

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):  
S

FOIA Number:

# FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.**

---

**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Davis, Mark, Files  
**Subseries:** Subject File, 1989-1991

---

**OA/ID Number:** 13870  
**Folder ID Number:** 13870-006

---

**Folder Title:**  
Foreign Policy-Africa, 1989

---

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>

---

## AFRICA INSERT

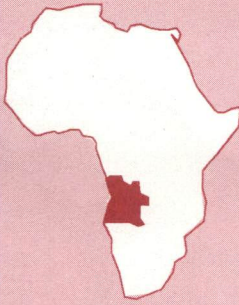
If I may, I would like to take just a moment to discuss America's Africa policy, for the winds of change are again sweeping this troubled continent. But this time change brings opportunity. So let us work together to help the peoples of Africa to overcome poverty backwardness, disease, starvation and war. In Ethiopia, we stand ready to deliver tons of food to save millions facing starvation. A tragic war now prevents our access to those most in need. The political leaders in Ethiopia must heed the appeal of the world. **They must not let their people starve.**\\\

Let me also address another area of special concern to us all -- South Africa, where, for the first time, we can take hope that **the age of apartheid is nearing a close.**\\\ There are new signs of flexibility and commitment, both from the government and the opponents of apartheid. President de Klerk has already taken the first bold steps -- lifting the ban on political parties and releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. But more must be done. The State of Emergency must end and political prisoners must be released. Most of all, there must be an end to the tragic cycle of violence -- a task that demands great courage and resolve from all South African leaders, black and white.

We are inspired by the obvious desire of all sides to seriously negotiate a framework for a truly democratic South Africa, liberated from the shame of apartheid. We stand ready to

help nurture this still fragile process in any way we can. Secretary Baker has just returned from South Africa, where he met with President de Klerk and the leading members of the black opposition. He met with Nelson Mandela in Namibia. And I have also invited both President de Klerk and Mister Mandela to meet with me at the White House. I will spare no effort to bring about positive change in South Africa. But we must practice this diplomacy as a nation. We must continue our programs to assist the disadvantaged majority. Those American businesses that remain in South Africa must work for reform.

In short, we can **all** work for change. And we can best do so when America speaks with one voice. So let us work together to forge a strong consensus on South Africa -- one that unites all Americans -- of all races, of both parties -- in a noble cause.



# ANGOLA PEACE MONITOR

PROMOTING NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IN ANGOLA

Volume 2, No. 5

May 22, 1990

## The Long Retreat of FAPLA: Intense Fighting at Mavinga

In an intense 36-hour battle around Mavinga between May 6-8, the forces of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) broke the southern offensive of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) originally launched on December 21, 1989. UNITA dislodged the MPLA forward line six miles north of Mavinga, and forced the retreat of FAPLA forces towards Cuito Cuanavale. UNITA asserts that, in the MPLA retreat, large quantities of materiel were abandoned on the battlefield, including a dozen T-55 tanks, 27 BMP-1 armored personnel carriers, 51 cargo trucks, and hundreds of light weapons. UNITA reported that 139 MPLA troops (Popular Forces for the Liberation of Angola, or FAPLA) were killed and 33 captured. The rest fled in disorder.

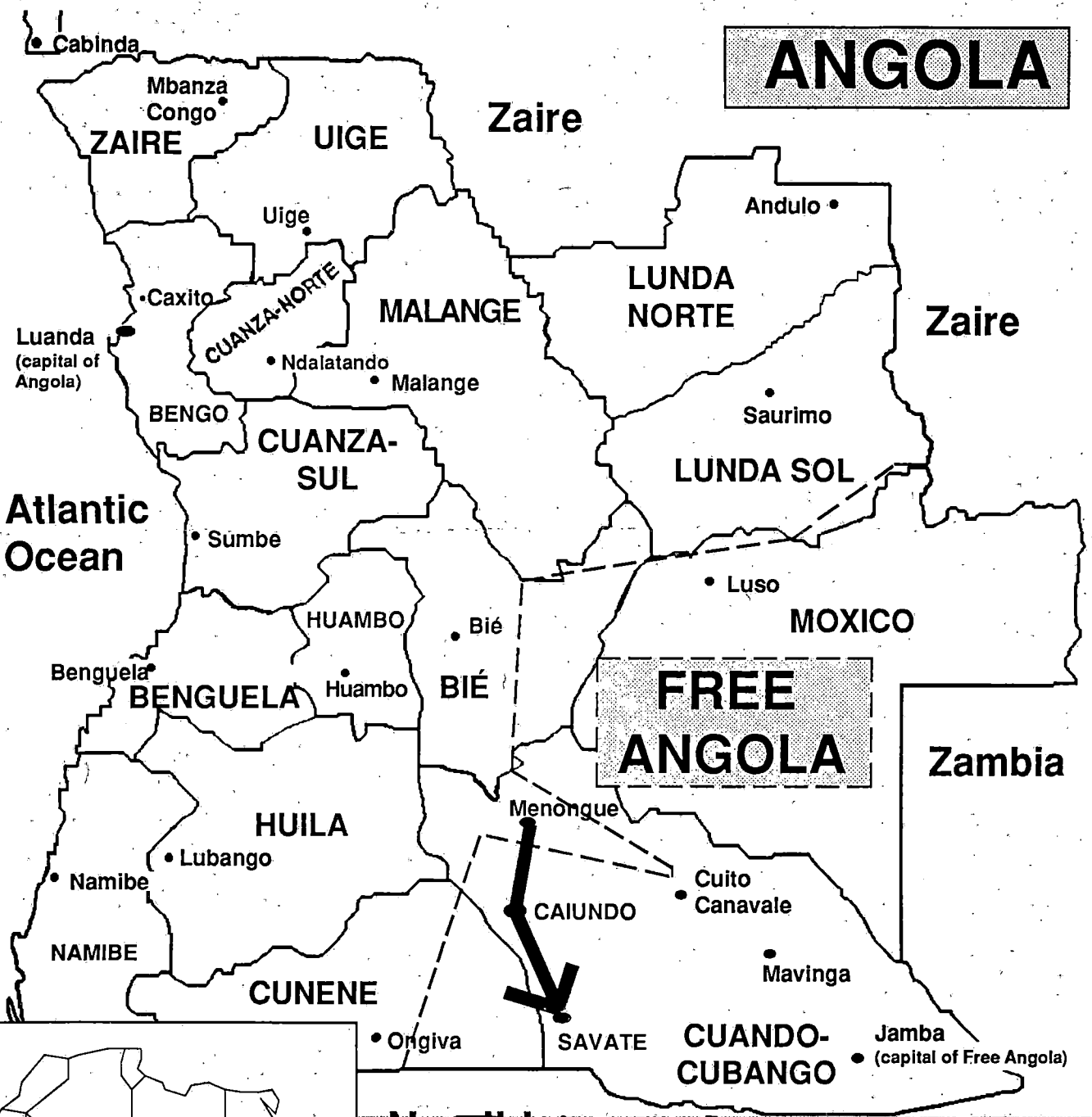
Calling it the "major battle of the war" UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi noted in a Mavinga press conference that UNITA's victory had been achieved without South African support. He also publicly thanked the United States for the "emergency" airlift of supplies. This airlift included 106 mm recoilless rifles mounted on Toyota Land Cruisers which, Savimbi said, were "very effective" against FAPLA armor.

Savimbi also stated that UNITA had repulsed the MPLA "not only physically, but also mentally so that they will not think in terms of a military solution again." He hopes that by stopping the Mavinga offensive, further talks between the MPLA and UNITA will be accelerated.

UNITA's KUP (clandestine English-language radio broadcasting to central and southern Africa) reported critical shortages of food and water being faced by MPLA troops on the Cuito Cuanavale/Mavinga front which may have contributed to UNITA's battlefield success. UNITA claims that captured MPLA prisoners affirm that the food crisis is so serious they are only allowed fifty grams of rice per day. Water is extremely scarce. Commanders and tank and armored vehicles crews are exceptions, receiving top priority in food distribution. UNITA claims that three deserters said they received injections of unknown substances once a week during a 3-month military course at Menongue which made them light-headed and

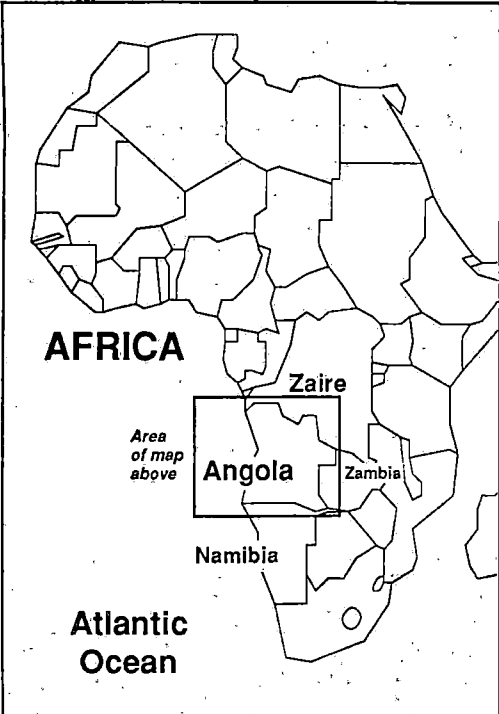
### Inside . . .

N'Dalu Demoted as Mavinga Falls Back to UNITA. . . . .	2
Other Military Action —FAPLA Advances on Caiundo to Savate Axis. . . . .	2
Gauging the Impact of Further Cuban Withdrawal. . . . .	3
UNITA and MPLA Hold Talks. . . . .	3
Calls for a Cease-fire: UNITA Demands Savimbi-Dos Santos Talks. . . . .	4
MPLA Criticize Zaire and South Africa. . . . .	4
Angolan Civic Association Hold First Conference. . . . .	4
U.S. Senate Remains Cautious of New Namibian Government's Actions in Angola. . . . .	5
Namibian Opposition Speculates on PLAN Deployment. . . . .	6
Zaire's Role in U.S. Policy Toward Angola. . . . .	6
Miscellaneous. . . . .	7



**ANGOLA**

**FREE ANGOLA**



Arrow depicts Caiundo to Savate Front where MPLA forces are said to be making progress at the rate of three to five meters each day.

aggressive. They also reported that some MPLA troops, faced with no alternative, consumed radiator water from their vehicles.

## N'Dalu Demoted as Mavinga Falls Back to UNITA

Franca N'dalu, FAPLA Chief of Staff in command of the MPLA forces at Mavinga, has been reported ill and has been relieved of command at the southern front. N'dalu is said now to be in charge of FAPLA operations in the Cuanza Norte and Bengo (formerly, Luanda) provinces, a considerable diminution of his previous authority. Indeed, N'dalu has been taken from the front line of defense and placed in charge of what is the third and last line of defense in FAPLA military doctrine.

N'dalu's replacement at the southern front is Lopo do Nascimento, a civilian who was Prime Minister of Angola during the transition to independence from Portugal and then also under Neto. Known as a good administrator, Nascimento is a leading figure in the MPLA. The replacement of a military figure with a civilian authority in the Mavinga area may simply signal a downgrading of importance of the area to the MPLA. Or, it may have been done with political and diplomatic considerations in mind in an attempt to make the situation around Mavinga appear "normal" following FAPLA's defeat on the battlefield.

The latter is more likely, however, especially when viewed in light of a May 10 letter being circulated on Capitol Hill by the MPLA's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Manuel Pedro Pacavira. "Contrary to initial press reports," the letter says, "President dos Santos withdrew our forces as a gesture of peace and to show his desire to eliminate, as an issue in the evolving peace talks, the question of control of Mavinga." Pacavira then suggests that "intelligence reports provided by the U.S. administration will soon confirm the *voluntary* withdrawal of our military forces . . . UNITA's claims of a military victory may have misrepresented our gesture of peace." (emphasis added)

A May 16 U.S. Department of State press guidance on the issue is cautious. In response to the hypothetical question, "Is it true that UNITA has scored a major victory against the MPLA at Mavinga?" the suggested response is: "MPLA troops began to withdraw from the Mavinga area on May 6, abandoning vehicles, weapons and other materiel. UNITA has announced that it will not attack MPLA troops withdrawing to their bases at Cuito Cuanavale." One might ask why FAPLA forces would abandon such inventory if their withdrawal was "voluntary" as suggested by Pacavira.

The letter from Pacavira suggests that the MPLA is attempting to turn a military loss into political gain. By putting the best possible face on their military defeat at Mavinga and suggesting that the MPLA is desirous of peace, the MPLA is attempting to influence the decision of the U.S. administration and Congressional intelligence committees concerning additional assistance to UNITA.

## Other Military Action — FAPLA Advances on Caiundo to Savate Axis

On the southwestern front, from Caiundo to Savate (see map on opposite page), MPLA forces are situated 30 kilometers south of Caiundo, and are said to be making progress at the rate of 3-5 kilometers a day. UNITA, in a communique dated April 19, claimed the Caiundo to Savate advance — backed by some 5000 men with tanks, long-range artillery, and aircraft — was ordered by MPLA Chief of Staff Franca N'dalu at an April 18 meeting with his officers in Menongue. On April 20, UNITA destroyed a floating bridge on the Cubango River that the MPLA used as a crossing between Menongue and the MPLA mobile command post on the Cubango River bank. This action, however, should only delay the MPLA's progress by a few weeks.

In other military action, on April 24 UNITA forces were said to have inflicted heavy losses on the 85th FAPLA brigade in central Moxico province. Also, an ambush on a convoy of military vehicles heading from

Uige to Luanda resulted in the destruction of 70 vehicles and two helicopters, according to UNITA. The Angolan defense ministry has, to date, only acknowledged the downing of one MI-17 helicopter gunship.

## Gauging the Impact of Further Cuban Withdrawal

With the combined removal of military equipment and soldiers, Cuban fighting ability in Angola is being irreversibly diminished. By September/October of 1990 they will be down to garrison unit strength. That is to say, those remaining will be deployed primarily in and around increasingly fewer military bases close to Luanda. Heretofore, the Cuban presence has enabled the MPLA to use its troops primarily for offensive operations against UNITA. This Cuban redeployment will require the MPLA to stretch their forces and draw on troops currently deployed in the south in order to defend vital communications, transport, oil and other economic facilities in northern regions. The Angolan oil minister has, however, assured foreign investors that oil installation security will not suffer when Cubans guarding oil sites are relieved of duty.

Already the Cuban withdrawal is having an effect on the command and control structure of FAPLA and it is becoming increasingly apparent how dependent FAPLA has been on the Cubans. Exacerbating the situation for the MPLA are manpower shortages. Fifteen-year-old boys who have received abbreviated military training are reportedly fighting on the Cuito/Mavinga front.

On April 19, according to the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar issued a declaration in New York which said that the 60 U.N. military observers had fully accomplished their mission of controlling the Cuban soldiers' withdrawal from Angola. Under the 1988 Tri-Partite Accords, 33,000 soldiers were to have departed Angola by April 1, 1990. A total of 32,800 Cuban soldiers have departed, while 5,120 are due to depart by September 30.

## UNITA and MPLA Hold Talks

On April 24-25, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) held two days of preliminary talks on prospects for future negotiations in Evora, a site east of Lisbon, Portugal. The MPLA delegation consisted of a political advisor to President Eduardo Dos Santos and a lieutenant colonel, apparently an official from military intelligence. The low rank of these officials suggests that the MPLA intended this as nothing more than an exploratory meeting.

The UNITA delegation included its Ambassadors to Portugal and France, Paulo Alicerces Mango and Armindo Lucas Gato, respectively. The two sides were said to have agreed to set a secret calendar for further discussions. Many are speculating that Cape Verde will be the site for the next round of talks before moving back to Portugal.

Officials from the Portuguese Ministry of Cooperation were present as observers and note-takers, indicating both factions' apparent willingness to consider a future role in any negotiations by the Government of Portugal. Portugal's role is important because negotiations are made easier by the absence of a language barrier, its former role as colonizer of Angola, its extensive knowledge of Angola's politics, and its official neutrality in the Angolan conflict.

