonial powers. During this period, Mozambique's Portuguese government imposed a commercial hunting ban in 1960, which allowed some degree of recovery to local elephant populations prior to independence in 1975. Independence, however, quickly saw the eruption of a major civil war, pitting the ruling Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), which established a socialistic system of government, against rebel Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) forces who were supported by apartheid South Africa and other Western powers. From 1975 to 1992, a brutal armed conflict consumed the



Credit: WWF-Canon/Tanya Petersen

Old Portuguese fort, Mozambique.

nation, causing large numbers of people to migrate to urban and coastal areas (Anon, 2005b). As a result, agriculture seriously declined, economic development stagnated and large numbers of people were killed or displaced.

In the 1980s, during the war, various population estimates showed a progressive decline in Mozambique's elephant numbers from 54 800 in 1981, to 27 400 in 1985, to 18 600 in 1987, but all such estimates relied heavily upon guesswork (Blanc *et al.*, 2003; Cumming *et al.*, 1990). Throughout this time, reports of armed combatants killing elephants for meat and ivory were not uncommon, and allegations of illegal trade in ivory, including the usage of South African military conduits, persisted (Kumleben, 1996).

A UN-brokered peace agreement finally brought conflict to an end in 1992, giving way to multi-party elections two years later and the introduction of a free market economy. Conservation efforts have slowly emerged since political stability has returned to Mozambique and it is believed that elephant populations are recovering in various parts of the country. According to IUCN's African Elephant Database, approximately 24 400 elephants are thought to occur in Mozambique today, while elephant range is estimated to cover up to 415 900 km<sup>2</sup> (Blanc *et al.*, 2003). The population figure derives from the IUCN system of categorizing elephant numbers, where recent surveys indicate that Mozambique's elephants comprise an estimated 11 647 'definite', 2786 'probable', 3073 'possible' and 6902 'speculative' (Blanc *et al.*, 2003). Active programmes to enhance elephant conservation are now under way in various protected areas, including the Maputo Elephant Reserve, Gorongosa National Park, the Niassa Game Reserve and the newly-proclaimed Quirimbas National Park.

## Methodology

A spot check of ivory products available in Maputo's markets was conducted on 13 June 2005. Two investigators spent approximately five hours surveying some 14 locations throughout the city. This survey was not comprehensive in nature, but rather duplicated a similar one-day effort that had taken place on 22 April 2002 (Milliken, 2002). The principal objective was to record the number and type of ivory products found openly for sale in the city, the number of outlets selling such products and a sampling of retail-level prices of commonly observed products. Because the modus operandi was largely observational, and little time was actually spent in each outlet or market surveyed, interviews with vendors were necessarily limited in scope. In this regard, few discussions were undertaken to help ascertain the source of ivory, the extent of ivory carving in the country or the price of raw ivory on the current market. With very limited time at hand, it was felt that such inquiries could raise suspicions concerning intent or, conversely, create an impression that the inquirer is seriously interested in making ivory purchases, which could potentially stimulate illegal acquisition or trade. For these reasons, this line of questioning was generally avoided and, throughout the survey, the researchers posed as casual visitors with no particular intent to purchase ivory. Finally, it is worth repeating that no ivory was purchased at any time during this survey.

In addition to the market survey, a brief assessment of Mozambique's wildlife policy and legislation was undertaken through a review of relevant published literature and Internet sources. This review provides a useful backdrop for understanding the current legal situation in Mozambique. On the other hand, it needs to be appreciated that no contact was made with representatives of Mozambique's government during the course of this study. It was evident at the time of the market survey, however, that the country's wildlife authorities were engaged in some kind of proactive public relations exercise to publicize CITES and national wildlife trade legislation. As described below, newspaper advertisements highlighting Mozambique's wildlife trade restrictions were carried in major news media one week prior to the market survey. This event did not appear to

impact directly on the availability of ivory in Maputo's markets seven days later. That said, this government initiative certainly underscored the dynamic atmosphere at the time and probably alerted ivory sellers that potential law enforcement measures could be in the offing in the immediate future. This factor was also considered when deciding to limit the extent of questioning ivory vendors in the market as described above.

At the time of this survey, June 2005, 24 000 Mozambique meticaís (MZN) were equal to one USA dollar (USD).

## Results

### *Legislation and policy*

#### *Legal framework*

In 1975, newly independent Mozambique inherited archaic wildlife legislation from the colonial era. The principal law, *Decreto regulamentado das modalidades de caça a serem praticadas na República Popular de Mocambique of 18 April 1978*, a decree which regulated hunting, was supported by *Modalidades de Caça (Hunting Regulations) of 16 May 1978*. Accordingly, African Elephants were eligible for hunting under strict regulation, including requirements for hunting licences, prohibitions against the use of certain types of weapons and the killing of females and young animals, and the designation of closed hunting seasons from 1 October to 31 March each year. Regulations were also put in place governing possession and trade of elephant trophies, including requirements for certificates of ownership (de Klemm and Lausche, 1986). The import or export of elephant trophies for commercial purposes was prohibited except under permit, and all found trophies needed to be handed over to the nearest government administrative unit within specified periods of time (de Klemm and Lausche, 1986). Finally, enforcement measures and penalties were provided for under these laws and regulations. While seemingly comprehensive in scope, in reality, various loopholes and an almost complete lack of administrative and law enforcement performance essentially negated the practical impact and efficacy of these laws.

From 1978 until the late 1990s, no new wildlife laws were promulgated in Mozambique, leaving the environmental sector legally and institutionally in a very weak position (Anon, 1997). To address such problems, a participatory process with various stakeholders was instigated from 1991 onwards to develop an overarching national policy for the forestry and wildlife sector. In April 1997, the *National Forestry and Wildlife Strategy* was formally adopted, with the long term objective “to protect, conserve, utilize and develop forest and wildlife resources for the social, ecological and economic benefit of the present and future generations of the Mozambique people” (Issufo, 2005).