UNITA called for external observers to future talks, specifically naming Herman Cohen, U.S. Assistant Secretary for African Affairs; Anatoli Adamishin, Cohen's Soviet counterpart; Jose Manuel Durao Barroso, Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and Carlos Aldana, Cuban Ambassador to Portugal.

The Lisbon news program "Deadline" gave credit to Portuguese President Soares for providing the initial impetus for the exploratory talks and to Secretary Barroso for breaking the deadlock existing since the June 1989 signing of the Gbadolite Agreement. UNITA was pleased with Portugal's involvement,

believing that its stature in Portugal has been heightened by the recent warm reception of President Savimbi by President Soares.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Barroso warned that the gulf between the two sides is formidable: "The road to peace in Angola could still be very, very long. The differences are very deep." He cited two basic disagreements:

- 1) UNITA has steadfastly declined recognition of the current Angolan constitution and,
- 2) the Marxist-Leninist MPLA regime has continually refused to introduce a multi-party system in Angola.

Barroso also noted that Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko retains the role of mediator. MPLA Foreign Minister Loy van Dunem, was cited by *Angola News Briefs*, as predicting that Zairean mediation would be relegated to second rank and would, however, eventually disappear.

The Portuguese Government informed the U.S. and Soviet Governments about the scheduled talks only 48 hours before they began. Assistant Secretary Cohen flew to Lisbon upon their completion to be briefed on what had transpired.

## **Calls for a Cease-fire: UNITA Demands Savimbi-Dos Santos Talks**

Since the Evora meeting, UNITA has called for:

- a cease-fire by June;
- an end to the propaganda war by Luanda;
- the release of political prisoners accused of being UNITA activists; and
- recognition of UNITA as the official opposition.

UNITA also recognized Dos Santos as head of the Angolan state (without recognizing the legitimacy of the MPLA government) and proposed an immediate Savimbi-Dos Santos meeting in Portugal or Zaire. ANGOP, the Angolan News Agency, countered with a statement arguing that, "Savimbi's attitude threatens to delay steps already taken," and that UNITA added to the post-Gbadolite confusion by making public what the MPLA regarded as secret terms of the agreement. The Angolan Ambassador to Lisbon termed Savimbi's appeal for face-to-face talks as unexpected and a bit hasty.

## **MPLA Criticize Zaire and South Africa**

In a speech on May Day, MPLA President Eduardo Dos Santos condemned Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, and accused Zaire of jeopardizing the peace process by helping UNITA launch attacks in northern Angola. Dos Santos, however, saw prospects for peace if UNITA recognized the current government and "foreign meddling" ceased.

Angolan Foreign Minister Loy Van Dunem, while in New York attending an international aid conference, announced at an April 25th press conference that South Africa recently resumed sending military supplies and personnel to fight "side by side" with UNITA, in contravention of its pledge to stay out of the conflict. Minister Loy also said the South Africans had given facilities to the Angolan rebels for acquiring military materiel. Van Dunem speculated that South African aid could encourage UNITA to launch military action around the capital of Luanda, thus hampering negotiations.

ANGOP, the Angolan News Agency, also denounced UNITA military activity in Luanda, which is suffering a cholera epidemic and food shortages. Lusa, the Portuguese news agency, reported in early May

that energy would have to be severely restricted in Luanda for more than a month following UNITA sabotage of 26 hydro-electric pylons outside the Angolan capital.

## **Angolan Civic Association Holds First Conference**

Joaquim Pinto de Andrade's organization, the ACA (Angolan Civic Association), held its first convention of over 1300 Angolan professionals abroad. ACA was founded in Luanda in 1989 when the MPLA was encouraging the establishment of such associations in an attempt to dilute UNITA's strength among the intelligentsia and worker's groups, and to give the appearance of so-called openness. De Andrade was a founding member of the MPLA, but fell out of favor with the party in 1972-73 after which he became a key player in the "Active Revolt" movement.

The conference approved a proposal for peace and multi-party elections in Angola at this first major conference in Lisbon. Although the MPLA dispatched a number of its supporters to the ACA conference — more than doubling their number before the last day of the conference — they were unable to dissuade the group from backing a pro-UNITA platform.

Both Portuguese President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Cavaco Silva addressed the conference and called for more democracy and respect for human rights in Angola. In addition to the MPLA delegates, high-level UNITA officials were also in attendance. The conference concluded, according to Luanda News, with a call for peace and a "society which respects differences and freedom of expression in every field so that creativity and individual initiative can develop." The Congress' call urged peace talks for a process to uphold the safeguarding of fundamental guarantees in a pluralist society affording equal opportunity to all.

Joaquim Pinto de Andrade has declared himself unavailable as prime minister for a transitional government in Angola, an idea proposed by UNITA leader Savimbi as a concessionary step towards conciliation with the MPLA. The highly-respected former MPLA member remains in a strong position to reconcile the Angolan factions.

## **U.S. Senate Remains Cautious of New Namibian Government's Actions in Angola**

After its achievement of full independence from South Africa in March, the foreign policies of the new government of Namibia toward its southern African neighbors are now being actively discussed in the halls of the U.S. Congress. On May 1 the U.S. Senate enacted an amendment on the Fiscal Year '90 Dire Emergency Supplemental Appropriations bill stating that:

"... funds made available for Namibia under this heading may not be obligated or expended unless the President determines and reports to the Congress that it is not the policy of the Government of Namibia to intervene militarily in Angola or to support military intervention from its territory into Angola."

The Kasten amendment — introduced by Senator Robert Kasten (R.-WI), the ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee and Co-chair of the Senate Angola Task Force — passed without a roll call vote, indicating overwhelming Senate support for the legislation.

In support of the amendment, Senator Symms (R-Ida.), a member of the Senate Angola Task Force, cited concerns about the South West Africa People's Organization's (SWAPO) past behavior in Angola as grounds for taking precautions against funding the new Namibian government without assurances. Experts believe SWAPO's political wing is satisfied with its new stature in the government of Namibia, but that SWAPO's armed-wing (the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, or PLAN) is not. PLAN's close

association with the Angolan military places them at odds with SWAPO leadership with regard to future relations with the Angolan government in Luanda.

Indicatively, PLAN has returned to Namibia with Soviet military equipment and is setting up operations in northern Namibia at Rundu and Oshakati — former Southwest African Territorial Forces (SWATF) bases from which counter-insurgency operations into Angola were once initiated. SWAPO is apparently fearful of attempting to control PLAN and is simply turning a blind eye to PLAN military conduct on Namibia's northern border. PLAN's numbers are down to approximately 1800, minus the 700 cadres that returned to Namibia during the transition to independence. When the new Namibian defence minister visited Luanda, it was rumored that SWAPO may have signed a military pact with the Angolan government.

Senator Paul Simon (D-Ill.), Chairman of the Africa Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, voiced the sole objection to the Kasten amendment mentioned above. He stated that the United States should not expect other African nations to support Jonas Savimbi as it does, and that "... Namibia is in the kind of a situation where they have no ability to get involved in a meaningful way in the Angolan conflict anyway." Simon added that "... we have to recognize that our position of eminent loneliness in supporting Jonas Savimbi is not a position that any African country, with a possible exception of *the one*, joins us in." (emphasis added)

## Namibian Opposition Speculates on PLAN Deployment

Lending further credence to the U.S. legislation are concerns being raised by prominent Namibian opposition leaders. Moses Katjuongua, a member of Namibia's new Parliament representing the National Patriotic Front, expressed consternation over PLAN members being incorporated into what he termed a "pseudo police force." Katjuongua suspects these PLAN police will be posted in Owambo to permit safe passage through Namibia to Angolan troops wanting to attack UNITA from the south. Katjuongua proposed selling PLAN's stockpile of arms to help pay Namibia's \$200 million national debt. *The Times of Namibia* reported that some of the vehicles being brought into Namibia bore Angolan government markings and that some soldiers conversed in Portuguese, Angola's lingua franca.

*The Star*, a South African newspaper, reported that Namibia's Home Affairs Office refuted the charges of the opposition leaders, claiming that men were being recruited from the defence force on a temporary basis to help police fight a growing crime problem. The Namibian Home Affairs spokesman said there had been an increase in banditry along the border as "weapons came in from Angola and were used to rob shops and steal cattle."

Some local Namibian newspapers remained suspicious of the deployment, arguing that the bulk of the force at Oshakati was in an area where contact with UNITA was likely, while the lesser number of police were deployed in the rest of Owamboland, where authorities acknowledge crime is on the increase.

## Zaire's Role in United States Policy Toward Angola

In a move designed to prevent political and social turmoil — and, even, economic disaster — Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko announced plans on April 24 to reform his country's constitution and introduce multi-party democracy.

Ostensibly, the move may also have been made with an eye to Washington where Mobutu's detractors in the U.S. Congress are mounting an effort to cut foreign assistance to Zaire.

A May 10 *New York Times* article, "Peace in Neighboring Angola Seen Diminishing Zaire's Importance to West," advances the proposition that, with peace talks beginning in Angola, and the resultant perception that Zaire's strategic importance to the West is declining, greater Western focus will arise on "human rights abuses and economic mismanagement widely attributed to Mobutu's government."

Indeed, the body of opinion against continuing U.S. assistance to Zaire is growing. The anti-UNITA constituency in Congress has joined ranks with the anti-Zaire lobby because it is believed that pressure on Zaire may translate into pressure on UNITA — U.S. logistical support for UNITA flows through Zaire. Those in Congress who want to stop U.S. support for UNITA believe it is possible to pressure Mobutu into not cooperating with the United States on the UNITA effort by threatening the cut-off of aid to Zaire.

According to Congressional sources, it is ironic that although Mobutu is under increasing pressure because of his role in facilitating U.S. support for UNITA, aid to Zaire will remain intact precisely because of his critical stance in support of U.S. policy in Angola.

## Miscellaneous

- In what is being termed a “major policy shift,” UNITA President Jonas Savimbi seems to have ruled out UNITA participation in a transitional government if peace talks are successful. In a May 14 press conference in Mavinga, he said that things were so bad in Angola after 15 years of MPLA rule that “it would be better if they are left to drive this boat alone.” Elaborating, he said, “If we share in the government, it will serve only to confuse the people because we might be seen as sharing in the government’s mistakes.” Savimbi then repeated his call to MPLA leader dos Santos to meet him in face-to-face talks.

- West Germany’s Berliner Handels-und Frankfurter Bank (BHF) has provided a loan of \$50 million to Angola, the Angolan news agency, ANGOP, announced on May 2. Angola will supply the BHF 10,000 barrels of oil per day to the value of the credit line granted. The credit, according to the Angolan Ministry of Trade and Industry, will be used to support the country’s trade operations in consumer goods.

- In its Military Briefing #9, the Free Angola Information Service states that British mercenaries have been recruited by the London-based Defense Systems, Ltd. (DSL) to serve in Angola, purportedly to protect diamond-producing areas. The contract was said to be negotiated with the Luanda government by a former SAS major, Alistar Morrison.

- An article appearing in the January 1, 1990 *Swiss Review of World Affairs* by journalist Kurt Pelda, recounts a seven-month, 1200 mile cross-country march with UNITA rebels. Pelda became the first journalist to accompany UNITA to territory outside Luanda. Among Pelda’s observations is the penetration by UNITA across the Kwanza River into the MPLA’s base of support in Kimbundu territory in northern Angola, as well as the strengthening of UNITA relations with the Bakongo on the Zairean border. According to General Dembo, UNITA’s northern front commander, UNITA’s northern units now consist of as many as 50 percent Kimbundu and Bakongo (tribal affiliations usually sympathetic to the MPLA), as well as former FNLA (the now-defunct, National Front for the Liberation of Angola) fighters.

- The American Red Cross issued a press release on May 3 titled, “Chevron aids Red Cross Orthopedic Programs in Angola.” The release stated that Chevron Corporation granted \$275,000 for Red Cross programs in Angola at Bomba Alta near Huambo and at Kuito (formerly Bie), villages under MPLA control. In 1989, the Red Cross treated an average of 105 patients each month and produced over 2,240 prostheses. The Red Cross also provided training for local workers in order to make the orthopedic centers self-sufficient. Al Panico, manager of operations for American Red Cross International Services, said, “We accept this generous gift on behalf of the American Red Cross and the ICRC which, because of its neutrality and humanitarian outreach, is able to provide care to all the victims in the Angolan conflict, regardless of political affiliation.”

- On April 29, Luanda’s Domestic Radio announced, under the terms of the MPLA’s current amnesty law, the freeing of 107 citizens detained in Huambo Province. All were serving sentences for crimes against state security, for supplying “foodstuffs and information on FAPLA movement to Angolan rebels,” and for “organizing, mobilizing, and recruiting youths into UNITA ranks. . .” A total of 660 citizens were said to have benefited from the amnesty law in central Huambo province during the first quarter of 1990.

- Luanda Domestic radio announced on April 28th that Angola's Ambassador to Brazil was received in Brasilia by the Brazilian Foreign Minister. The Angolan Ambassador, Oliveira e Silva, briefed the Brazilian Minister on a "prepared international plotted coup to overthrow the Government of the People's Republic of Angola." The coup, the Ambassador claimed, involved Israeli, American, and South African secret services, in cooperation with specially trained Israeli forces.

- Angola plans to request aid from the Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) to assist in linking up its northern, central and southern electricity grids. Angola is considering linking the southern grid (Xangongo, 80km from Namibia's northern border) to Namibia's Ruacana power plant. Financing is a problem, with only \$125 million of the necessary \$350 million secured. Experiments are being conducted to link Zimbabwe and Angola by road transport through the Caprivi strip and technicians are working to erect a line to bring electricity across the Zambezi River from Zambia. Angola's Energy Minister, Iombo, identifies the biggest obstacle as transporting Angolan oil to other SADCC members, with the landed cost being more than that of oil from the Persian Gulf.

- Savimbi, in an interview with Portugal's *Tempo*, suggested Portuguese and Angolans alike could benefit from a status of dual citizenship, akin to what Brazil and Portugal, albeit imperfectly, have achieved after four centuries. Savimbi also stated that although UNITA had been weakened by the loss of South Africa's military support, the MPLA had been weakened by the Cuban withdrawal, the lack of ideological support from all the countries of the Soviet bloc, and by the increasing isolation in its one-party concepts, particularly since the Namibian elections.

- UNITA's Washington representative, Jardo Muekalia, appealed to Chevron Corporation at the annual stockholders' May 1 meeting in San Francisco, to place in escrow proceeds from Chevron's Cabinda operations. Muekalia cited as precedent for such action Gulf's decision to escrow profits from Cabinda during a similar time of civil strife and uncertainty in Angola in 1975. UNITA argued that Chevron has at present an historic opportunity to exert pressure on the MPLA to hold free elections.

- South Africa's *Citizen* newspaper quotes Nelson Mandela from Luanda, thanking Angola for its support for the resistance struggle in South Africa: "I pay tribute to comrade President (Jose Eduardo) dos Santos, his government and the Angolan people for all the help they have given us. . . The progress we have made in our struggle is owed largely to Angola — and we hope that one day we will be as free as you." Mandela also praised Cuban President Castro and Soviet President Gorbachev for their help to liberation movements in southern Africa. Mandela described Cuba as a poor country, but stated it stood head and shoulders above the rest in its "love for human rights and liberty." Mandela said he hoped to visit Moscow and Havana soon to pay tribute personally to Castro and Gorbachev, and pledged unspecified continuing support for the MPLA government.

**Angola Peace Monitor** (ISSN 1045-0513) is published by the International Freedom Foundation, 200 G Street, N.E., Suite 300, Washington, DC 20002, Telephone: (202) 546-5788, Telex: 9102408891, Telefax: (202) 546-5488.

**Angola Peace Monitor** is provided to promote discussion of the national reconciliation process in Angola and should not be construed as an attempt to aid or hinder the passage of any bill in any legislature. The International Freedom Foundation is organized under Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. Contributions to IFF are tax-deductible.

© 1990, International Freedom Foundation. Permission is hereby granted to reprint in whole or in part, provided that notice of copyright is given. Printed in the United States of America.

*Margaret Post Calhoun*

*200 G Street, N.E. Telephone (202) 546-5788*  
*Suite 300 Telex 9102408891*  
*Washington, DC 20002 Telefax (202) 546-5488*

## Dr. Savimbi's Trip to the U.S.

"The Right to vote is universal  
and it should not be denied to  
the people of Angola."

September/October 1989

Courtesy of:

Free Angola Information Service  
P.O. Box 65463  
Washington, DC 20005-5463

Telephone: (202) 775-0958

**A Lasting Peace for Angola**  
**Remarks by Dr. Jonas M. Savimbi**  
**President of the Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA)**  
**at the National Press Club, Washington, DC**  
**Friday, October 6, 1989**

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentleman:

It is always an honor, when visiting the United States of America, to address the noteworthy audience that gathers on occasions like this at the National Press Club.

If the essence of democracy lies in members of an informed electorate making their choices at the ballot box, institutions like the Press Club and occasions such as this, surely play a decisive role in ensuring the health of democracy in your great country.

Yesterday, I met with President Bush, not to discuss our needs for the war effort, but, to discuss negotiation for peace in Angola. Today, with the support of the U.S. we can talk of negotiations and not of war.

In the meeting, I presented President Bush with a proposal for ceasefire. It was accepted by the President. We now believe negotiations can again move forward.

The President reassured me his support for free and fair elections in our country and pledged that he would continue to support UNITA until a genuine reconciliation acceptable to both parties is achieved.

I know you will join me in looking forward to the day on which my country, Angola, can share fully in the democratic principles, institutions and practices, which have made your country the leader of the western world and an example to all those who are not yet members of the free community of nations. UNITA will not rest until Angola is a democratic state.

Some 15 months ago, when I last had the privilege of speaking from this podium, I announced a plan for peace in Angola which I had just presented to the President Ronald Reagan. That plan, which Mr. Reagan undertook to support, provided for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola; direct talks between the MPLA and UNITA; the formation of a Government of National Reconciliation; and, as soon as possible, free and fair elections, to enable the people of Angola to elect the government of their choice.

We have not wavered since 1975, when, with the assistance of the then-President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, the Free Angolan liberation movements - the FNLA, the MPLA and UNITA - signed the Alvor Accord with Portugal, the erstwhile colonial power in Angola.

The Alvor Accord provided for the establishment of a Government of National Unity comprising all three Angolan liberation movements, to be followed by free national elections for government of an independent Angola. The Angolan people were robbed of their chance for a democracy in 1975, when the MPLA, with Soviet support and Cuban troops, tore up the Accord and put themselves in power in Luanda.

For fourteen years, this unpopular regime has used Soviet arms and Cuban soldiers to hold onto the reins of power in Angola. For fourteen years, the people of Angola, through UNITA, have fought this tyranny and called consistently for the free elections stolen from them by the MPLA and its foreign backers. At long last, freedom and the chance to elect their own government are now within the grasp of the Angolan people.

With the signature, on December 22 last year, of the New York Accords, the stage was set for the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of more than fifty thousand Cuban troops from our country. The United States Administration played a central role in negotiating these accords. The Administration and others have been good enough to recognize that, without the determination of UNITA to fight for the right of the Angolan people to democratic independence and self-government, the Cubans and the Soviets would not have been forced to count the cost of imposing their totalitarian will on Angola.

I would like to pay particular tribute to the United States Congress in this regard. Without the decision by the Congress in 1985 to lift the Clark Amendment and resume a modest, but essential, assistance programme to UNITA, our forces, despite their determination, would have been hard pressed to survive the massive assaults launched by the MPLA against us in 1986 and 1988, in particular.

Without the steady and enduring political support for UNITA's goals, coming from both the Congress and the Administration, the MPLA, the Cubans and the Soviets would not have seen the need to end the Angolan civil war by negotiation.

You will note that I have said "support for UNITA's goals", and not "support for UNITA". Of course we welcome the support which we, as a movement, have received. It has been important both in principle and in practice. It has given us the ability to defend ourselves against Mig-23's and Hind attack helicopters, and to stop the advance of tanks and other Soviet armor against our positions. It has helped sustain the morale of our troops in battle and that of the people in the countryside, in the face of MPLA threats and brutal reprisals against the hundreds of thousands of Angolan

civilians, who have helped our soldiers in their fight for freedom.

But we see your support as being given less for us, than for what we are determined to achieve in Angola. We see the help you have given us, as being intended to achieve a democratic future for the Angolan people - a future involving respect for human rights; recourse to the courts; the peaceful settlement of disputes and above all, the right of the people to select their own government, through regular, free, multi-party elections.

These are the values which, thanks to your determination to promote them and the indomitable spirit of man, are now sweeping the world. From Eastern Europe to Southern Africa, we are seeing a resurgence of democratic values. Those of us who have suffered for so long in the struggle to achieve these goals, rejoice with you at the first signs of their re-emergence.

There are some in Washington who have argued that it is unrealistic to expect the outcome of the Angolan negotiations to be democratic elections - some form of integration being all that can be expected. This brand of elitism seems to assume that the Angolan people are incapable of democracy, their long struggle to achieve it notwithstanding. It fails, moreover, to explain why Washington would support free elections in Poland and Namibia - our southern neighbor - but settle for "integration" in Angola.

I am greatly encouraged by the depth of support for our goals which I have again found in the United States in the course of this visit. President Bush played a leading role in establishing the previous Administration's policy in Angola and Namibia and his satisfaction at the progress achieved since we met in 1988 is no less than my own. We look forward to a continuing warm and supportive relationship as we move forward to the establishment of a democratic Angola.

This visit has given me a chance to visit again with many old friends in the Congress and, I believe, to make several new friends in both branches of government. It is, moreover, always a pleasure

to exchange thoughts with the well-informed ladies and gentlemen of the media.

But the real reason for the visit of my delegation to Washington this time, springs from the vital need to achieve peace in Angola, to stop the killing and begin the healing and the rebuilding. Our aim is to get the Angolan peace talks back on track. The goal of these talks was set at Gbadolite on June 22, 1989, and endorsed by 18 African Heads of State, in the presence of the representatives of two more.

The goal of the talks is not exile for me, nor "clemency" or "amnesty" for UNITA, nor "integration of UNITA elements into the structures of the People's Republic of Angola". It is quite simply

- as the Gbadolite Declaration makes clear - an end to the war by means of a comprehensive cease-fire; and direct negotiations between the MPLA and UNITA, in search of a formula for true national reconciliation in Angola.

This has been our goal for the past five years. We have called on the MPLA countless times to join us in bringing peace and national reconciliation to Angola.

The efforts of the MPLA and their allies, to as President Kaunda of Zambia put it in a press conference "strengthen the weaknesses of the Gbadolite Declaration" led to the confusion which followed the conferences of eight Heads of State at Harare and, to a lesser degree, Kinshasa. An agreement between the MPLA and UNITA, cannot, however, be improved by conniving by the MPLA to insert into a new statement, provisions which UNITA has unequivocally rejected.

We agonized over the decision whether or not to go to Kinshasa on September 18. We decided against it after consultations with a number of African Heads of State, because it was clear that the MPLA was not ready to deal honestly with the issues before it and that progress in the spirit of Gbadolite was not possible at Kinshasa.

We deeply appreciate the Administration's statement of support for UNITA's goals of face-to-face negotiations, national reconciliation and democratic elections, and its rejection of exile, amnesty and integration. The reaction of the MPLA Ambassador at the United Nations to the Administration's statement, makes it clear, however, that our judgement about the MPLA's position was correct.

Mr. Pacavira was quoted in the Washington Post on September 25, as saying that the MPLA would not make concessions which it saw as tantamount to suicide. The "concessions" Mr. Pacavira specifically rejected were the creation of a transitional government of national reconciliation, and amendment of the constitution to permit a multi-party system of government.

The present constitution of the People's Republic of Angola entrenches the role of the MPLA as the embodiment of the will of the Angolan people, and commits the Party to the effort to establish a socialist society in Angola. UNITA has not fought Portuguese colonialism since 1964 and Soviet and Cuban oppression since 1985, now to be integrated into an unpopular and undemocratic party struggling to establish a failed social and economic system in our country.

While we continue to hope that wiser MPLA heads than that of Mr. Pacavira will soon prevail, we know that history, logic and the will of the people of Angola are all on our side. Sooner rather than later, the MPLA and its backers will recognize that the democratic right of choice stolen from the Angolan people in 1975, can no longer be denied to them. Our age is experiencing a resurgence of democracy, and your country has helped mightily to

bring it about.

In addition to meeting with me this week, President Bush also met President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, the mediator in the Angolan dispute, who was responsible for convening the historic conference at Gbadolite. We have made progress towards an understanding with him about the path ahead. Senior Administration officials have also met MPLA Foreign Minister "Loy" van Dunem in an effort to secure the MPLA's acceptance of these proposals. We are, I believe, close to an historic breakthrough.

Once agreement has been reached on the cease-fire document, direct negotiations will begin between UNITA and the MPLA on what the Gbadolite Declaration called the "modalities of application" of the programme for national reconciliation. We have always agreed that these negotiations would be without preconditions. I pointed out to President Mobutu in Zaire three weeks before the Gbadolite meeting, that an agreement on political accommodation could only be achieved if UNITA and the MPLA were to hammer it out in direct negotiations between them.

But this does not mean that we have abandoned our agenda: It is, as it always has been, a Transitional Government of National Reconciliation followed by free and fair elections for the first elected government in Angola's history. We shall continue to look to you, the first democratic republic in modern times, and the foremost defender of democratic values for the whole of this century, for support in our quest for democracy in Angola.

I said when I last spoke to you at the National Press Club, that I hoped that the next time that I was accorded the same honor, it would be as the representative of a free, democratic Angolan republic. We have not yet succeeded in reaching this goal, but I know, and I sense that you share that knowledge with me, that we are closer than ever before.

Neither I nor most of my colleagues are professional soldiers; we are economists, poets, doctors, agronomists, teachers, lovers of music and the arts, family men and women. Most of us have sacrificed the whole of our adult lives for a dream.

The vision of a free Angola, dominated by neither Portuguese governors, nor Soviet commissars, but rather by the will of our own people.

We have fought for this dream and sacrificed the lives of all too many of our brightest and our best, in order to achieve it. We have endured physical suffering and separation from our families; our children have volunteered for the army rather than going on to college and university. The courage of our women has teemed the resolve of our men.

And now, we are close very close to achieving peace and democracy. It may take a year, perhaps more, but the combined effects of our

struggle and your support are making that dream a reality. The Cubans are leaving, as we knew they would. The FAPLA soldiers are deserting, tired of the war and the senseless killing. The people of Luanda celebrated en masse when it was announced that Eduardo dos Santos and I had shaken hands and that a cease-fire had been agreed on at Gbadolite.

We cannot yet relax the pressure on Luanda. As the MPLA's military offensives of the past two months have shown, there are still some in the Central Committee who have not yet given up the idea of a military victory. They are, unfortunately, supported in this madness by a number of Soviet military advisors, who were, yet again, involved in planning and directing the most recent attacks against our positions.

But we have beaten back these attacks, making good use of the assistance you have given us. We have made clear, with your help, that there is no alternative to negotiation. We have again walked the last mile, in making new a cease-fire proposal, to set the stage for the talks on national reconciliation.

The MPLA Central Committee may still be looking for a way to avoid the inevitable, but they too know in their hearts that the will of the people will decide in the end. We are determined to see our dream through to successful conclusion and we know, from the statements of both the Bush Administration and the United States Congress, that we can count on you to be there at the finish.

For this demonstration of true friendship, Ladies and Gentlemen, we in UNITA thank you, on behalf of all the people of Angola.

# UNITA PEACE PLAN

**JAMBA, September 26, 1989**

During the opening session of UNITA's 2nd Extraordinary Congress, Dr. Savimbi expanded on the UNITA plan to revive the Angolan peace process.

The plan was debated by the Congress and the final document will be presented to the Bush Administration and the Congress during Dr. Savimbi's visit to the U.S.A. As adopted, the plan includes the following:

1. Direct negotiations between UNITA and the MPLA;
2. A cease-fire and the release of all political prisoners through the International Committee of the Red Cross;
3. The formation of a Transitional Government of National Unity;
4. Revision of the Constitution as one of the first duties of the government;
5. Free and Democratic elections.

To implement this plan, the following calendar was adopted:

1. Signing of the cease-fire;
2. Three months after the signing of the cease-fire, African military units will be invited to assist in the monitoring of the cease-fire. Countries like Nigeria and Morocco have been recommended;
3. Nine months after the deployment of the African peace keeping forces, a Transitional Government of National Unity will be formed;
4. Six months after the establishment of a Transitional Government of National Unity, Free and Democratic elections will be held;
5. The U.S. should play a more active role in the negotiations;
6. Portugal may also be invited for peace keeping purposes because of its knowledge of and long historical relationship with Angola.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

---

For Immediate Release

October 5, 1989

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

President Bush met with UNITA leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi for approximately 30 minutes in the Oval Office this morning. Dr. Savimbi is in the United States on a private visit. He has met with President Bush several times during the last administration.

President Bush used the occasion of today's visit to stress the United States' continued support for UNITA and the goal of national reconciliation in Angola.

The President urged Dr. Savimbi to work with President Mobutu and others in the region to foster the peace process. He noted our long-standing support for a cease-fire and face-to-face negotiations, and, ultimately, free and fair elections.

# # #



**FREE  
ANGOLA**

**FREE ANGOLA INFORMATION SERVICE**

1850 K Street, N.W. • Suite 370 • Washington, D.C. • 20006-2202  
(202) 775-0958

**"UNITA'S CEASEFIRE PROPOSAL ACCEPTED BY BUSH:  
SAVIMBI READY TO MEET WITH DOS SANTOS"**

October 5, 1989 Washington, DC

Dr. Jonas Savimbi, President of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) stated today that the Bush Administration had accepted UNITA's proposal for a ceasefire in Angola and reasserted the Administrations commitment to free and fair elections in Angola.

"I presented President Bush with a proposal for a ceasefire. It was accepted," stated President Savimbi. "We now believe negotiations can again move forward."

President Savimbi was in Washington this week to revive the Angolan peace negotiations. In his meeting with Administration officials and Congressional leaders he urged the U.S. to take a more active role so that there would be "no more deviations" from Gbadolite's agenda of ceasefire, face to face negotiations and genuine national reconciliation.

UNITA hopes that its ceasefire proposal will be the basis upon which negotiation can begin.

"We are ready to sign a ceasefire today. We are ready to meet with President dos Santos and President Mobutu," stated President Savimbi. "Angolans are tired of war and ready for peace."

President Savimbi called his week in the United States a "great success". A Task Force on Angola was formed in the House of Representatives this week, chaired by Democratic Congressman Dave McCurdy. McCurdy stated that "A bipartisan majority in the House of Representatives has favored the U.S. policy of supporting UNITA and with this Task Force we hope to continue this trend until national reconciliation and democracy are achieved in Angola."

-continued-

In addition President Bush reasserted his "long standing support for a ceasefire, face to face negotiations and free and fair elections".

"We are glad that Washington's commitment for free and fair elections extends to Namibia, Poland and now Angola."