Within this strategic framework, a serious review and revision of the country's wildlife legislation has ensued. The adoption of the *Environmental Law (Law 20/97 of 1 October 1997)* was hailed as a major watershed event in the history of environmental protection in Mozambique. With respect to the protection of biodiversity, this law provided that “all activities that threaten the conservation, reproduction, quality or quantity of biological resources are prohibited” (see Chapter IV, Article 4 of the law). The most comprehensive piece of legislation for the wildlife sector, however, was adopted by Parliament nearly two years later. *The Forestry and Wildlife Law (Law 10/99 of 7 July 1999)* provided for the integration of local community interests with the ecologically sustainable use of forest and wildlife resources (Issufo, 2005). This law established mechanisms for private sector engagement, as well as recognized the customary rights of local people. Basic land use categories were established, including a system of protected areas and national reserves in which no harvesting was permitted,

and sustainable use areas where forestry, hunting safaris, game ranching and afforestation activities were allowed. In June 2002, new forestry and wildlife regulations were promulgated. In particular, *Article 74 of the Regulation of Forestry and Wildlife Decree No. 12/2002 of 6 June 2002* requires that the possession, transport and commercialization of wildlife trophies, including elephant ivory, can only take place under licence and through the registration of wildlife products with the appropriate government authorities.



Credit: WWF/Lyn Trelgar

**Villagers in the Quisanga District of Mozambique mix oil, fresh elephant dung and crushed chillis. The mixture is plastered on ropes around crops and also burnt to release a pungent smoke, in an attempt to stop elephants destroying crops.**

To further support elephant conservation in the country, Mozambique adopted a National Strategy for the Management of Elephants in 1999. The strategy comprehensively addresses a range of elephant conservation and management issues, including the monitoring of habitats and wild populations, human elephant conflict, sport hunting and law enforcement, and strives to devolve direct benefits of wildlife tourism to local communities (Blanc *et al.*, 2003).

#### *Government authorities*

The Ministry of Agriculture (MA) is the largest government ministry in Mozambique, encompassing a broad range of activities related to agricultural production, land management, fisheries, forestry and wildlife. The Ministry, which is managed by a Minister assisted by one Vice-Minister, a Permanent

Secretary and one Inspector General, comprises nine directorates and two departments (Mendez *et al.*, 1998). One of the directorates, the National Directorate of Forestry and Wildlife (*Direcção Nacional de Florestas e Fauna Bravia*—DNFFB) is responsible for all issues regarding forest and wildlife. The DNFFB has a mandate for the management of forest reserves within Mozambique, as well as for the management and conservation of wildlife and forestry resources outside the protected areas network. Since 2002, the National Parks and Reserves as well as the Hunting Areas (*Coutadas*) were transferred from the MA to the Ministry of Tourism. Within the MA, DNFFB is a dominant, but nonetheless highly decentralised structure, with the majority of staff based in the provinces (Mendez *et al.*, 1998).

In the late 1990s, there were only some 1400 qualified staff working for DNFFB at the central level, with the central office consisting of the National Director, very few wildlife officers and three veterinarians (Mendez *et al.*, 1998). At this time, the field staff comprised about 150 people, including 50 anti-poaching guards, when the department estimated it required about 2000 staff to manage the country's 87 000 sq. km of protected areas (Mendez *et al.*, 1998). With such staffing constraints and limits to other resources, DNFFB's potential for impact is seriously curtailed. From 1992 to 1994, the government's investment in the wildlife and forestry sector declined from MZN3.5 billion to MZN2.1 billion (representing in real terms a decline from USD1.4 million to USD0.35 million) (Mendez *et al.*, 1998). DNFFB was allocated only 2% of the MA's 1995 Development

Budget, which in turn received 10% of the national budget. Of the recurrent budget, over 95% is used for personnel costs, leaving virtually nothing for operational expenses (Mendez *et al.*, 1998). DNFFB remains underfunded and understaffed, with externally-funded projects from multi-lateral, bi-lateral and non-governmental organizations playing an important role in the sector.

### *Implementation and enforcement*

The DNFFB has national jurisdiction over wildlife issues, including the conservation and protection of elephants. At the provincial level, however, Provincial Services for Forestry and Wildlife (PSFW) are responsible for managing ivory stocks in the hands of the government.

Despite the fact that Mozambique has been a Party to CITES for over 24 years, law enforcement of Mozambique's national trade in ivory has been exceptionally weak, if not non-existent, in the past. Various studies have documented the open sale of ivory throughout the country on various occasions (Martin and Stiles, 2000; Milliken, 2002). Increasingly, this trade has generated negative comment and oversight within CITES.

In an effort to address Mozambique's international critics and to set the stage for more effective law enforcement at the national level, DNFFB commenced a public relations offensive in early June 2005. An official public notice was published in *Noticias* (meaning "News"), a government newspaper with the largest circulation in the country. The following is a translation of the government's notice:

*Maputo*

*6 June 2005*

*Ministry of Agriculture*

*National Directorate of Forestry and Wildlife*

*Mozambique has been a member of CITES since 30 December 1981 [sic] and Ministerial Decree No 60/90 of 4 July 1990, banned commercial international trade in ivory. The basic principle of this Convention is to control the markets for and trade in species threatened with extinction, and to protect the survival of fauna and flora species such as rhinoceros, elephants, leopards, dugongs, whales, sharks, ostriches, parrots, orchids, cycads and some euphorbia.*

*The possession or commercialisation of products and derivatives of animal or plant origin without a licence is a violation that is punishable under Law 10/99 of 7 July 1999 (Forestry and Wildlife Law). In Mozambique, however, there continues to be a proliferation of sellers of wildlife trophies and products in commercial stores, markets, hotels, airports and other public places, especially in Maputo, Beira, Nampula and Pemba, that are forbidden by law.*

*Article 74 of the Regulation of Forestry and Wildlife Decree No. 12/2002 of 6 June 2002 established that the possession, transport and commercialization of wildlife trophies requires a licence and registration. In this context, we inform all individuals or collectors to proceed to register and regularize possession of any animal products or trophies by 30 June 2005 at the National Directorate of Forestry and Wildlife or the provincial Director of Agriculture.*

*Arlito Cuco*

*National Director*

*DNFFB*

It is worth emphasizing that the market survey for this report was undertaken one week after this notice was published in the newspaper and two and half weeks prior to the 30 June 2005 deadline for registration of wildlife products indicated in the notice above.