-30-

For more information contact:  
Jardo Muekalia (202) 775-0958

## **Table of Contents**

- I. Press Announcement**
- II. Biography of President Jonas Savimbi**
- III. Photograph of President Jonas Savimbi**
- IV. The Long Road to Freedom**
- V. Summary of Gbadolite**
- VI. UNITA Peace Plan**
- VII. Kwacha News**
- VIII. House Task Force Members**
- IX. Statement on Ivory Issue**
- X. News Clippings**



# NEWS

**FREE ANGOLA INFORMATION SERVICE, INC.**

P.O. Box 65463 • Washington, D.C. 20035-5463 • (202) 775-0958

## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DATE: September 28, 1989  
FROM: Free Angola Information Service  
SUBJECT: Dr. Savimbi's visit to the U.S. and UNITA's Plan to Revive  
the Peace Process in Angola

For more information contact:

Jardo Muekalia  
UNITA Chief Representative to the U.S.

Telephone:

(202) 775-0958

---

Dr. Jonas Savimbi, President of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) will visit Washington, DC the week of October 2, to brief members of Congress and the Bush Administration on the status of negotiations for peace and national reconciliation in Angola.

President Savimbi has been invited to Washington, DC by the House Angola Task Force, co-chaired by Congressman Dave McCurdy (D-OK) and Joel Hefley (R-CO), and by the Senate Angola Task Force, co-chaired by Senators Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) and Robert Kasten (R-WI).

During his visit, President Savimbi will discuss UNITA's plan to revive the Angolan peace process. The plan was introduced at UNITA's 2nd Extraordinary Congress on September 26, 1989.

its initiative will revive the commitments made in Gbadolite, Zaire 89. That day, eighteen African heads of state witnessed an historic between Jonas Savimbi and Eduardo dos Santos. At this summit Gbadolite, UNITA and the MPLA pledged to a ceasefire and to national reconciliation and peace.

, the process has deteriorated. President dos Santos and the MPLA sly sought to re-define the GBADOLITE DECLARATION to relieve the international community to negotiate for a meaningful political 1 UNITA. In a speech delivered to the People's Assembly of Angola President dos Santos all but revoked GBADOLITE, and returned to transient position that was rejected by the 18 African Heads of

ns its commitment to the GBADOLITE DECLARATION of June President Savimbi stated on August 10 in Jamba, "We regard the DECLARATION as an important milestone on the road to the national reconciliation and free and fair elections precisely because active and inappropriate concepts such as "integration, amnesty and "exile" and declared the commitment of the Angolan parties to the of peace and national reconciliation."

that its new peace initiative will be successful in resuming negotiations for peace and national reconciliation in Angola.

## **BIOGRAPHY OF JONAS SAVIMBI**

Jonas Savimbi was born August 3, 1934, at Munhango (Moxico Province) where his father was a Benguela Railway employee. His early education took place in Andulo, Dondi, Silva Porto (Bie) and Sa da Bandeira (Lubango). He left Angola in 1959 to pursue the study of medicine in Lisbon, Portugal.

Forced to leave Portugal in 1960 because of his militant anti-colonialist student activities, Savimbi took refuge in Switzerland where he enrolled in the School of Medicine at the University of Fribourg. By 1961, Savimbi had changed his field of study and was working toward a degree in Political Science at the University of Lausanne.

During this same period of time, in order to decide on the extent of his personal involvement in the armed national liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism, Savimbi established contact with Holden Roberto of the Union of the Population of Angola (UPA) and with Mario de Andrade and Viriato da Cruz, both of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

Tom Mboya, Foreign Minister of Kenya, a close personal friend, persuaded Savimbi to join UPA. He did so and soon became its Secretary-General. In that capacity, he succeeded in obtaining recognition of UPA by several African countries. He also promoted the fusion of UPA and the Angola Democratic Party (PDA) into a single national liberation movement which called itself the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). He helped create the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE) and became its Foreign Minister.

After obtaining his doctorate in Political Science at Lausanne in July 1965, Savimbi went to the People's Republic of China for training in Guerrilla warfare.

Convinced that the leadership must become personally involved in the front lines of the guerrilla movement, Savimbi returned home to carry on the liberation struggle from inside Angola. This issue caused a final rupture with FNLA leaders who preferred to remain in exile and cut off from the people. In March 1966, Savimbi founded the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) in the village of Mwangai (Moxico Province).

In 1974, after the political changes in Portugal, Savimbi took the initiative toward dialogue, reconciliation, and cooperation among the three Angolan liberation movements. These efforts led to the convening of the Mombassa (Kenya) Conference where a common platform for the three movements to negotiate with Portugal was established. The success of this Conference led to the Alvor Conference in January 1975. There the FNLA, MPLA and UNITA were able to work together harmoniously and to deal with Portugal with relative success.

During the 1975 civil war in Angola, Savimbi pressed for a conference to put an end to the hostilities, restore peace in the country, and safeguard the Alvor Agreement. This conference was held in Nakuru (Kenya) in June 1975.

The Soviet-Cuban intervention which installed the MPLA in power has completely destroyed the Alvor Accord and re-plunged Angola into a new foreign domination. Since this intervention, Savimbi has used his guerrilla experience, his farsightedness, and his grass-roots support to continue the fight against Soviet/Cuban expansionism. UNITA has won victory after victory over the aggressors from Cuba and Russia.

Since then, except for a few brief visits to the outside world, Dr. Savimbi has remained in the Angolan countryside, organizing and mobilizing the people in their struggle against foreign domination. This continuous contact with the people enabled him and the UNITA cadres to assess correctly the condition of the struggle and to maintain widespread popular support.

Any permanent solution to the Angolan problem must reckon with this leader who knows and serves the cause of justice, liberty, and dignity for the Angolan people: Dr. Jonas Savimbi.

# UNITA PEACE PLAN

## JAMBA, September 26, 1989

During the opening session of UNITA's 2nd Extraordinary Congress, Dr. Savimbi expanded on the UNITA plan to revive the Angolan peace process.

The plan was debated by the Congress and the final document will be presented to the Bush Administration and the Congress during Dr. Savimbi's visit to the U.S.A. As adopted, the plan includes the following:

1. Direct negotiations between UNITA and the MPLA;
2. A cease-fire and the release of all political prisoners through the International Committee of the Red Cross;
3. The formation of a Transitional Government of National Unity;
4. Revision of the Constitution as one of the first duties of the government;
5. Free and Democratic elections.

To implement this plan, the following calendar was adopted:

1. Signing of the cease-fire;
2. Three months after the signing of the cease-fire, African military units will be invited to assist in the monitoring of the cease-fire. Countries like Nigeria and Morocco have been recommended;
3. Nine months after the deployment of the African peace keeping forces, a Transitional Government of National Unity will be formed;
4. Six months after the establishment of a Transitional Government of National Unity, Free and Democratic elections will be held;
5. The U.S. should play a more active role in the negotiations;
6. Portugal may also be invited for peace keeping purposes because of its knowledge of and long historical relationship with Angola.

# NATIONAL PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON CASSETTES

National Press Club Library

Washington, DC 20045

The world famous National Press Club Luncheon speeches are available on audiocassette tapes. By making a small investment, you can carry with you a world of interesting people and fresh ideas.

To order a cassette, use the order form on the back or call the NPC Library at (202) 662-7523. The cost is \$10.00 for National Press Club members and \$12.00 for non-members. Make a check payable to the NPC Library or charge it.

## 1987 NPC LUNCHEONS

- |          |   |         |  |          |   |
|----------|---|---------|--|----------|---|
| Jan. 8   | <b>Samuel Pierce</b> , Secy of Housing & Urban Development                              | May 1   | <b>Yasuhiro Nakasone</b> , Prime Minister of Japan                     | Aug. 6   | <b>M. Danny Wall</b> , Chairman, Federal Home Loan Bank Board                   |
| Jan. 15  | <b>Caspar Weinberger</b> , Secy of Defense  | May 5   | <b>Dr. Armand Hammer</b> , industry leader                             | Sept. 1  | <b>Lynne Cheney</b> , Chairman, Nat'l Endowment for the Humanities              |
| Jan. 21  | <b>Professor James Buchanan</b> , James Mason Univ., winner of Nobel prize in economics | May 7   | <b>Sen. Alan K. Simpson</b> (R-Wyoming)                                | Sept. 8  | <b>William Bennett</b> , Secretary of Education                                 |
| Jan. 28  | <b>Oliver Tambo</b> , head of South African National Party                              | May 13  | <b>Gov. Raphael Hernandez Colon</b> of Puerto Rico                     | Sept. 9  | <b>Pete du Pont</b> , former governor of Delaware; '88 pres. candidate          |
| Jan. 29  | <b>Dr. Otis Bowen</b> , Secy of Health & Human Services                                 | May 14  | <b>Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo</b> , President of Guatemala                 | Sept. 10 | <b>Ingvar Carlsson</b> , prime minister of Sweden                               |
| Jan. 30  | <b>Larry Speakes</b> , Outgoing White House Press Secretary                             | May 15  | <b>Sen. Lawton Chiles</b> (D-Florida)                                  | Sept. 11 | <b>Moshe Arad</b> , Ambassador, Israel  |
| Feb. 3   | <b>George M. Keller</b> , Chairman & CEO, Chevron Corp.                                 | May 19  | <b>Sen. Lloyd Bentsen</b> (D-Texas)                                    | Sept. 15 | <b>Roh Tae-Woo</b> , Chairman of the Democratic Justice Party of Korea          |
| Feb. 4   | <b>Gen. Lawrence Skantze</b> , B-1 bomber expert  | May 21  | <b>Mario Soares</b> , President of Portugal                            | Sept. 23 | <b>Rep. Patricia Schroeder</b> (D-Colo.)  |
| Feb. 17  | <b>Gov. Bill Clinton</b> (D-Arkansas)   | May 22  | <b>Franz Vranitzky</b> , Chancellor of Austria                         | Sept. 28 | <b>Sen. William Proxmire</b> (D-Wisc.)  |
| Feb. 18  | <b>John Herrington</b> , Secy of Energy   | May 26  | <b>John Houseman</b> , actor and director                              | Sept. 30 | <b>Bob Erburu</b> , CEO, Times-Mirror Corp.                                     |
| Feb. 19  | <b>Yitzhak Shamir</b> , Prime Minister of Israel  | June 3  | <b>Elizabeth Taylor</b> , actress                                      | Oct. 6   | <b>Sen. Albert Gore</b> (D-Tenn.), '88 pres. candidate                          |
| March 3  | <b>Dan Rostenkowski</b> (D-Ill.) Chairman, House Ways & Means                           | June 8  | <b>Jerry Falwell</b> , minister  | Oct. 15  | <b>Napoleon Duarte</b> , President of El Salvador                               |
| March 5  | <b>Bill Brock</b> , Secy of Labor   | June 11 | <b>Dr. Estelle Ramey</b> , Georgetown Univ School of Medicine          | Oct. 20  | <b>Garrison Keillor</b> , radio entertainer                                     |
| March 11 | <b>Paul Kirk</b> , Democratic National Committee Chairman                               | June 16 | <b>Rudolph Guillian</b> , US Attny for Southern District of NY         | Oct. 21  | <b>Sir David Wilson</b> , Governor of Hong Kong                                 |
| March 12 | <b>Samson Kisekka</b> , Prime Minister of Uganda  | June 17 | <b>Rainer Gut</b> , President, Credit Suisse Bank                      | Oct. 22  | <b>Alexander Haig</b> , '88 pres. candidate                                     |
| March 17 | <b>Michael Gartner</b> , Editor, Louisville Courier-Journal                             | June 24 | <b>Thomas Vail</b> , editor & publisher, Cleveland Plain Dealer        | Oct. 27  | <b>Peter MacDonald</b> , Chairman, Navajo Nation                                |
| March 24 | <b>Dr. Everett Koop</b> , Surgeon General   | June 25 | <b>Liz Carpenter</b> , author and journalist                           | Nov. 3   | <b>David Frost</b> , TV commentator   |
| April 2  | <b>John Lehman</b> , Outgoing Secy of the Navy  | June 30 | <b>Donald Engen</b> , FAA Administrator                                | Nov. 6   | <b>William Seidman</b> , Chairman, FDIC   |
| April 7  | <b>Oliver Stone</b> , Academy Award-winning director of "Platoon"                       | July 8  | <b>Eleanor Smeal</b> , president of NOW                                | Nov. 10  | <b>C. William Verity</b> , Secretary of Commerce                                |
| April 14 | <b>Faye Wattleton</b> , President of Planned Parenthood                                 | July 9  | <b>Nien Cheng</b> , author of "Life & Death in Shanghai"               | Nov. 18  | <b>Beverly Sills</b> , opera star   |
| April 16 | <b>Frank Young</b> , FDA Commissioner   | July 15 | <b>Uffe Ellemann-Jensen</b> , Foreign Minister of Denmark              | Nov. 23  | <b>David Ruder</b> , SEC Chairman   |
| April 22 | <b>Vitolly Korotich</b> , Editor of Ogonyok   | July 23 | <b>Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan</b> (D-N.Y.)                                | Dec. 1   | <b>Harrison E. Salisbury</b> , former NY Times editor and foreign correspondent |
|          |   | July 24 | <b>Rev. Pat Robertson</b> , '88 pres. candidate                        | Dec. 2   | <b>Rev. Jesse Jackson</b> , '88 pres. candidate                                 |
|          |   | July 30 | <b>Bruce Babbitt</b> , former governor of Arizona; '88 pres. candidate | Dec. 15  | <b>Amb. Paul Nitze</b>  |
|          |   | July 31 | <b>Victor Borge</b> , entertainer                                      | Dec. 16  | <b>Daniel Oliver</b> , FTC Chairman   |
|          |   |         |  | Dec. 17  | <b>Giovanni Goria</b> , Prime Minister of Italy                                 |

## 1988 NPC LUNCHEONS

- |         |   |          |   |          |   |
|---------|---|----------|---|----------|---|
| Jan. 5  | <b>George Bush</b> , Vice President                           | Feb. 29  | <b>Adm. James Watkins</b> (Ret.), Chairman of the President's Commission on AIDS      | April 5  | <b>Arthur Levitt</b> , Chairman & CEO, American Stock Exchange  |
| Jan. 6  | <b>Ed Koch</b> , Mayor of New York City                       | May 11   | <b>The Most Rev. Desmond Tutu</b> , Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town                  | April 14 | <b>Karl Otto Poehl</b> , President, West Germany's Bundesbank   |
| Jan. 13 | <b>James Webb</b> , Secretary of the Navy                     | June 16  | <b>Loret Miller Ruppe</b> , Director of the Peace Corps                               | April 18 | <b>Jack Albertine</b> , Chairman, President's Aviation Safety Commission  |
| Jan. 14 | <b>Noboru Takeshita</b> , Prime Minister of Japan             | March 1  | <b>James Miller</b> , Director of OMB   | April 21 | <b>Ann McLaughlin</b> , Secretary of Labor  |
| Jan. 20 | <b>Frank Bennack</b> , President & CEO, Hearst Corporation    | March 9  | <b>Wu Wueqian</b> , Foreign Minister and State Councillor, People's Republic of China | April 25 | <b>Jeanne Kirkpatrick</b> , former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N.  |
| Jan. 29 | <b>Gen. Bernard Rogers</b> , former Supreme Commander of NATO | March 16 | <b>Gore Vidal</b> , author  | May 3    | <b>Harri Holkeri</b> , Prime Minister of Finland  |
| Feb. 4  | <b>Richard Leshner</b> , President, U.S. Chamber of Commerce  | March 17 | <b>Amb. Clovis Maksoud</b> , League of Arab States                                    | May 5    | <b>Hermann Axen</b> , Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the GDR, Member of the Politbureau, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany |
| Feb. 10 | <b>Dionne Warwick</b> , singer & Ambassador of Health         | March 24 | <b>I.F. Stone</b> , author  |          |   |
| Feb. 11 | <b>James Burnley</b> , Secretary of Transportation            | March 29 | <b>Paul "Pete" McCloskey</b> , former representative from California                  |          |   |
| Feb. 25 | <b>Anibal Cavaco Silva</b> , Prime Minister of Portugal       | March 31 | <b>Albert Shanker</b> , President, American Federation of Teachers                    |          |   |