### *Ivory stockpiles*

In September 1997, pursuant to *Decision 10.2 (Conditions for the disposal of ivory stocks and generating resources for conservation in African Elephant range States)* agreed at CITES CoP10, the Mozambique Government formally declared a stockpile of ivory consisting of 266 elephant tusks, weighing 1846.8 kg, to the CITES Secretariat. Held in Cabo Delgado, Manica, Maputo, Niassa and Tete Provinces, these stocks were subsequently audited and verified by TRAFFIC to consist of 269 tusks weighing 1840.4 kg. This volume of ivory for Mozambique, as well as similar stocks from 14 other African Elephant range States, were formally approved by the 40<sup>th</sup> meeting of the CITES Standing Committee as eligible for sale to donors for a one-off non-commercial buy-out to raise funds for elephant conservation in the country. In fact, an attempt by the Government of the UK to become a donor with respect to the declared stocks in Mozambique was not successfully realised and to date no purchase has been made of these (or any other) stocks declared under this process.

In the intervening eight years, it is not known how much more ivory has accumulated in Mozambique. The ivory stock management system in the country remains fragmented at the provincial level, and there is no centralised system for tracking the accumulation and storage of ivory stocks at the national level.

### *Mozambique and CITES*

CITES entered into force in Mozambique on 23 June 1981, becoming the 66<sup>th</sup> Party to the Convention. The DNFFB in the MA has been the designated CITES Management Authority in the country since that time. Mozambique's legislation is not considered sufficient to implement the Convention. Under the CITES National Legislation Project, established under *Resolution Conf. 8.4*, Mozambique's legislation has been ranked in Category 3, indicating "legislation that is believed generally not to meet the requirements for the implementation of CITES". Through an oversight process under the direction of the CITES Standing Committee, over the years Mozambique has been given various deadlines to improve the legal basis for the Convention in the country. Most recently, at the 53<sup>rd</sup> meeting of the Standing Committee held from 27 June to 1 July 2005, a decision was taken to review the progress on improving Mozambique's legislation at the 54<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Standing Committee, which will be held sometime in 2006 (Anon, 2005c). At that time, unless Mozambique is able to demonstrate progress towards enacting legislation commensurate with the objectives of CITES, the possibility of a suspension of commercial trade in specimens of CITES-listed species is imminent.

Under CITES, Mozambique has been allocated an export quota of 20 sport-hunted elephant ivory tusks (10 animals) since 2000. These quotas are certainly modest and are a first step in the promotion of the country as a future sport hunting destination of consequence within Africa. A future suspension of trade in CITES-listed specimens as is threatened under the National Legislation Project described above, however, would directly impact upon this quota.

### *Participation in ETIS/MIKE*

Mozambique rarely communicates the details of ivory or other elephant product seizures to the CITES Secretariat or to TRAFFIC directly. According to the ETIS data, as of July 2004, Mozambique had only reported

four ivory seizure cases to TRAFFIC for inclusion in ETIS, but it had been implicated as the country of origin, export or re-export in 56 other seizures reported by other nations around the world. Collectively, these seizures totalled 814 kg (when semi-worked and worked ivory products are converted to raw ivory equivalent values). Mozambican nationals have also been arrested in conjunction with six ivory seizures that have occurred in Malawi and Zimbabwe, both neighbouring countries, and on one occasion Australia seized elephant skin that reportedly originated from Mozambique.

The most recent ETIS analysis, presented to CITES CoP13 in 2004, identified Mozambique as a country of secondary concern in an assessment of the 35 countries most highly implicated in the illicit trade in ivory (Milliken *et al.*, 2004). Using agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis, and based on 9426 elephant product seizure records, Mozambique was assessed in a large ‘catch-all’ group of eight countries that also included Angola, Côte d’Ivoire, Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Sudan, Uganda and the United Arab Emirates (Milliken *et al.*, 2004). This group of nations exhibited high values for corruption and generally very low values for law enforcement effort (Milliken *et al.*, 2004), and four of the African countries, Côte d’Ivoire, Mozambique, Sudan and Angola, had large, active, unregulated internal ivory markets.

With respect to MIKE, the site-based monitoring system for elephants under CITES, Mozambique has two locations that are subject to intensive monitoring, Caborra Bassa in Tete Province and Niassa in the far north. While the first site had completed the baseline assessment for MIKE by 30 June 2004, Niassa was the only southern African region site for which the law enforcement effort assessment was still outstanding at that time; ‘lack of capacity’ was noted as the underlying reason for this development (Anon, 2004).

### *Retail outlets and prices for ivory*

Maputo, Mozambique’s capital city where much of the country’s wealth is concentrated, is a vibrant coastal city, which has experienced more than a decade of rapid and ongoing development since the civil war ended in 1992. Various informal markets featuring an array of handicrafts and curios have sprung up near major hotels, shopping centres, beach resorts and even open pavement areas of busy intersections.



Credit: Simon Collins, DHD Multimedia Gallery

Street scene, Maputo, Mozambique

### *Maputo markets*

The **Costa del Sol Open-Air Market** is several kilometres up the coast from the city near a popular beach spot. As such, this market is reportedly most active on weekends. Few vendors had arrived by the time of the two Monday morning visits, one at 08:40 am and other around 10:00 am. On both occasions, no ivory was seen for sale amongst the few stalls featuring mostly wood carvings, stone necklaces, batiks and stone carvings.

Similarly, the **Holiday Inn Open-Air Pavement Market** was only beginning to set up at 10:15 am, and only a few vendors had properly unpacked and displayed their goods. A couple of vendors were arriving at the time of

Credit: Helena Motta/WWF Mozambique



Ivory on sale at a street-side stall in Maputo, Mozambique, in April 2004.

Credit: Claire Patterson/TRAFFIC



Pavement display of crafts for sale, including several ivory items, in Maputo, Mozambique, in 2005.

Credit: Helena Motta/WWF Mozambique



Ivory for sale among other crafts at a stall in Beira, the second-largest city in Mozambique, in February 2006.

the survey and it is very likely that more would have come later. It was noted that this market, near a major hotel right on the beach, featured lots of seashells for sale, including some protected species. A total of **19 ivory products** were seen, including two finger rings and eight bangles. Composite ivory and wood pieces included one small ebony/ivory box, six Makonde-style<sup>4</sup> Maasai busts and two life-size Maasai figures carved out of ebony *Diospyros* spp. but featuring ivory and tortoiseshell inlay work.