# 1988 NPC LUNCHEONS

- |         |   |          |  |          |   |
|---------|---|----------|--|----------|---|
| May 11  | <b>The Most Rev. Desmond Tutu</b> , Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town                        | July 13  | <b>His Highness Shaikh Saad Al-Abdullah Al-Salem Al-Sabah</b> , Crown Prince & Prime Minister of Kuwait                  | Sept. 29 | <b>Sarah Brady</b> , wife of James Brady  |
| May 19  | <b>Rep. Claude Pepper</b> (D-Fla.)  | July 25  | <b>Edwin Meese III</b> , U.S. Attorney General   | Oct. 6   | <b>Ira Glasser</b> , ACLU Director  |
| May 24  | <b>Tom Peters</b> , author  | July 26  | <b>Karoly Grosz</b> , General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party & Chairman of the Council of Ministers | Oct. 18  | <b>James Fletcher</b> , Administrator, NASA                                     |
| May 26  | <b>Sen. Bill Bradley</b> (D-N.J.)   | July 27  | <b>Gilbert Grosvenor</b> , Chairman, National Geographic Society   | Oct. 26  | <b>Henry Kissinger</b> , former Secretary of State                              |
| June 1  | <b>Richard Lyng</b> , Secretary of Agriculture  | July 28  | <b>Adolfo Calero</b> , Nicaraguan Contra Leader  | Oct. 27  | <b>Lt. Gen. Colin Powell</b> , National Security Advisor                        |
| June 2  | <b>Al Neuharth</b> , Chairman & President, Gannett Co., Inc.                                | Aug. 2   | <b>George Vassiliou</b> , President of Cyprus  | Nov. 3   | <b>James Baker</b> , Chairman, Bush-Quayle campaign                             |
| June 6  | <b>Gerald R. Ford</b> , former President  | Aug. 4   | <b>Sen. Lawton Chiles</b> (D-Fla.)   | Nov. 15  | <b>Thomas Kean</b> , Governor of New Jersey                                     |
| June 7  | <b>Ken Adelman</b> , Former Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency             | Aug. 25  | <b>Andrew Young</b> , Mayor, Atlanta   | Nov. 17  | <b>H. Ross Perot</b> , entrepreneur   |
| June 16 | <b>Loret Miller Ruppe</b> , Director of the Peace Corps                                     | Sept. 1  | <b>William S. Sessions</b> , FBI Director  | Nov. 30  | <b>William Seidman</b> , Chairman, Federal Deposit Insurance Corp.              |
| June 27 | <b>Frank Carlucci</b> , Secretary of Defense  | Sept. 6  | <b>William Bennett</b> , Secretary of Education  | Dec. 2   | <b>Clayton Yutter</b> , U.S. Trade Representative                               |
| June 28 | <b>Kenan Evran</b> , President of Turkey  | Sept. 13 | <b>Enrique Iglesias</b> , President, Inter-American Development Bank   | Dec. 15  | <b>Marian Wright Edelman</b> , Founder and President of Children's Defense Fund |
| June 29 | <b>Yitzhak Rabin</b> , Defense Minister of Israel   | Sept. 14 | <b>Dave Marash</b> , WRC-TV Channel 4 News Anchor  | Dec. 20  | <b>Allan Gotlieb</b> , Canadian Ambassador to the U.S.                          |
| June 30 | <b>Jonas Savimbi</b> , President of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola |          |  | Dec. 22  | <b>John Herrington</b> , Secretary of Energy                                    |
| July 1  | <b>Dave Barry</b> , humorist and Pulitzer Prize winner for Distinguished Commentary         |          |  |          |   |

## H. Ross Perot: Why didn't we make the candidates talk?

This Texas entrepreneur set the NPC record for tape requests with his common sense, spiced with humor. Touching on topics from presidential candidates to the family unit to employer/employee relations, he touched a nerve in Americans that the candidates failed to find.

## Dave Barry: Miami Herald Columnist

This Pulitzer Prize winning journalist kept the audience laughing with his comments on his new book, his dog and cat, his convictions on journalism, the international mulch shortage, and other relevant topics.

## Marian Wright Edelman: Founder and President, Children's Defense Fund

"The chickens of child neglect are coming home to roost" she warned in an emotionally charged speech on the state of the nation's children. Her unique blend of intelligence and compassion in defense of children received a standing ovation from the audience.

## ORDER FORM

Check or money order enclosed. \$12.00  
Make checks payable to the National Press Club Library.

Charge       MasterCard      or       Visa      or       American Express

Card Number   

Expiration Date            

Mo.      Yr.

Cardholder's Name \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

I want to order the following speakers (please specify name and date):

1. \_\_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_\_  
2. \_\_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_\_

Your Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip Code \_\_\_\_\_

# **The Official Delegation of Dr. Jonas M. Savimbi to the U.S.**

October 1 - 12, 1989

1. Dr. Jonas M. Savimbi, President
2. Ana P. Savimbi, First Lady
3. Jeremias K. Chitunda, Vice President
4. General Tony Da Costa Fernandes, President of Foreign Affairs Committee
5. General Peregrino Isidro Chindondo, Chief of Military Intelligence
6. Brigadier Carlos Kandanda, Chief of Military Administration
7. Dr. George Valentim, Secretary of Information
8. Colonel Elias Solupeto Pena, Economic Planning
9. Dr. Jaka Jamba, Secretary of Education
10. Dr. Carlos Morgado, Physician
11. Lt. Colonel Abel Chivukuvuku, Deputy Representative in London
12. John Marques Kakumba, Representative in Africa
13. Dr. Fatima Roque, President, LIMA (The Angolan League of Women)  
Portugal

ROBERT C. BYRD, WEST VIRGINIA, CHAIRMAN

DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII  
ERNEST F. HOLLINGS, SOUTH CAROLINA  
J. BENNETT JOHNSTON, LOUISIANA  
QUENTIN N. BURDICK, NORTH DAKOTA  
PATRICK J. LEAHY, VERMONT  
JIM SASSER, TENNESSEE  
DENNIS DeCONCINI, ARIZONA  
DALE BUMPERS, ARKANSAS  
FRANK R. LAUTENBERG, NEW JERSEY  
TOM HARKIN, IOWA  
BARBARA A. MIKULSKI, MARYLAND  
HARRY REID, NEVADA  
BROCK ADAMS, WASHINGTON  
WYCHE FOWLER, JR., GEORGIA  
J. ROBERT KERREY, NEBRASKA

MARK O. HATFIELD, OREGON  
TED STEVENS, ALASKA  
JAMES A. McCLURE, IDAHO  
JAKE GARN, UTAH  
THAD COCHRAN, MISSISSIPPI  
ROBERT W. KASTEN, JR., WISCONSIN  
ALFONSE M. D'AMATO, NEW YORK  
WARREN RUDMAN, NEW HAMPSHIRE  
ARLEN SPECTER, PENNSYLVANIA  
PETE V. DOMENICI, NEW MEXICO  
CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, IOWA  
DON NICKLES, OKLAHOMA  
PHIL GRAMM, TEXAS

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6025

JAMES H. ENGLISH, STAFF DIRECTOR  
J. KEITH KENNEDY, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

September 12, 1989

The Honorable James A. Baker, III  
Secretary of State  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We are writing to express our concern over recent events which have slowed progress towards a peaceful settlement in Angola.

In June, eighteen African heads of state witnessed an historic handshake between Jonas Savimbi and Eduardo dos Santos. At that summit meeting, agreement was reached on a ceasefire in the Angolan civil war and the beginning of national reconciliation talks. As a result of these achievements, there was reason for optimism that a peaceful settlement could be reached in Angola.

Since June, the positive climate has significantly deteriorated. It appears that Mr. dos Santos and the MPLA are publicly misinterpreting the agreement reached at the Gbadolite summit. On August 16, in a speech at the People's Assembly in Luanda, Mr. dos Santos began to reinterpret the agreements of Gbadolite by stating that Dr. Savimbi had agreed to go into exile and that the existing Constitution--which calls for a one-party state--would remain in effect in Angola. Also, he stated that the people of UNITA would be "reintegrated" into the existing state structure. On August 22, eight African heads of state endorsed the dos Santos position at a meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Harare, Zimbabwe - thus further damaging the achievements of Gbadolite.

Understandably, UNITA has rejected this attempt to maintain the current regime and has insisted on compliance with the Gbadolite declaration. These events, along with the August 17, 1989, three-pronged, MPLA military offensive, have placed the ceasefire in jeopardy.

The State Department has been strangely silent during this time. There has been no public denunciation of the reinterpretation of the agreements reached at Gbadolite and little reaction from the Department of any kind.

Mr. Secretary, we urge you to become personally involved in this issue to ensure that all parties to the ceasefire--the MPLA, UNITA, and President Mobutu--remain committed to the goals enumerated at Gbadolite. In addition, we encourage the State Department to inform President Mobutu that movement away from direct negotiations for peace and genuine national reconciliation is contrary to U.S. policy and is not acceptable to the State Department or Congress.

The heads of state of the OAU will meet again in Kinshasa on September 18, 1989. It is important that the United States encourage as many members as were in attendance at Gbadolite to also attend the Kinshasa meeting in order to reaffirm the goals of Gbadolite. A public declaration by the U.S. reiterating its policy of supporting peace, a ceasefire, national reconciliation, face-to-face negotiations between UNITA and the MPLA, and free and fair elections would be most helpful.

America's policy of supporting UNITA in its quest for a resolution to the Angolan conflict helped bring events to the point where negotiations and a peaceful settlement are within reach. We have not yet, however, reached that important goal. This will require sustained and visible U.S. leadership. The winds of change are blowing over southern Africa. A vigorous and effective U.S. diplomatic effort is much needed at this critical time.

Sincerely,

Dennis DeConcini  
DENNIS DeCONCINI  
United States Senator

Tim W. Hatch

Richard Shelby

Jim McClure  
Ben Armstrong

Bob Crutcher

Ken Cantel

Steve Symms

Bob Dale

John McCain  
Busekiny

Don Nith  
Candice Mack

On Saturday, September 17 the State Department issued the following statement:

"The United States strongly supports UNITA and its goals of national reconciliation followed by free and fair elections. The United States does not accept the concepts of exile, amnesty, or integration. We urge all parties attending the Kinshasa summit to support the achievement of genuine national reconciliation on the basis of a peacefully negotiated settlement between the contending Angolan sides."

# Angolan rebels to seek truce at summit

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

The United States repeated its support yesterday for the goals of Angola's anti-communist rebels, whose leaders participate today in an eight-nation summit in Kinshasa, Zaire, aimed at a peaceful settlement of the long southern African conflict.

Leaders of the rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) are seeking a truce and negotiations on an interim government, followed by elections. They are headed by Jonas Savimbi, whose political future is one of the issues in dispute.

"The United States strongly supports UNITA and its goals of national reconciliation followed by free and fair elections," a State Department statement said.

It rejected the concept of "exile, amnesty or integration" for the rebel group under Mr. Savimbi.

"We urge all parties attending the Kinshasa summit to support the achievement of genuine national reconciliation on the basis of a peacefully negotiated settlement between the contending Angolan sides," the statement said.

Today's summit will be attended by the heads of state of Angola, Zaire, Zambia, the Congo, Gabon, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe.

The summit session comes against the backdrop of the collapse of a cease-fire in Angola and a continuing row over what the warring parties have already agreed. There have been continuing threats to resume the civil war.

Reliable sources in Kinshasa said President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire asked Herman Cohen, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, a week ago to try to persuade Mr. Savimbi to come to the gathering.

UNITA had announced that it would probably not return to talks with the Luanda government until after a UNITA conference next Sunday.

The rebel leader said he wanted a "new approach" to mediation taking account of UNITA's interests as a party undefeated on the ground, as well as those of Angola's Marxist ruling People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

An earlier summit produced a joint statement that incensed Mr. Savimbi by claiming that UNITA had already effectively agreed to "the integration of UNITA elements into the People's Republic of Angola" and accepted Mr. Savimbi's "voluntary and temporary retirement."

UNITA argues that all it agreed to at a June 22 summit in Gbadolite, Zaire, was a declaration providing for national reconciliation, a cease-fire and the creation of a commission to follow up the peace process.

Meanwhile, another, smaller Angolan rebel movement, the Cabinda Enclave Liberation Front (FLEC), has accused Angola's regular army of launching a major offensive this month in which 57 troops and civilians died.

The FLEC statement, issued Saturday night, charged that Angola had committed 1,200 men to the Sept. 7 offensive — "which has continued to this day" — and called on the international community to send investigators and "help from humanitarian organizations."

Cabinda, rich in oil reserves and raw materials, was attached to Angola under Portuguese colonial rule in 1956. FLEC has been calling for a referendum there on self-determination since the MPLA came to power in Luanda in 1975.

WT  
9/18

## ① Peace talks restart today

1175 Windhoek 178 UICIT15 BK

18/9/84

# US remain supportive of Unita

WASHINGTON: The United States said on Sunday it remained supportive of the rebel Unita forces in Angola headed by Jonas Savimbi and urged African leaders meeting in Zaire next week to push for reconciliation that will lead to free elections.

*The State Department said in a statement it does not accept the conditions of "exile, amnesty or integration", for Unita and Savimbi as Angolan Leader Eduardo Dos Santos has interpreted a ceasefire pact made with Savimbi last June.*

Savimbi and Dos Santos began arguing over the terms of the ceasefire almost immediately after they shook hands on June 22. The ceasefire has collapsed and some of the heaviest fighting in southern Angola in over a year has been reported.

● The State Department said: "The United States strongly supports Unita and its goals of national reconciliation followed by free and fair elections".

● "The United States does not accept the concepts of 'exile, amnesty or integration'.

● "We urge all parties attending the Kinshasa summit to support the achievement of genuine national reconciliation on the basis of a peacefully negotiated settlement between the contending Angolan sides", it said.

### STAY AWAY

Savimbi, leader of the rightest rebel movement Unita, told reporters at his rebel headquarters he was likely to stay away from the one-day summit today in Kinshasa.

However, Angola's position has been stronger by support from the seven other countries: Zaire, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Congo, Gabon and Sao Tome and Principe.

### BAKER

The State Department issued its statement after thirteen US senators urged Secretary of State James Baker last Friday to become "personally

ly retire from politics and Unita would be integrated into the ruling MPLA.

### DISAGREED

Savimbi has disagreed with this interpretation but said he will negotiate a ceasefire and reconciliation that would mean a government of national unity followed by elections.

The senators accused Dos Santos of misinterpreting the ceasefire agreement and said support for Savimbi's goals is US policy. - Sapa-Reuter.

involved" in ensuring that all parties remain committed to the June ceasefire agreement.

Dos Santos and leaders of seven neighbouring countries have said they interpreted the June ceasefire pact to mean that Savimbi would temporarily

# THE DEFENSE DEMOCRAT

A NEWSLETTER ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS & NATIONAL DEFENSE

Vol. 1, No. 8 August, 1989

© 1989 C441

## IN BRIEF . . .

### ANGOLA ACTION

Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-OK), will chair a newly-formed Task Force on Angola in the House of Representatives. A parallel organization in the Senate has been working under the direction of Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) since last year. The House Task Force on Angola will serve as an informal, bipartisan forum to augment U.S. policy in southern Africa, including the verification of Cuban troop withdrawals, a negotiated settlement to the civil war in Angola, and the holding of free elections there. Representative Joel Hefley (R-CO) will serve as the Task Force's Vice-Chair. Rep. McCurdy is the Chairman of the Task Force that publishes this newsletter.