The **Polana Hotel Open-Air Pavement Market** is one of the largest in the city, stretching almost the entire street length of the city's most expensive and elegant hotel. This craft market, shaded underneath enormous trees, features a vast range of African curios. Each vendor typically displayed his wares in an open space, but also maintains some stock in unpacked boxes. Ivory products seen included a series of Makonde-style figures in various sizes. These included four life-size Maasai figures, 14 medium-size Maasai figures, 13 1.2-m Maasai figures and 24 small Maasai figures, all of which were beautifully rendered in carved ebony inlaid with ivory and tortoiseshell. Other ivory/wood composite pieces were found including two 4–5 inch diameter ivory boxes with wood lids, four wooden guinea fowls with ivory beaks, and one wooden mask with ivory and turtle shell inlay. In addition, a total of 186 other ivory products was observed, including earrings, finger rings, beads, paper knives, animal figures, wood with ivory inlay, candlesticks, boxes, etc. Forty-four sets of seven thin ivory bangles were also noted, along with one small carved ivory tusk (15 cm long) with turtle shell inlay, seven small ivory trinket boxes and three ivory/turtle shell necklaces. In total, **303 ivory items** or composite pieces were observed.

<sup>4</sup> The Makonde are a tribal people of northern Mozambique and southern Tanzania, known as master carvers throughout East Africa.

Another major outlet for ivory is the **Polana Shopping Centre Open-Air Pavement Market** which is located on a prominent island at a busy intersection in front of the Polana Shopping Centre. This craft market is the largest in the downtown area of Maputo. The products observed here were often larger than those seen in the Central Market, which featured a similar volume of ivory products by number. By weight, this market probably had the largest quantity of ivory. Ivory products seen included three polished whole tusks, three carved whole tusks, 15 carved tusk segments (10–15 cm length) and 22 small, carved tusks (up to 20 cm long tips) with turtle shell inlay. Six nine-inch hippopotamuses were priced at MZN6 500 000 (USD271), and nine medium-sized and 12 small Makonde-style Maasai figures in ebony inlaid with ivory were displayed. In terms of smaller items, a total of 632 ivory products, including earrings, finger rings, beads, paper knives, animal figures and other items were seen, 16 of which also were combined with marine turtle shell. Altogether, a total of **702 ivory pieces** were seen at this market.



Credit: Helena Motta/WWF Mozambique

Ivory products on sale in Maputo, Mozambique, March 2006.

The **Avenida Hotel Open-Air Pavement Market** is a small curio display on an island in the road in front of the Avenida Hotel. Ivory products seen included one small hair clip (MZN250 000/USD10), one large hair clip (MZN500 000/USD21) and 37 small items including earrings, finger rings, beads, and hair clips. A total of **39 ivory pieces** were seen at this market.

Maputo's large **Central Market** dates from the colonial era and features hundreds of stalls selling an array of products including fish, meat, fruits, vegetables, grains, groceries, clothes and household items, as well as a number of indigenous birds. There are also a number of stalls selling various handicrafts, including about three or four shops with various small ivory products. These shops featured six medium-sized and three 1.2-m carvings of Maasai figures in the Makonde style. These were in ebony, with ivory and tortoiseshell inlay, but there were also five smaller Maasai ebony figures that featured ivory inlay only. A total of 117 other smaller ivory products were also counted at these shops. Another shop, labelled as Shop No. 35, featured hundreds of small ivory items, mostly earrings, beads, finger rings, buttons and other small carvings. It was not possible to count everything individually with the shopkeeper present, but approximately 500 items were estimated. Altogether, a total of **631 ivory products** were estimated to have been seen for sale in this market.

### *Maputo hotels*

The **Galeria Polana** is an up-market, pricey boutique amongst the row of shops facing the front car park at the Polana Hotel. It was ascertained that this shop was under the same ownership as Galeria Rovuma. Among the ivory products for sale were three pairs of ivory earrings (USD28 each for two of the pairs), one four-inch, round ivory frame (USD68), one framed half-bust (USD250), eight ivory spoons and three small ivory trinkets. Composite wood and ivory pieces included seven small ivory boxes, one tray and one comb (USD75), while

composite tortoiseshell and ivory pieces included one small ivory trinket, one cake knife and two spoons. In this shop a total of **29 products with ivory** were found.

The **Galeria Rovuma**, a sister boutique to Galeria Polana (see above), is located at another up-market hotel in Maputo, the Pestana Rovuma Carlton Hotel. In a similar manner, it features a range of relatively expensive, well-crafted and often original items, including many composite pieces featuring ivory with wood. Ivory products seen included one wood and ivory Tic-Tack-Toe game set (USD180) and 43 ivory or ivory and wood products such as small boxes, jewellery and other items. In total, **44 ivory products** were seen.

Within the shopping arcade of the Pestana Rovuma Carlton Hotel, another small shop, **Optica Millennium**, is found. This shop mainly sells glasses' frames and optical products, but also displays a range of ivory products on its walls, including 34 pieces of ivory jewellery and three ivory trinket boxes with turtle shell inlay. A total of **37 ivory products** were found at this location.

### *Airport shops*

Ivory can be found in various places at and within the Maputo airport. **Mozambique Arte Shop 1** is located in the airport terminal in the main lounge area before one passes through check-in and immigration formalities. Thus, this shop is open to the general public and can be accessed from both inside and outside of the terminal building. A total of 146 small ivory figurines, letter openers, earrings, finger rings, necklaces and other accessories and jewellery products were observed. In addition, 14 large ivory bracelets (USD27–USD35) and seven ivory bangles were found. Altogether, a total of **167 pieces of ivory** were found in this shop.

Another shop in the airport terminal that is open to the general public is **Galeria Classica Shell Shop**. This small shop, a branch of the two Galeria Classica shops found in the Polana Shopping Centre, featured 148 small ivory products, including figurines, necklaces, bracelets, earrings and other accessories, 18 small wood/ivory composites pieces and two carved ivory statues. Overall, a total of **168 ivory products** were observed.

**FZ Duty Free Shop**, a corner shop in the departure lounge area of the airport terminal building, was closed at the time of the researchers' visit, but the glass windows around two sides of the shop allowed a reasonable assessment of the multitude of products displayed on several shelves inside. Ivory products seen included 10 figurines/busts about six to eight inches in size, 34 small figurines about five to seven inches in size, 300 (approximately) smaller figures, curios and other accessories, as well as two small Makonde-style ebony figures of Maasai, featuring ivory inlay. This shop had at least **346 pieces of ivory** that, because of its location in the departure lounge, could only be taken out of the country by purchasers.

Another shop in the airport departure lounge area, **Mozambique Arte Shop 2**, was under the same ownership and name as Mozambique Arte Shop 1. All sales at this shop, however, could only be to passengers flying out to international destinations. It was open at the time of the researchers' visit, and it was possible to make an accurate count of the ivory products on display. These included 28 animal figures (ranging from USD25 for small figures to USD135 for large figures), 28 seven-piece sets of small bangles, and 182 other small ivory products, mostly jewellery, accessories and small figures. Four small ebony Maasai figures inlaid with ivory were for sale. Altogether, a total of **242 ivory pieces** were seen.

### Other shops

The **Galeria Classica Crafts and Shells (Shop 1)** is located on the third floor of the Polana Shopping Centre. This up-market curio shop featured a range of products, including many items fashioned from ivory and turtle shell and even the name of the shop was made out of marine turtle shell. A wide range of ivory products were observed including 17 large sculptures, one eight-inch solid ivory bust of exceptional quality (MZN35 000 000/USD1458), and one elaborate ivory sailing ship (MZN9 800 000/USD408). A large, carved wooden bowl was filled with 30 pieces of various tropical fruits made from ivory, all exhibiting superb craftsmanship (MZN34 150 000/USD1422), and another three wooden bowls with between 20 and 30 pieces of fruit made from ivory were noted. A total of 158 small ivory products, especially earrings, finger rings, beads, paper knives, pens, spoons, and animal figures were seen. Ivory and turtle shell composite products included six pairs of earrings, six pendants and four paper knives. Wood items with ivory inlay included 16 jewellery boxes, two busts and four candlestick holders. Another two medium-sized ebony carvings of Maasai figures in the Makonde style featured inlay of both ivory and tortoiseshell. The wooden bowls with displays of a variety of ivory fruit and the ivory busts of African women exhibited very high standards of craftsmanship and would compete favourably with Africa's finest ivory carvings. This shop displayed a total of **221 pieces of ivory**.

The **Galeria Classica Crafts and Shells (Shop 2)** is on the same floor of the Polana Shopping Centre, just across from Shop 1. This Galeria Classica outlet was devoted almost exclusively to jewellery and accessories. Small ivory products were plentiful and also composite pieces featuring ivory with wood, stone, tortoiseshell and coral were observed. Such products totalled 304 pieces. There was also one large ivory belt and one ivory and turtle shell necklace (MZN2 800 000/USD117). In total, **306 products with ivory** were observed.

Table 5

#### Summary of surveyed retail outlets in Maputo

Outlet location	Number of outlets	Total estimated number of ivory products
Polana shopping centre open-air pavement market	±11	702
Central market	5	631
FZ duty-free shop—airport departure lounge	1	346
Galeria classica crafts and shells shop 2	1	306
Polana Hotel open-air pavement market	±9	303
Mozambique Arte Shop 2—airport departure lounge	1	242
Galeria Classica Crafts and Shells Shop 1	1	221
Galeria Classica Shell Shop—airport public area	1	168
Mozambique Arte Shop 1—airport public area	1	167
Galeria Rovuma Hotel	1	44
Avinida Hotel open-air pavement market	±4	39
Optic Millenneum Hotel	1	37
Galeria Polana Hotel	1	29
Holiday Inn open-air pavement market	±3	19
Costa del Sol open-air market	±4	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>±45</b>	<b>3254</b>

### Retail prices

Retail price data for various products were sporadically collected during the current survey (**Table 6**). As retail-level prices are to a large extent dependent upon the quality of the item in question, the type of shop, and the degree of bargaining skills brought to bear during the transaction, it is difficult to compare prices over time. As a general impression, however, it does appear that ivory prices have increased to some extent since 1999. For example, small carved animal figures measuring around six centimetres in size were about USD25 during this survey (**Table 6**), while slightly larger figures measuring around 10 cm in size were about USD27 in 1999 (Martin and Stiles, 2000) and between USD13 and USD17 in 2002 (Milliken, 2002). In 1999, a seven-centimetre circular picture frame was priced at USD14 (Martin and Stiles, 2000), while a slightly larger (nine-centimetre) one was selling for USD68 in 2005 (**Table 6**).

**Table 6**

Range of retail prices for ivory items at markets, hotels and shops in Maputo, June 2005

Description of item	Approximate size	Prices in USD	Prices in MZN
Carved hippopotamus	20–5 cm	271	6 500 000
Carved animal figurines	6–20 cm	25–135	N/A
Bust (exceptional craftsmanship)	25 cm	1458	35 000 000
Half bust in picture frame	15 cm	250	N/A
Sail boat	30 cm	408	9 800 000
Tropical fruit set (30 pieces) + wooden bowl	5–20 cm	1422	34 150 000
Ivory frame—round	9 cm	68	N/A
Tic-Tac-Toe game set—eight pieces	5 cm	180	N/A
Bangles	2 cm	27–35	N/A
Earrings—pair	<3 cm	28	N/A
Hairclip	4 cm	10	250 000
	8 cm	20	500 000
Hair comb	12 cm	75	N/A
Necklace with tortoiseshell	200 g	117	2 800 000

**Notes:** N/A = Not applicable—prices not given in MZN. MZN24 000 = USD1

### Ivory carving and manufacture

Little is known about the extent of ivory carving in Mozambique. Martin and Stiles (2000) estimated that there were 100 ivory carvers in Maputo during their assessment of the industry in 1999. At the time of their survey, the largest workshop was the *Cooperativa de Produção Artesanal Arte-Makonde*, which had 34 ivory carvers (Martin and Stiles, 2000). This location, reportedly the only ivory co-operative in the country, was not visited during the spot check in June 2005, so the present status of this operation is not known. Other ivory carving occurs in the north of the country. One vendor in the Central Market indicated that some of the ivory products in his shop came from Nampula in the north of the country. Finally, ivory carving was reported in Pemba, a port city in the far north of Mozambique, and photographs of an ivory carving operation in Pemba are on file with

WWF (H. Motta, WWF Mozambique, pers. comm., 13 June 2005). On the other hand, no ivory carving was witnessed at any of the locations surveyed in Maputo, although Martin and Stiles (2000) reported observing “one or two craftsmen...beside the pavement displays and stalls in 1999”.