## HOUSE TASK FORCE ON ANGOLA

### Democrats

Dave McCurdy (Oklahoma)  
Michael A. Andrews (Texas)  
Beverly B. Byron (Maryland)  
Jim Cooper (Tennessee)  
Ben Jones (Georgia)  
Alan B. Mollohan (West Virginia)  
John M. Spratt, Jr. (South Carolina)  
Charles W. Stenholm (Texas)  
Tim Valentine (North Carolina)  
Lawrence J. Smith (Florida)  
Robert G. Torricelli (New Jersey)  
Ike Skelton (Missouri)  
Jim Slattery (Kansas)  
Thomas C. McMillen (Maryland)  
Charles Wilson (Texas)

### Republicans

Joel Hefley (Colorado)  
Bob McEwen (Ohio)  
Bud Shuster (Pennsylvania)  
Dan Burton (Indiana)  
Bill Emerson (Missouri)  
Gerald B.H. Solomon (New York)  
John J. Rhodes (Arizona)  
David Dreier (California)  
James M. Inhofe (Oklahoma)  
Wally Herger (California)  
Norman D. Shumway (California)

## **STATEMENT ON WILDLIFE PRESERVATION**

Ever since UNITA has had an effective operating structure in the liberated territory, it has enforced a comprehensive wildlife protection and preservation program. UNITA considers the wildlife a part of the wealth of Angola, which needs the protection of the government. This policy naturally extends to the preservation of the African elephant, which is now threatened with extinction.

It is the policy of UNITA to oppose the killing of elephants, and to condemn those who slaughter the animal to profit from the ivory trade. UNITA recognizes that the possession and trade of ivory is etched deeply into African tradition, and therefore will not easily be discouraged. However, UNITA also recognizes that if drastic measures are not taken, the elephant may disappear from the continent of Africa.

UNITA supports the initiative by Kenya and Tanzania to ban the trade of ivory, and also endorses the Convention on International Trade and Endangered Species' (CITES) effort to place the elephant on the endangered species list. In Free Angola, UNITA now forbids the both ivory trade and the offering of ivory as a gift. The leadership is working throughout its territory to educate the population, and to enforce the new policy.

UNITA is aware of unsubstantiated reports circulated in the West stating that UNITA has systematically killed thousands of elephants to profit from the ivory trade. UNITA wishes to assure the international community that it has never engaged in such an activity, and that on the contrary, it has endeavored to discourage local populations from indiscriminately killing the elephant. Well known conservationist have visited Free Angola and observed the abundant state of wildlife, where many have claimed that the elephant is the best represented animal. UNITA invites wildlife organizations to come and make their own independent assessments.

Despite the circumstances of war, UNITA works to protect and preserve the wildlife and other natural resources which the Angolan people not only enjoy, but depend upon for their livelihood. UNITA maintains that the best hope for the preservation of Angola's wildlife is an end to the war and the costly Cuban occupation which has drained the country of its natural and human resources. Only when genuine national reconciliation is achieved and a government elected by the people is in place can the country begin to rebuild and institute the necessary measures to ensure the long-term protection of Angola's riches.

BACKS  
ASSETS  
L CASES

S LAWYERS

a Powerful  
cketeering  
y Cases

HOUSE

2 — The Sunday that the he assets of before trial the person eft to hire a

vernment an on in prose- olving rack- / laundering

ion by Jus- that a 1984 chensive For- urch a pretrial nstitution did authorizes the assets that it of the crime. nendment

ion by Justice d Congress had ze the Govern- led to pay for a iolate the Sixth unsel, the dis-

arate cases, re- t intensely dis- rrent criminal led lower courts d had also split tting the Amer- nd other groups Justice Depart- cutors.

ade aggressive statute. About a cases involve of- efendant subject

Justice White said aw "to give force "crime does not find no evidence ed to modify the me does not pay, fees." nkedged that

e A8, Column 3

vil Rights Law rt narrowly ruled scope of the Civil 'age A8. the Court upheld onrol statute for 'ts. Page B1.

idence  
s Team

## ANGOLANS AGREE TO A TRUCE UNDER NEIGHBORS' PRESSURE AFTER 14 YEARS OF CIVIL WAR

### Angola's Ordeal: The War Years

1975 Angola becomes independent. Cuba and the Soviet Union intervene on the side of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. South Africa sends troops and war material to help Unita faction.

1976 Cuban troop strength reaches 15,000.

1978 United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 calls for a cease-fire in the Namibian guerrilla war and U.N.-sponsored elections.

1981 Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State in the Reagan Administration, visits Angola to discuss the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia.

1984 Crocker meets with Angolans and South Africans in Zambia. Lusaka accord calls for disengagement of Angolan and South African forces in southern Angola.

1985 Congress repeals law that precluded U.S. aid to participants in the Angolan conflict.

1986 Jonas Savimbi, Unita leader, visits Washington. U.S. resumes assistance to Unita after 10-year hiatus.

May 1988 Delegations from Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the U.S. meet in London to begin intense negotiations.

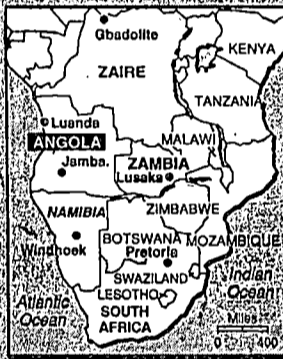
December 1988 Angola, Cuba and South Africa sign accords providing for the independence of Namibia and Cuban pullout.



José Eduardo dos Santos  
President of Angola



Jonas Savimbi  
Leader of Unita guerrilla forces



Government and rebel leaders announced cease-fire in Angolan conflict at Gbadolite.

The New York Times/June 23, 1989

### 'A NEW BEGINNING'

#### Rebels Join Government in Seeking the Basis of a Lasting Peace

By KENNETH B. NOBLE

Special to The New York Times

GBADOLITE, Zaire, June 22 — Leaders of the Angolan Government and rebel forces agreed here today to a cease-fire in their 14-year-old civil war.

The accord was reached at the first meeting between President José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and the rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi, since the start of the war, which has cost hundreds of thousands of lives.

It is not clear whether the cease-fire will prove the basis of a lasting peace. But in an interview, Mr. Savimbi said, "This is a new beginning."

#### No Details Are Given

Mr. dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi declined to discuss details of the agreement, and there was little elaboration in the communiqué released after a six-hour negotiation session. But the statement confirmed that they had formally agreed on a cease-fire, and members of the two delegations said it would begin Saturday.

The accord was apparently the fruit of efforts by more than a dozen African leaders who held an extraordinary gathering here at the palatial country estate of Zaire's President, Mobutu Sese Seko.

President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia announced the agreement in a two-minute speech that emphasized the role of the African leaders in forging the agreement.

#### 'Great Day for Africa'

Moussa Traoré, President of Mali and acting president of the Organization of African Unity, said, "It is a great day and historic moment for Africa and the Angolan people."

A senior aide to Mr. Mobutu said that Mr. Savimbi would join a new coalition government and that his guerrilla forces would be "reintegrated in every ranking of government." But Mr. dos Santos has long resisted such a solution, and the report could not be confirmed.

Mr. Savimbi's group, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, has been fighting a Marxist Government that came to power soon after Portugal granted its Angolan colony independence in 1975. The Government is led by another faction that fought the Portuguese, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, which was largely supported during its insurgency by the Soviet Union and has been backed in recent years by tens of thousands of Cuban troops.

Mr. Savimbi, who joined the African

Continued on Page A4, Column 1

### Chinese Execute 24 More People, Including 7 From Beijing Protests

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

Special to The New York Times

BEIJING, June 22 — Twenty-four executions were reported in China today, bringing to 27 the number of people executed in two days.

The authorities announced that seven people were executed in Beijing today for their role in violent anti-Government protests, and editors at Jinan Daily News in the eastern city of Jinan said 17 people were executed there on Wednesday, immediately after being sentenced.

But the editors said that these 17 people were common criminals whose activities were unrelated to the democracy movement. This could not be confirmed, and the only official report about them has said they were accused of "seriously endangering public order."

#### Foreign Press Not Admitted

One of the seven executed in Beijing may have been a woman, based on

nounced the executions, reports of which began with the official announcement Wednesday that three protesters in Shanghai had been executed. The three were accused of helping to set fire to a train, after the train plowed into a human blockade and killed six people in a crowd that until then had been demonstrating peacefully.

While the Government asserted again today that it would never bow to foreign pressure, there were indications that the authorities were no longer issuing death sentences as frequently as they had been.

The official New China News Agency reported today that six young men who were also involved in the Shanghai train fire had been sentenced not to

Continued on Page A5, Column 5

Austin Journal

# Enemies in Angolan War Agree on a Cease-Fire

Continued From Page 1

leaders at a news conference to announce the agreement, was mostly unsmiling and appeared fatigued. By contrast, President dos Santos seemed visibly elated at the end of the talks.

In a brief interview afterward, Mr. Savimbi said participants in the talks had agreed not to disclose details. But Mr. Kaunda said "there has been a handshake" between Mr. dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi.

Among the questions tonight was why Mr. Savimbi had apparently reversed himself after years of vowing to depose the Government.

A senior member of Mr. Mobutu's staff said the talks were "very, very difficult," and described Mr. Savimbi as unhappy with parts of the agreement, but he declined to give details.

After the accords signed in December by Angola, Cuba and South Africa setting a timetable for Namibian independence and a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, some African leaders complained that they had not been given adequate credit for their role in the settlement. "We did not need the United States or anyone else to broker this agreement," a diplomat involved in the negotiations said.

The African leaders also announced

that President Mobutu would serve as mediator for another round of negotiations between the Angolan Government and Mr. Savimbi in Zimbabwe at an unspecified date.

The meeting today, perhaps the largest ever by African leaders to discuss a single issue, was held in Mr. Mobutu's vast estate, about 700 miles northeast of Kinsasha, Zaire's capital.

### Greeted by Dancers

As each of the leaders touched down on the airport runway here, they were met by crowds chanting "Mobutu! Mobutu!" and an honor guard clad in white gloves and battle fatigues. Several dozen young men and women, all arrayed in clothes printed with Mr. Mobutu's face, danced to the quick, pulsating rhythm of African drums.

The leaders assembled later at Mr. Mobutu's four-story residence, his "Versailles in the jungle," as some have called it. "The gods of our ancestors surround us with their blessings," Mr. Mobutu told the leaders in French at the opening session this afternoon.

Among those attending were the leaders of Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Cape Verde, Chad, Congo, Gabon, Mali, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Nigeria, São Tomé and Príncipe, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Two nations, Morocco and Tanzania, were represented by lower-level officials.

The strength of the Angolan guerrillas has apparently persuaded the Gov-

ernment that there should be a political settlement because neither side can win on the battlefield and continuation of the war would cause further economic devastation.

### 6,000 Cubans Already Gone

The morale of Angola's army soared when, with Cuban help, it held off South African soldiers in several battles last year. But the army's fighting ability will be slowly undermined by the withdrawal of the 50,000 Cuban troops stationed in Angola. About 6,000 Cuban soldiers have left as part of a pullout that is to be completed in mid-1991.

Since 1986, the United States has provided Mr. Savimbi's guerrilla group, known by the acronym Unita, with about \$15 million a year in military aid, including Stinger ground-to-air missiles.

Before George Bush's inauguration in January, the President-elect sent a letter to Mr. Savimbi promising continued support. The program is under review, however, because South Africa has cut off its assistance to the insurgents as part of the Angola accords, and a continuation of American aid will depend on the level of fighting, diplomats have said.

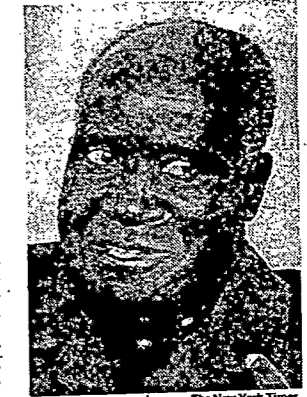
Mr. Mobutu plans to meet with Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d next Wednesday and with President Bush at the White House later next week.

Mr. Mobutu's visit comes as Congress is trying to decide how much aid to give his country. Representative Ronald V. Dellums, Democrat of California, has led a fight in Congress to reduce aid to Zaire because of reports of corruption and human rights violations.

Over the years, journalists have documented extensive evidence that the United States has used Zaire for the transshipment of arms to Angola's rebels.

But in a meeting here last year with Representative Mervyn M. Dymally, Democrat of California, Mr. Mobutu said his country provided no direct assistance to Mr. Savimbi's rebels.

"If you examine a map of Africa," Mr. Mobutu said, "you will discover that Angola stretches 2,600 kilometers along our southern frontier. This boundary line is controlled by the legitimate ruling Government of Angola. Everyone knows that for aid to reach this landlocked country, it must pass



The New York Times

"There has been a handshake," President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said yesterday after a cease-fire agreement was announced in Angola's civil war.

through South Africa or some other country but not Zaire. Any aid that we might provide would inevitably fail to reach Savimbi, who is well off to the south."

## India Forces Down U.S. an

Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, June 22 — Indian Air Force jet fighters forced down two civilian planes with American and West German pilots last week because they were near sensitive military installations, Indian and American officials said today.

"The aircraft have been seized and the four pilots, including two Americans, have been handed over to the Intelligence Bureau for investigation," a Defense Ministry spokesman said. The Americans were identified as Frank Halle Jr. of Dallas and his co-pilot, Carson Gilmore of Rocksprings, Tex.

"They have been held for violating the law of the land, for flying in a restricted security area and for not sticking to their flight path," a Home Affairs Ministry spokesman said.

A United States Embassy spokes-

Am  
I

SAN SA  
An assault  
American  
night as st  
two other  
ran officia

The wou  
Key, 73 ye  
tion with a  
eye. The  
liam Wall  
when he v  
pital at mi

The att  
killings  
women  
which pro  
sion of An  
But th  
evening's  
known, a  
cited as o

The sh  
of the ca  
Sister M  
worked  
nine-year  
ment and  
rightists  
cers cons

man sai  
land at  
Gujara  
bay, on  
Ameri  
Bhuj, t  
Force  
had se

An  
two  
of an  
aroun  
appea  
cours

The  
Beech  
flight  
A min  
were  
were

## Historian Is Slain in Jerusalem

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, June 22 — A prominent Jewish historian was found stabbed to death on a Jerusalem street this morning, and the police said they were investigating the possibility he was killed by Palestinians.

Prof. Menachem Stern, a 64-year-old expert on ancient Jewish history at Hebrew University, was evidently attacked on the way to work at the university library.

Investigators said nothing was stolen from Professor Stern, lending credence to the theory that he might be a casualty in the Arab uprising.

Mr. Stern's colleagues at Hebrew

University said he was an eminent historian on the Jewish Second Temple period 2,000 years ago. He won the Israel Prize in history for his book "Greek and Roman Authors on Jews."

Thirteen Israeli civilians and soldiers have been killed in the 19-month Palestinian uprising. At least 462 Arabs have been killed by Israeli soldiers since the rebellion began.

In the occupied West Bank today, a 22-year-old Palestinian was shot and killed by soldiers raiding the village of Silwad, near Ramallah. Residents said the troops shot Abdel Hamad in the head in early morning street clashes.

The Washington Post  
January 12, 1989

# Bush Assures Savimbi of U.S. Support

## *Letter to Angolan Rebel Cites Goal of 'National Reconciliation'*

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

President-elect George Bush, in what appears to be his first foreign policy commitment, has written a letter to Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi assuring him of continued U.S. military and diplomatic backing until the Angolan government reaches a political settlement with him.

The letter, dated Jan. 6, also commits the new Bush administration to press African and other governments to work for agreement between Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of An-

gola (UNITA) and the Angolan government.

"I also want to assure you that American diplomacy will continue to encourage African and other interested governments to provide maximum support to a process of negotiation leading to national reconciliation in your country," Bush said.

"Until that objective is achieved, my administration will continue all appropriate and effective assistance to UNITA."