The extent to which ivory is being incorporated as a decorative feature into Makonde-style wood carving suggests that non-traditional uses of ivory have taken place since the previous survey in 2002. The Makonde, the tribal grouping in northern Mozambique and southern Tanzania holding the distinction of being the most famous woodcarvers in East Africa, gained fame from their elaborate interlocking sculptures of human figures, the so-called “people pole”. Current carving techniques feature a wide range of both traditional and more modern abstract designs. Often constructed from African Blackwood *Dalbergia melanoxylon*, recent motifs include busts and even life-size sculptures of Maasai warriors and couples. On such figures, Makonde carvers often render the distinctive Maasai jewellery and headgear in ivory, tortoiseshell and sea shells, which look striking against the darkly-grained wood. Such carvings were numerous in the current survey, but were not observed during the market survey conducted in 2002, suggesting a recent innovation and expansion of the trade in ivory into the Makonde wood carving community.



Credit: Claire Patterson/TRAFFIC

Life-size Makonde woodcarvings of Maasai figures in African Blackwood with ivory, tortoiseshell and seashell inlay, on display in Mozambique in 2005.

### ***Sources and prices of raw ivory***

No raw ivory was observed during the course of the recent market survey and no attempt was made to ascertain current prices for uncarved ivory tusks. It was felt that such questioning was inappropriate under the circumstances and would raise suspicions concerning the intent of the survey that was observational in design. Martin and Stiles (2000), however, reported that the raw ivory for Mozambique’s market originated from within the country and that prices, ranging from USD14 to USD39 per kg and depending on the size of the tusk, were cheap compared to those in other parts of Africa.

### **Discussion**

Ivory products continue to be openly displayed for sale throughout Maputo, including in the departure lounge of the international airport. A total of 3254 ivory products were observed during a five-hour survey on 13 June 2005 of some 45 outlets throughout the city (**Table 5**). The scale of this trade is worrying for two reasons. Firstly, it is worth noting that nearly 20% of the ivory products observed in Maputo were offered for sale in a jurisdiction that guaranteed illegal export to an international destination. The presence of 588 ivory items for sale in the duty-free departure lounge area of the international airport is a flagrant violation of CITES, calling into question the commitment of the government to fulfill its most fundamental obligations under the Convention. This is not a new development nor is government ignorance of the situation a factor. Similar trade at Maputo’s international

airport has been noted since as early as 1993 (Milliken, 2002) and, in 1999, one published survey identified 1023 ivory products for sale at airport (Martin and Stiles, 2000). Following TRAFFIC's spot check in April 2002, letters concerning continuing trade in ivory at the airport and the violation of CITES that it represented, were sent to the ministers of three relevant ministries in the country, but no replies were ever forthcoming. The CITES Secretariat has also raised the issue of Mozambique's ivory trade at the airport on other occasions (J. Sellar, CITES Secretariat, pers. comm., 27 June 2005). At least in mid-June 2005, it appeared that all attempts to get the Mozambique government to curtail ivory sales in the international departure lounge area of the Maputo international airport had failed miserably.

Further, there has been little attempt to regulate the domestic ivory market in compliance with CITES *Resolution Conf. 10.10* and effective law enforcement could be judged to be non-existent. When queried about the illegality of their ivory sales under CITES, airport shopkeepers conceded that exports to Europe and the USA should not be declared, but that it was perfectly acceptable to take elephant ivory products into South Africa and Zimbabwe without permits (which, of course, is false). It was apparent that sales personnel at Mozambique Art Shop No. 2 in the departure lounge area of the airport were in no position to issue to CITES export permits so all ivory transactions could only occur in violation of the Convention.

Secondly, although the two surveys are not directly comparable, comparison of market survey data in Maputo from April 2002 with that of June 2005 suggests that the scale of the ivory trade has at least doubled over the intervening three years. Where comparable data are available, for example from the Polana Shopping Centre Open-Air Pavement Market, the number of ivory products more than doubled between the two surveys (**Table 7**). In other instances, the volume of ivory products observed has jumped from "only a few items" or a "small volume" to several hundred products. Furthermore, the number of open-air pavement markets in the city appears

**Table 7**

**Comparison between estimated number of ivory products in Maputo in market surveys conducted 13 June 2005 and 22 April 2002**

Outlet	June 2005	April 2002
Polana shopping centre open-air pavement market	702	±300
Central market	631	"a small volume"
FZ duty-free shop—airport departure lounge	346	None
Galeria Classica Crafts and Shells Shop 2	306	N/S
Polana Hotel Open-air pavement market	303	"only a few items"
Mozambique Arte Shop 2—airport departure lounge	242	139
Galeria Classica Crafts and Shells Shop 1	221	N/S
Galeria Classica Shell Shop—airport public area	168	N/S
Mozambique Arte Shop 1—airport public area	167	"some"
Galeria Rovuma Hotel	44	"a number of items"
Avinida Hotel open-air pavement market	39	N/S
Optic Millenneum Hotel	37	"various items"
Galeria Polana Hotel	29	4
Holiday Inn open-air pavement market	19	None
Costa del Sol open-air market	0	N/S
<b>Total</b>	<b>3254</b>	

to have increased, as well as the number of up-market shops in the Polana Shopping Centre. And finally, both the number of shops featuring ivory and the number of ivory items found for sale at the international airport has increased dramatically, indicating that the airport trade continues to be a lucrative part of the trade.

The legal situation may be changing, however. As mentioned above, one week before the market survey transpired, the Director of DNFFB placed advertisements in the largest local newspaper, specifically drawing attention to CITES and emphasizing Mozambique's wildlife trade restrictions on elephant ivory and other wildlife products. Those holding ivory and other wildlife products were given until the 30 June 2005 "*to register and regularize possession*" of such items with the authorities. It was not known at the time whether this was simply a public relations and management exercise or a more serious prelude to law enforcement action.

In the meantime, at the 53<sup>rd</sup> meeting of the CITES Standing Committee in Geneva, Switzerland, in the last week of June 2005, TRAFFIC and WWF presented documentation of continuing ivory trade in Mozambique in violation of CITES requirements and called for the Parties to impose a wildlife trade restriction against the country. While this recommendation was not acted upon at the meeting, it was reported that the Mozambique press reported the matter in local media (H. Motta, WWF Mozambique, pers comm., 13 June 2005).