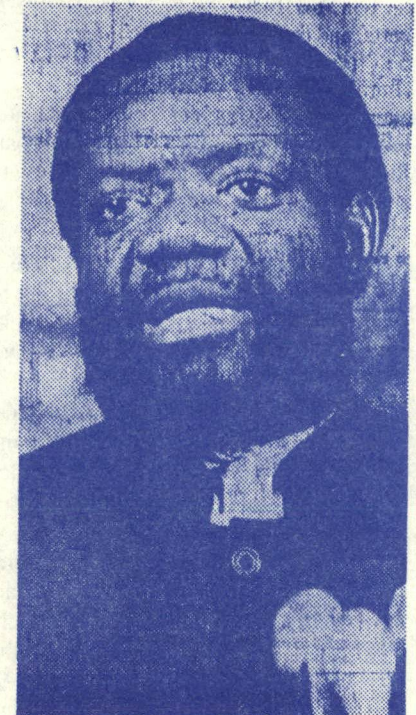
A Bush aide made it clear that "all appropriate and effective assistance" means a continuation of existing covert military help for Savimbi, which has been running

about \$15 million annually since 1986.

"It's a policy that has worked," said Stephen Hart, a Bush press spokesman. Bush's support for Savimbi is consistent with his backing for the contras in Nicaragua and anticommunist resistance in Afghanistan, Hart said.

Hart credited U.S. aid to Savimbi for helping to bring about the accords signed Dec. 22 in New York by South Africa, Angola and Cuba, which provide for a phased withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angola and independence in neighboring South African-administered Namibia.

The Bush letter appears to com-  
See POLICY, A30, Col. 1



**JONAS SAVIMBI**  
... "assistance" includes military aid

- Bush's staff structure will be much like President Reagan's. Page A14

# Bush Letter Assures Savimbi Of Continued U.S. Support

## POLICY, From A1

mit the new administration to a continuity of policy toward one of the Third World's major conflicts and to establish as a condition for its end an internal political settlement in addition to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The letter was made available to The Washington Post just as the first Cuban troops left Angola and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos urged UNITA rebels to stop fighting. "We would like Savimbi and UNITA to end its war because it is a senseless war," dos Santos said yesterday in Luanda at a news conference attended by former Democratic presidential candidate Jesse L. Jackson.

The Angolan leader also called upon the United States to establish diplomatic relations with his government, saying "formal ties would benefit both Angola and the United States" and "we each have something to offer each other."

Dos Santos said he did not think "the UNITA problem" need be an obstacle to establishing relations because it is "an internal Angolan problem." But he has repeatedly

called upon Washington to end its military aid to Savimbi.

The Reagan administration, which like the two previous administrations refused to establish ties with Angola in part because of the Cuban troop presence, has never made clear its conditions for establishing such relations.

A U.S. official said yesterday that the scheduled departure of 50,000 Cuban troops has removed "a major impediment" to diplomatic relations, but added that "our relationship is not going to change" until the Angolan government makes "some positive movement" toward national reconciliation.

"So far that hasn't happened," the official said.

The Reagan administration has been under heavy pressure from Savimbi supporters in Congress to maintain the U.S. covert aid program for UNITA until the Angolan government agrees to a political settlement.

Last October, 51 senators sent a letter to Reagan saying the United States should not "cease, suspend, diminish or otherwise restrict" assistance to UNITA until all Cuban forces have left and the Angolan government agrees to form "a government of genuine national reconciliation" with UNITA and sets a date for "free and fair elections."

White House national security adviser Colin L. Powell replied in a letter Oct. 21 to Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.), who heads a Senate task force on Angola, that Reagan was committed to continuing



THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON  
January 6, 1989

Dr. Jonas Savimbi  
UNITA  
P.O. Box 65463  
Washington, D.C. 20035-5463

Dear Dr. Savimbi:

Since our exchange of letters in November, the Tripartite Agreement for the departure of Cuban troops from Angola and the independence of Namibia was signed in New York on December 22, 1988. With the implementation of the agreement, the stage will be set for peace in southwestern Africa and for national reconciliation in Angola. I want to join you in welcoming this great diplomatic achievement which holds out so much hope for the Angolan people.

While we take pride in our role as the mediating power, the United States remains mindful of the fact that peace has not yet been achieved within Angola, and that much work remains to be done in pursuit of that goal. UNITA is to be congratulated for its courageous demonstration over more than a decade that solutions to Angola's problems cannot be found through repressive military force.

My Administration will accord the highest priority to the full and prompt implementation of the Tripartite Agreement so that Angolians will be free to settle their own political future without the destructive presence of foreign military forces. I also want to assure you that American diplomacy will continue to encourage African and other interested governments to provide maximum support to a process of negotiation leading to national reconciliation in your country. Until that objective is achieved, my Administration will continue all appropriate and effective assistance to UNITA.

I want to take this opportunity to wish you, your family, and the entire UNITA movement a successful and prosperous New Year. I look forward to seeing you again for exchange of views as the situation evolves in your country and in your region.

Sincerely,

George Bush

"full support" for UNITA "as long as national reconciliation in Angola has not been achieved."

These views are important now to the Reagan and Bush administrations because they are seeking \$150 million to help finance a 9,000-man military and civilian U.N. peacekeeping force in Namibia to oversee independence elections there.

A DeConcini aide said yesterday that the senator and others are concerned about current provisions for a U.N. observer mission of only 70 officers to oversee the Cuban troop withdrawal. He said they will ask the administration for "a blueprint" of ways to verify the pullout with such a small mission before approving the \$150 million.

The Washington Times  
June 13, 1989

# The lessons and challenges of Angola

**A**fter 13 years of war in Angola — a war which has squandered thousands of lives, billions of dollars and retarded the growth of what is potentially the richest country in Africa — there is talk of peace.

With the United States acting as moderator and the Soviet Union observing, the governments of South Africa, Cuba and Angola signed an agreement to achieve the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of the 55,000-member Cuban expeditionary force from Angola. While the agreement addresses the international aspects of the regional conflict, it is only the first step.

Meaningful peace will not come to Southern Africa unless the internal conflict is resolved; until there is genuine national reconciliation in Angola. The challenge facing the Bush administration and the 101st Congress is how to ensure that the two remaining U.S. foreign policy goals of national reconciliation and free and fair elections are achieved.

What factors have brought the warring parties to the negotiating table? What settlement will bring true and meaningful peace to the war-torn nation of Angola? What policies must be pursued to ensure that lasting democracy comes to the region?

There are four primary reasons why we have moved toward negotiations in Angola:

First, the Soviet Union, Cuba and the MPLA have been convinced that there can be no military solution to the conflict in Angola. Since 1986,

---

*Orrin Hatch, Republican of Utah, is a member of the Senate Select Intelligence Committee.*

U.S. military aid to UNITA has made the difference. Even with an annual \$1 billion in sophisticated Soviet weaponry and 55,000 Cuban troops, the Luanda forces have been incapable of advancing. Following the resounding failure of their allies during the 1987 offensive, the Soviet Union, for the first time in the history of the 13-year conflict, admitted that there could be no military victory in Angola and began to discuss the need for a political settlement.

Second, the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev, appears committed to invigorating the Soviet economy at the expense of costly forays into the Third World. The Soviet Union has withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan, and it now appears that the Soviets have grown weary of supporting Cuba's military intervention in Angola to the tune of \$1 billion a year.

Third, after many years of ruling Namibia, South Africa is prepared to implement United Nations Resolution 435, which allows for a ceasefire in the Namibia guerrilla war, U.N.-sponsored elections and a transition assistance group leading to independence in Namibia.

Finally, much of the credit for achieving a bipartisan foreign policy consensus goes to the U.S. Congress, which has demonstrated its resolve to achieve a democratic outcome in Angola and has repeatedly reinforced the administration's position. On June 27, 1987, Congress unanimously approved H.R. 1827, signed into law by President Reagan on July 11, which condemns the Soviet-Cuban build-up in Angola and calls upon the United States to adopt those policies which will facilitate a negotiated settlement leading to free and fair elections. Last October, 51 mem-

---

*With the completion of the first Cuban troop withdrawal, increased pressure must be put on the MPLA regime to join UNITA in negotiating for peace. The MPLA must understand that if it continues to pursue a military option, rather than reconciliation with UNITA, then the United States will not hesitate to apply increased pressure to reach the goals of democracy and free and fair elections.*

---

bers of the U.S. Senate, including 21 Democrats, sent a letter to President Reagan urging him to continue support to UNITA until all Cuban forces have withdrawn from Angola, the Soviet Union has stopped supplying the Marxist MPLA regime, the MPLA has agreed to genuine national reconciliation and a date has been set for free and fair elections.

Everyone would like to see peace

brought to Angola. However, after 500 years of Portuguese colonial rule, eight years of war against the Portuguese and a 13-year struggle against a Soviet/Cuban-backed Marxist regime, peace without democracy will not be acceptable to the Angolans, nor to the American public.

The administration, under the guidance of Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker, has achieved a framework for dealing with the international dimension of the Angolan conflict which removes all Cubans from Angola and establishes a timetable for the independence of Namibia. However, the agreement does not address the internal conflict in Angola. The United States must now ensure strict compliance with the tripartite agreement and simultaneously provide a program for achieving genuine national reconciliation and free and fair elections in Angola.

A program of national reconciliation in Angola must be developed and pursued by the new administration and Congress. This program must be carried out simultaneously with the implementation of the accord and must include a cease-fire between the MPLA and UNITA, negotiations without precondition, formation of a government of national unity to come about through the negotiations and setting of a date for free and fair elections. Without a solution to the internal conflict, the international accord will be in jeopardy.

Dr. Jonas Savimbi, president of UNITA, has taken the first step toward bringing lasting peace to Angola. On March 13, he proposed a five-point initiative for peace and progress toward genuine national

reconciliation. The two most significant points of the plan go to the heart of the MPLA's continued refusal to hold talks with UNITA on national reconciliation. These include Mr. Savimbi's offer to remove himself from the negotiations for and participation in a government of national unity.

By not imposing any conditions to negotiations, UNITA has widened the bargaining process and sent a good-faith signal for the tone of the negotiations on national reconciliation. The MPLA must be pressured to respond in a positive fashion.

To date, however, the MPLA has offered only "amnesty" and "clemency" to UNITA supporters with no mention of democratic reforms, individual rights or multiple political parties.

More recently, the MPLA has launched a traditional Marxist propaganda and disinformation campaign to discredit UNITA in the international community and remove the pressure to reach an agreement with UNITA. Such allegations of UNITA human-rights abuses against its own leadership are unsubstantiated.

In reality, Angola today reflects the unbearable consequences of the MPLA's anarchistic policies: economic devastation, civilian hardships and casualties, low morale and desertion within the MPLA troops and the resource drain of financing a decade-long war of attrition. Moreover, without the popular support of the people, the MPLA has had to rely upon an externally propped-up militarization of the country to retain power and control. The cost of this policy of self-preservation has been

tremendous and has created one of the worst human-rights records in Africa.

Amnesty International and the U.S. State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1987 and 1988 have consistently deplored the human rights conditions in Angola. Both of these reports document widespread abuse of human rights by the MPLA regime in Angola.

With the completion of the first stage of the Cuban troop withdrawal on April 1, increased pressure must be put on the MPLA regime to join UNITA in negotiating for peace. The MPLA must understand that if it continues to pursue a military option, rather than engage in a dialogue of genuine national reconciliation with UNITA, then the United States will not hesitate to apply increased pressure to reach the goals of democracy and free and fair elections. If there is one thing history has taught this great nation, it is that when we are unified in our foreign-policy objectives and our resolve is unwavering, there is nothing we cannot accomplish. However, when we fight among ourselves, as indicated by our past policy in the case of Nicaragua, we help no one but our adversaries.

It is the bipartisan policy of the United States to establish genuine national reconciliation and free and fair elections in Angola. The tripartite agreement is the first and necessary step toward these goals. It is now up to the new administration and the 101st Congress to ensure that the remaining two goals are met and the agreement is truly a genuine step toward long-term peace in the region.

The New York Times  
June 24, 1989

## ANGOLA CEASE-FIRE A START, U.S. SAYS

But Bush Official Says Talks  
on a Political Deal Could  
Take 'Quite a While'

By ROBERT PEAR  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 23 — American officials said today that the cease-fire announced by leaders of the Angolan Government and Angolan rebel forces was a first step toward a political settlement, but that there was no agreement on the shape of a future government.

A Bush Administration official said President José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and Jonas Savimbi, the guerrilla leader, had "agreed to begin a process of trying to negotiate a political settlement."

"They've got a lot of negotiating to do," the official said. "This is the beginning of a negotiating process that could end up taking quite a while."

There have been reports that Mr. Savimbi might go into exile but American officials said they did not know what Mr. Savimbi would do or where he might go. They did not rule out the possibility that he might spend time in the United States, but they said they knew of no arrangement for him to come here.

### Exile for Savimbi Rejected

The State Department spokeswoman, Margaret D. Tutwiler, said the cease-fire agreement reached in Gbadolite, Zaire, was "a significant breakthrough in efforts to peacefully resolve Angola's long-running civil war." She said the United States had not changed its policy on providing arms to Mr. Savimbi's guerrilla group.

On Jan. 6, George Bush, as President-elect, sent a letter to Mr. Savimbi promising to continue military and diplomatic support for the rebels until "national reconciliation" was achieved in Angola. "National reconciliation" is generally interpreted to mean a comprehensive political settlement.

The representative in Washington for Mr. Savimbi's guerrilla group, Jardo Muekalia, said the cease-fire agreement was "just a starting point in a long and hard journey" toward prosperity and stability in Angola.

The guerrilla group, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, rejects the idea of amnesty, clemency or exile for Mr. Savimbi, Mr. Muekalia said.

### 'We Did Not Have a Role'

"President Savimbi remains the leader of Unita, and his future can be decided only by the Angolan people through fair general elections," he said. "The rumors that Dr. Savimbi will remove himself from Angolan politics are unfounded and laughable."

A statement issued in Zaire said the Angolan cease-fire was to take effect Saturday morning. American officials said it might take two weeks for word of the cease-fire to reach fighters in remote areas of Angola.

Ms. Tutwiler said that "we did not have a role" in the Angolan cease-fire. "It was entirely an African initiative," she said.

Another Administration official said the United States had continually encouraged the African diplomacy that bore fruit this week.

# Rebel Leader Going Home To Angola

Associated Press

KINSHASA, Zaire, June 23—Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi left for home today to implement a cease-fire that will end 14 years of civil war with Angola's Marxist government.

The leader of the U.S.-backed rebels and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos signed the truce accord late Thursday at a special African summit to promote peace in Angola.

"I was not born to make war at all cost," Savimbi said before leaving to carry word of the cease-fire to his forces. "Even if I have made war until now for precise reasons, and even if these reasons cease to exist, I will always remain, in my skin, a citizen of Angola."

Shooting was to stop at midnight Friday (7 p.m. EDT). Savimbi told the Zairian news agency that he is prepared to work "without preconditions" with dos Santos' government. But difficult negotiations still face the rival Angolan parties in drafting a permanent peace agreement.

The summit of 20 African heads of state—held in Gbadolite about 400 miles northeast of Zaire's capital, Kinshasa—was the first meeting between dos Santos and Savimbi since the former allies in a struggle for black rule went to war in 1975 as Portuguese colonizers left Angola. The conflict has claimed tens of thousands of casualties.

Savimbi leads the National Union



Angolan President Santos, with necktie, and rebel chief Savimbi, left foreground, flank Nigerian President Babangida in photo session after cease-fire agreement.

for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), which has been backed by China, South Africa and the United States in its fight to share power with dos Santos' Marxist government party, the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola.

The cease-fire agreement follows a U.S.-brokered regional peace accord signed in New York in December. South Africa, which backed Savimbi, agreed to grant independence to Namibia, Angola's southern neighbor, and halt aid to Savimbi's guerrillas in exchange for the withdrawal from Angola of 50,000 Cuban troops supporting dos Santos' government. Savimbi was not party to the agreement.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who attended the one-day summit in Gbadolite, said today that Savimbi will go into self-exile as part of the cease-fire accord.