Whether this stimulated subsequent developments or not is unclear, but Mozambican authorities subsequently made a number of ivory seizures in Maputo and Pemba, and indicated that more actions were anticipated in Nampula and Beira before the end of the month, according to information received at the CITES Secretariat (J. Sellar, CITES Secretariat, *in litt.*, 11 October 2005). The volume and type of ivory seized by the government and the number of outlets affected remains unknown at this time, but in due course it is anticipated that these seizures will be reported to ETIS. In the meantime, WWF personnel based in Mozambique noted that the array of elephant ivory products in the duty free lounge area of Maputo's international airport had disappeared (H. Motta, WWF Mozambique, *in litt.*, 19 October 2005), but whether this is a temporary or long-term development needs to be established through continuing monitoring efforts. At the same time, different observers have noted the ongoing availability of ivory products in other parts of the country, especially Pemba in the far north of the country (H. Motta, WWF Mozambique, pers comm., 12 December 2005). One could argue that the fact that ivory seizures have actually transpired represents a major step forward in a country that has long harboured southern Africa's largest unregulated domestic ivory market. Still, it seems, much work remains to be done in order for Mozambique to comply fully with CITES requirements for the operation and management of internal ivory markets.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

*Tom Milliken, Alistair Pole and Abias Huongo*

Angola and Mozambique share a common colonial past under Portuguese rule, a tortured post-independence period of long-standing civil war, and a recent, delicate emergence as unified nations moving forwards from a history of conflict. In terms of domestic trade in ivory, in June 2005, Angola and Mozambique were also clearly out of step with most other countries within SADC. In both countries, an abundance of elephant ivory products was openly offered for sale without, it seems, the imposition of any of the regulatory safeguards required under CITES. In both countries, ivory from illicit sources is marketed through an informal network of unregulated carvers and vendors. Angola's ivory market is clearly linked to neighbouring Central African countries to the north, particularly the DRC and Congo (Brazzaville), where much of the ivory is carved and illegally transported into Luanda for domestic sale. Likewise, Mozambique continued, at least in June 2005, to allow the sale of ivory products for export from the Maputo international airport. While southern Africa as a whole, strives for global acceptance of sustainable use policies predicated upon a record of wildlife management and conservation achievement, Mozambique and Angola stand as worrying anomalies within SADC.

Overall, during the course of these surveys in June 2005, an estimated 1573 kg and 3254 pieces of mostly worked ivory products were found for sale in the capital cities of Angola and Mozambique, respectively. These data will be used in the ETIS subsidiary database on domestic ivory markets around the world. In that database, the scale of a country's domestic ivory market can be given as either the estimated total number of ivory products that were observed in a particular country through the course of a market survey, or as the estimated total weight of all of the ivory products observed. In this regard, the ETIS domestic ivory market database exhibits flexibility in order to capture data that come from a range of independent researchers using one of these two types of enumerative methodologies. While estimations of total weight are perhaps more accurate in terms of computing an estimate of the number of elephants whose ivory was represented by the trade, the Mozambique survey in this report used the estimated number of ivory products so that the data could be compared to a similar survey effort that had occurred three years earlier.

To gain perspective on the collective scale of the ivory trade in Angola and Mozambique, it is useful to assess how many elephants this trade actually represents. Whether indicated as estimated number of pieces or as estimated weight, it is possible to convert these findings to raw ivory equivalent and then to estimate the number of elephant tusks it represents using conversion formulae contained in the ETIS analysis for CITES CoP13 (Milliken *et al.*, 2004)<sup>5</sup>. Collectively, the total weight for both countries together converts to approximately 2675 kg of raw ivory and represents an estimated 749 elephant tusks. Assuming that each elephant yields 1.88 tusks (Parker and Martin, 1982), the ivory products viewed during brief market surveys would represent a total of 399 elephants.

The estimate of nearly 400 elephants is, of course, a bare minimum figure reflecting a static point in time in only two locations in these two vast countries. The annual turnover of ivory product sales in the markets surveyed remains unknown, but it is probably considerable as Maputo's ivory trade appears to have increased over a

<sup>5</sup> In the ETIS analysis for CoP13, the following calculations were used:

- i) for raw ivory, estimated weight =  $3.5701 \times \text{pcs}^{0.9988}$ ; estimated pieces =  $0.2797 \times \text{wt}^{1.0012}$
- ii) for semi-worked ivory, estimated weight =  $0.039 \times \text{pcs}$ ; estimated pieces =  $25.63 \times \text{wt}$
- iii) for worked ivory, estimated weight =  $0.1492 \times \text{pcs}$ ; estimated pieces =  $6.7024 \times \text{wt}$ .

Semi-worked and worked ivory weights are increased by 30% to get raw ivory equivalent weight.

similar study undertaken in three years earlier, while Angola's main market reportedly doubled in size in a little more than a year. For ivory, like trade in almost any other commodity, market expansion generally occurs when business is good. There are also certainly other undisclosed stocks of raw ivory and worked ivory merchandise both within the two cities surveyed and in other parts of the two countries. In Mozambique, for example, reports of ivory processing and retail operations in Pemba, Nampula and Beira have been received, but none of these locations have been assessed in recent years. The Cabinda enclave of Angola has a plethora of foreign workers who are also likely to be targeted for ivory sales; this location was not surveyed either. Altogether, these considerations would increase the impact of these domestic ivory markets by an unknown, but certainly considerable, value. In sum, the scale of the ivory trade in Angola and Mozambique is cause for concern.

Mozambique is a long-standing Party to CITES, while Angola remains the only nation in sub-Saharan Africa that is a non-Party. Regardless of the different status under CITES, the wildlife authorities in both countries are struggling to control internal trade in ivory effectively. Unconfirmed reports from Mozambique offer the promise that the country is finally taking affirmative action to curtail unregulated trade in ivory. If so, the country should be commended but such action must be sustained into the future to really make a difference. Angola is still in its infancy in terms of coming to grips with an effective policy for its wildlife sector. Accession to CITES is just one of the issues on this agenda, which also includes a host of administrative issues, including insufficient budget allocations for the wildlife sector in general, and law enforcement in particular, and insufficient political will to address problems and comply with international regulations. It is clear that Angola would benefit from external support from within SADC and beyond to plot the way forward.

The fact remains, however, that the domestic ivory trades of Angola and Mozambique remain unregulated and currently subvert international trade controls under CITES. To rectify the problem the following recommendations need to be implemented.

## **Angola**

### ***Elephant management and protection***

A systematic survey of the elephant populations remaining in Angola needs to be undertaken as currently there is little information on the status of this species in the country. Such a move would be an important first step in the development of future strategies for the protection and monitoring of the country's elephant populations. A comprehensive survey is likely to be expensive and difficult to execute logistically, as potential elephant range covers a large part of the country, but population densities are believed to be very low throughout. Also, land mines still pose a major risk for ground surveys in many parts of Angola. International financial and technical assistance will certainly be necessary. To 'jump-start' this process it was suggested that such work could initially be focused upon two areas, specifically Condo Cubing province adjacent to Namibia and Zambia, and the northern provinces of Zaire and Urge.

### ***Improving policy, legislation and regulatory measures***

Formal accession to CITES, while approved on one level through the legislature, remains crippled by bureaucratic inertia on another. Angola would greatly benefit from the appointment and funding of a qualified person to work within the Institute of Forestry Development to help move this process forward. Once the CITES process is complete and Angola becomes a formal Party to the Convention, this person should work towards establishing a programme for the future implementation of CITES in the country. In this regard, trade in elephant

ivory and compliance with *Resolution Conf. 10.10 (Rev. CoP12)* in terms of internal trade in ivory should be a major feature.

### ***Addressing implementation and enforcement deficiencies***

Given that this study documents considerable evidence suggesting that a large portion of the ivory products found in Luanda's markets are apparently derived from neighbouring countries, particularly the DRC, cross border ivory trade in violation of CITES is a routine occurrence. As such, there are 'missed' opportunities for making ivory seizures. To generate awareness and focus attention on wildlife trade issues, a workshop involving representatives from MINADER, MINUA, the police, Customs and the border police should be held in Luanda. Such an event would serve to buttress and support those in the wildlife sector who presently have little clout in influencing government policy and direction. Collaboration with other government institutions, especially those with law enforcement responsibilities, should lead to better enforcement of Angola's wildlife trade legislation.

### ***Enhancing ivory stock management***

While it remains unclear whether or not any ivory stocks exist in Angola at the present time, there is little doubt that, as the wildlife sector consolidates its control over the country's protected area estate, ivory will become available in the future. At a timely moment, an initiative to develop a nationwide ivory stock management system should be undertaken to prepare for this development.

### ***Monitoring ivory manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers***

As the scope of the action plan against unregulated domestic ivory markets established through CITES *Decision 13.26* applies to all African Elephant range States, the ivory trade in Luanda documented in this report becomes an issue of concern for the Convention in spite of the fact that Angola is not yet a Party. Consequently, it is important that government authorities move to curtail the import and export of ivory in any form and actively intervene to regulate domestic trade in compliance with the requirements of *Resolution Conf. 10.10 (Rev. CoP12)*.

### ***Implementing ETIS***

It would appear that ivory or other elephant products are rarely, if ever, seized in Angola as the country has never reported any cases to the CITES Secretariat or TRAFFIC. Regardless, on the basis of ivory seizure data obtained from other countries, Angola is a country of concern in the illicit international trade in ivory.

## **Mozambique**

### ***Improving policy, legislation and regulatory measures***

It would appear that recent legislative developments in Mozambique serve to provide a sound legal basis for the regulation of trade in ivory within the country. From a generic CITES perspective, however, this may not be the case. The CITES National Legislation Project, established under *Resolution Conf. 8.4*, ranks the ability of Mozambique's legislation to implement the Convention in Category 3, indicating "legislation that is believed generally not to meet the requirements for the implementation of CITES". This is the lowest ranking possible under this process and failure to address outstanding deficiencies may lead to serious consequences. If the

government authorities fail to address existing issues by the 54<sup>th</sup> meeting of the CITES Standing Committee in October 2006, it is possible that a decision will be taken to impose sanctions on Mozambique and suspend all trade in CITES-listed species. Thus, it is imperative that government authorities take immediate action to ameliorate outstanding deficiencies and report back to the CITES Standing Committee via the Secretariat at the earliest possible moment.

### ***Addressing implementation and enforcement deficiencies***

With respect to internal trade in ivory, by far the most important issue facing Mozambique is the apparent absence of effective law enforcement. As this study demonstrates, in June 2005, ivory products continued to be openly and widely sold in Maputo's markets. If subsequent reports suggesting that government authorities recently undertook a series of ivory seizures in Maputo and Pemba and possibly elsewhere in the country are true, the situation may be changing. Such actions will need to be proactively sustained in the future and should not be allowed to become a one-off event to placate international critics and the CITES process under *Decision 13.26*.

### ***Enhancing ivory stock management***

Through law enforcement actions and elephant management initiatives, including problem animal control, ivory stocks continue to accumulate in various parts of Mozambique. Currently, a range of provincial authorities have jurisdiction over such ivory and no centralised system for tracking or auditing stocks in a consolidated manner exists. There is a pressing need to develop an effective ivory stock management system in Mozambique.

### ***Monitoring ivory manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers***

To avoid sanction under the CITES action plan to curtail unregulated domestic ivory markets in Africa, Mozambique needs to demonstrate compliance with the requirements of *Resolution Conf. 10.10 (Rev. CoP12)* urgently. The recent call by DNFFB for a nationwide registration of ivory and other wildlife products, as well as all vendors engaged in such trade, by 30 June 2005, is certainly a progressive step in the right direction. If any form of domestic trade in ivory is allowed to continue in Mozambique, the introduction of ivory stock recording systems by all vendors and future inspection procedures on the part of the authorities will be necessary to monitor the flow of ivory within the country. The Mozambique government also needs to ensure compulsory trade controls over raw ivory.

### ***Implementing ETIS***

Mozambique's participation in ETIS has been poor in the past and only four ivory seizure cases have been reported for inclusion in ETIS. On the basis of ivory seizure data from other countries, however, Mozambique emerges as a country of concern in the ETIS analyses. Reports of recent ivory seizures by the government authorities need to be followed by timely submissions of these cases to ETIS either via the CITES Secretariat or directly to TRAFFIC.

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TRAFFIC, the wildlife trade monitoring network, works to ensure that trade in wild plants and animals is not a threat to the conservation of nature. It has offices covering most parts of the world and works in close co-operation with the Secretariat of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES).

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