But at a separate news conference, President Mobutu Sese Seko

of Zaire said reports of Savimbi's going into exile were "false." But the Zairian leader said Savimbi had "reaffirmed that he had no intention of participating in the next government."

The accord called for the creation of a national reconciliation commission under Mobutu's chairmanship. It set no time or place for the commission to begin its work and did not specify who would represent the rival Angolan parties.

The Portuguese news agency LUSA reported today that the two sides would meet "in the next few days in Zimbabwe to give form to the Gbadolite accord." It did not provide details.

["It is not up to us . . . to tell Savimbi or his men you're going to do this or you're going to do that," Mobutu told reporters at his palace in Gbadolite today, according to Reuter. "We will leave this to Angolans to determine the fate of UNITA."]

# U.S. Hails Angolan Talks As 'Watershed'

*Dos Santos-Savimbi Meeting  
Called 'Very Important First Step'*

---

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

---

The Bush administration yesterday hailed the start of national reconciliation talks between the Angolan government and U.S.-backed rebel leader Jonas Savimbi as "a watershed" in African diplomacy and said a similar process is under way to resolve the civil war in Mozambique.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater called it "a very important first step" toward restoring peace in Angola and State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler said "a significant breakthrough" has been achieved toward ending the conflict.

She congratulated Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Savimbi for "their political courage in taking this decisive step to bring national reconciliation to Angola." She was referring to their meeting in the Zairian town of Gbadolite Thursday, their first since the start of the Angolan civil war in 1975.

Tutwiler also had high praise for "numerous" African leaders, "especially" Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko, who she said had put their "prestige and political weight" behind the peace effort. Mobutu is to visit here next week and meet with President Bush Thursday, the White House announced.

"We did not have a role. It was entirely an African initiative," she said.

Nonetheless, senior U.S. officials were quick to render homage to former assistant secretary of state for African affairs Chester A. Crocker, who left in April after eight years at that post. They said it was his diplomatic work, together with the personal involvement of Mobutu and Congolese leader Denis Sassou-Nguesso, that made the breakthrough possible.

"First, last and foremost this is a credit to Chet Crocker," said a senior administration official. "Dr. Crocker persisted in pursuing a pattern that would ultimately lead to peace in that region. We are now simply sitting here and watching Dr. Crocker's game play out."

Crocker was the U.S. official who single-handedly mediated the accords signed last Dec. 22 in New York among South Africa, Cuba and Angola providing for the phased withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angola by July 1991 and an independence process for South African-administered Namibia.

Crocker said in an interview yesterday that the dos

# U.S. Hails Angolan Talks As Diplomatic 'Watershed'

---

POLICY, From A18

---

Santos-Savimbi meeting was "a wonderful step," adding, "I don't see how there's any going back."

He said the U.S. "two-track" negotiating approach toward the Angolan conflict had basically been put in place eight years ago when he first began his negotiating efforts. This approach left resolution of Angola's domestic conflict to African leaders while the United States worked on an overall southwest Africa settlement with Cuba, South Africa, Angola and the Soviet Union.

U.S. officials said Cuba's decision to withdraw all its troops from Angola, Soviet support for a political solution and pressure from Congress through constant resolutions demanding that Angola accept talks with Savimbi before any cutoff of U.S. military aid to his forces all helped to pressure Angola to open negotiations with him.

But they were particularly eager to praise Mobutu and Sassou-Nguesso for taking the African lead to bring dos Santos and Savimbi together and expressed the hope the Angolan example will be followed elsewhere.

"This is a diplomatic initiative of African leadership," said another senior U.S. official. "The most important thing," he added, "is that you have African leaders talking to their own brethren about how to solve a problem without an American aircraft, without a British mediator, without people from the outside."

Both officials described the event as "a watershed" in African diplomacy and said that a similar process had begun in Mozambique to bring an end to the fighting between the Frelimo-led government and the Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo), with African and local church leaders serving as mediators.

"In some sense the contacts between Frelimo and Renamo are actually more advanced," said one official. "There have been direct contacts between the two sides for the purposes of discussing their differences and trying to identify where they can find an accommodation."

By contrast, they said, the Angolan government and Savimbi are just beginning the process and still have different agendas "which have some overlapping points," he said. "It's the way most diplomatic talks start."

Crocker said there are four items a common agenda would have to deal with: merger of the two armies; procedures for integrating Savimbi's civilian cadres into the Angolan administration; Savimbi's future role; and Angola's future economic and political policies.

Savimbi's representatives here said UNITA wants changes in the country's constitution and one-party political system to make way for a multi-party democracy.

There was no indication from Thursday's meeting that dos Santos and Savimbi discussed a common agenda for talks. One source here said, "Nothing was negotiated and no concessions made. They only agreed to negotiate."

The Washington Post  
June 25, 1989

# Angola Pact's Unanswered Question: Savimbi

*Will the Cease-Fire Agreement Force the Guerrilla Leader to Go Into Exile?*

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Foreign Service

KINSHASA, Zaire, June 24—The political future of Jonas Savimbi, Africa's longest-surviving guerrilla leader, was uncertain today as a result of an agreement reached Thursday to end the 14-year-long civil war in Angola.

However, Savimbi made a major breakthrough by being recognized at a peace conference of major African leaders and being included in follow-up negotiations aimed at bringing reconciliation to war-ravaged Angola.

The agreement, endorsed by the leaders of 17 African nations and ratified by a handshake between Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos Thursday night after a historic peace conference in the northern Zairian town of Gbadolite, does not specifically deal Savimbi out of any future political equation in Angola.

But it calls for further negotiations to begin here next week on such crucial issues as possible temporary exile for Savimbi and the integration of his followers in the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) into the Angolan government that the guerrilla force has been fighting with backing by the United States and South Africa.

While there was no public mention in the "Gbadolite Declaration" issued by the African leaders of what will become of Savimbi, there were signs that he will be forced to accept some form of exile—either external or internal—at least for a transitional period of national reconciliation.

The agreement established a formal cease-fire that began at midnight Friday, and that leaves Savimbi, in effect, without a military campaign as a *raison d'être*.

However, a U.S. official here said that even during the cease-fire, U.S. military aid to Savimbi's rebels will continue and that the estimated \$30 million in annual assistance to UNITA will not be cut until a government of national reconciliation is established in Angola.

[Western diplomats in Luanda, the Angolan capital, said today it was difficult to tell if the cease-fire was holding because most fighting has been concentrated near the Namibian border, about 600 miles to the south, the Associated Press reported. UNITA radio carried an announcement that the cease-fire was in place, and Angola's state radio broadcast an appeal to troops to put down their weapons.]

The provision for negotiations on the question of UNITA being absorbed into the existing Angolan government means that Savimbi's top leadership could be co-opted even before he is able to campaign for free elections to test his oft-made claim that he has the support of the majority of Angolans.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who participated in the peace talks here and, according to Western diplomatic sources, pushed for Savimbi's exile, said upon his return to Lusaka Friday that Savimbi had decided to go into foreign exile. Kaunda is leader of the seven-nation group of "front-line" states, which for years have been hostile to Savimbi's guerrilla war in Angola.

However, the convener of Thursday's historic conference, Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko, contradicted Kaunda's interpretation of the agreement. "The Gbadolite Declaration does not say what you people are quoting President Kaunda as saying," Mobutu said. "The report on which the agreement is based was drawn by me. . . . There is nothing about exile." Mobutu is a longtime supporter of Savimbi, and many covert shipments of U.S. military aid to UNITA have gone through Zaire.

A Western diplomat familiar with the discussions at Gbadolite said, "Kaunda pushed for exile, and it was rejected. The issue will be decided in future negotiations by the Angolans," referring to the Marxist government led by dos Santos and negotiators for UNITA. The diplomat called Thursday's talks "a beginning of a process and not the end."

Observers at the peace conference noted that the Angolan government has steadfastly refused Savimbi a role in governing the country even during an interim period of

NEWS  
ANALYSIS

reconciliation, and that if the guerrilla leader is forced to accept the absorption of his movement into the government, he will isolate himself to the point of effectively being in internal exile.

At the same time, Savimbi's first face-to-face meeting with dos Santos at Gbadolite transformed him in black African politics from the status of a CIA-supported "armed bandit," in the words of the Angolan government, to a recognized nationalist leader worthy of being included in a major summit conference.

The cease-fire demonstrates a clear admission by the Angolan government that its army is unable to defeat UNITA even after its support from South Africa was ended by the Namibia peace agreement, one African participant in the conference said. "Savimbi also gets negotiations and everything that that may offer. He gets to see where it will lead, and maybe he thinks it will lead to free elections and that he can win the elections," a diplomat close to the talks said.

Savimbi left Gbadolite without speaking substantively to reporters, other than to say that he regards himself as an Angolan and favors reconciliation for his country.

There have been persistent reports that Savimbi would be forced to accept at least two years' exile in the United States or possibly Morocco while an interim government of national reconciliation governs in Angola.

Mobutu was adamant in saying Savimbi will not consider joining the current Angolan government or accepting exile out of the country. The Zairian leader has taken an increasingly high profile in talks that clearly are being coordinated with the United States, which brokered the Namibian independence plan and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

"His status is the Angolans' business, but what I can tell you with good authority is that he is categorical in that he will not be part of that government," Mobutu said.

For his part, dos Santos has said Savimbi will not be allowed in the government because he considers the guerrilla leader a war criminal.

Mobutu hinted that part of the agreement to end the civil war involved U.S. promises of diplomatic relations with Angola, something that dos Santos has been seeking for years to end the country's economic isolation and stagnation.

Asked about the prospects for U.S. relations with Angola, Mobutu, referring to U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen, replied, "All I can tell you is that Mr. Cohen arrives in Angola on July 7. So, I believe that between the two sovereign countries they will talk about that problem."

Pressed further about the U.S. role in the agreement, Mobutu said, "I needed everybody's participation to succeed. . . . In order to succeed in this affair that was so serious, I had to address myself to the Americans and the South Africans. That's what I did, and I don't hide it."

However, a U.S. official here called the Gbadolite meeting "basically an African initiative that we obviously support in an effort to bring peace to Angola." The American official said no trade-off of U.S. recognition of the current Marxist government in Angola had been offered. He added, "We will be prepared to recognize a unified Angolan government once there is a government Angolans agree upon."

The official dismissed as "absolutely wrong" suggestions that the United States may have pressed Savimbi by threatening to cut off military assistance to UNITA.

# For Angola Rebel, New Respectability

By **KENNETH B. NOBLE**

Special to The New York Times

**KINSHASA, Zaire, June 25** — Rushing through the airport here last week, the Angolan rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi, found himself unexpectedly sharing a lounge with President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique.

**News Analysis** Mr. Chissano, a Marxist, gave Mr. Savimbi a warm hug and offered him a lift on his personal plane. It was a courteous gesture among African leaders, particularly among ideological foes, that would have been "unthinkable a week ago," an American diplomat remarked.

The cease-fire agreement between Mr. Savimbi and the Angolan Government, which went into effect Saturday, otherwise produced no concessions on the issue of whether the rebel forces have a fair claim to a share of power. But the willingness of the African leaders to deal with both sides as equals was a symbolic triumph for Mr. Savimbi, Western diplomats here said.

## Treated as an Outcast

In the past, Mr. Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, was treated as a pariah by much of black Africa. He was shunned as a "puppet" for accepting military aid from the United States and South Africa. Angola's Marxist Government refused to negotiate with him,

even though his forces say they control a third of Angolan territory and are able to wage guerilla warfare through much of the country.

"The picture of Savimbi sitting down with the other African leaders has given him a legitimacy that he has never had before," a Western diplomat said. "And this is may be more important in the long run than the cease-fire agreement."

Until last week, Mr. Savimbi and his movement in the Angolan bush had been largely cut off from the outside world. This situation began in December, when South Africa stopped flying aid, and also journalists, into rebel-controlled territory.

## Few Major Concessions

In the view of diplomats here in Kinshasa, the capital of neighboring Zaire, the cease-fire will allow the Angolan rebels to replenish their ammunition and supplies, as well as provide a psychological lift. "Savimbi gave up very little," a Western envoy said, "and he has potentially gained a lot more breathing space. He was dead in the water before the summit."

Since 1986, the United States has been providing Mr. Savimbi's rebels with about \$15 million a year in military assistance, including Stinger ground-to-air missiles. Their officers refuse to divulge the size of their forces, but Western analysts estimate that the insurgents have about 28,000

regulars and as many as 37,000 others.

The meeting of African leaders also provided Zaire's President, Mobutu Sese Seko, with a well-timed opportunity to play the role of Africa's elder statesmen on the eve of his visit to Washington this week. He will meet with President Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d.

## What Mobutu Wants

What Mr. Mobutu hopes for in Washington is debt relief, an issue that is becoming increasingly embroiled with controversy over Zaire's human rights record. Mr. Mobutu has often arrested opponents and exiled them to the countryside to intimidate or silence them.

Perhaps most important for Zaire, the Angola peace talks have already yielded some movement on rehabilitating the Benguela railroad, an east-west link that is vital to the economy of Angola as well as to the landlocked states of southern Africa. The line has been repeatedly damaged by rebel attacks.

Western analysts here, however, say they are mystified why Angola's Marxist Government abandoned its hard-line position against negotiations with the rebel forces. The Angolan President, José Eduardo dos Santos, insisted as recently as three weeks ago that he would not agree to a political solution that would allow Mr. Savimbi to be part of a coalition government. In the view of diplomats here, that scenario, though still remote, no longer seems to be out of the question.

## Soviet Hand Seen

An important factor in the Angolan Government's decision to negotiate with Mr. Savimbi, a Western diplomat said, may have been pressure from the Soviet Union. The Soviets have made no secret that they are wearying of pouring money into a conflict that no one could win.

Another factor propelling the Marxist Government toward the bargaining table, diplomats say, was the international accord reached last December for the withdrawal of the Cuban force that has protected Angola's Government since independence in 1975. Western analysts have expressed skepticism that Angolan troops could have maintained control without the Cubans.

"Maybe they want to strike a deal while the Cubans are still there, while they still have some leverage," one diplomat said.

## Savimbi's Success

For years Angola's Marxist regime dismissed Jonas Savimbi, leader of the pro-Western UNITA rebels, as an "armed bandit." Last week, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos dramatically shook Mr. Savimbi's hand and agreed to both a cease-fire in Angola's 14-year-old civil war and talks on forming a new government.

Angola's Marxist leaders finally concluded they could not defeat Mr. Savimbi on the battlefield—thanks, in no small part, to the Stinger missiles the U.S. has provided UNITA since 1986. Along with Afghanistan, the Reagan Doctrine has scored its second major preliminary victory.

Preliminary because no one knows yet if the negotiations between Angola and UNITA will succeed, but few expected the two sides would even talk. For his part, Mr. Savimbi has agreed that he won't serve in a transitional government but he insists that the free elections, guaranteed by the 1975 Alvor accord giving Angola its independence from Portugal finally be held. As former Portuguese Admiral Rosie Caetano, a Marxist, reveals in a new documentary "Soviets at the Crossroads," Angola's Marxists never intended to honor the accord. Instead, they seized power and canceled the elections after inviting in 50,000 Cuban troops. Mr. Savimbi, a veteran of the struggle against Portugal, began fighting Cuba's *Afrika Korps*.

Even though Mr. Savimbi has controlled a third of Angola, the Marxist regime was confident of ultimate victory and refused to deal with him. UNITA stayed alive thanks to infusions of aid from both white-ruled South Africa and black African nations. Then in 1985, a U.S. Congress impressed with UNITA's tenacity voted to repeal the Clark Amendment, which had barred all U.S. aid to Angolan rebels for a decade.

Within a year, the Reagan administration was shipping anti-aircraft Stinger missiles to the front lines. As in Afghanistan, the Stingers robbed the communists of air superiority.

The Angolans then pinned their

hopes on a Democratic victory in the 1988 presidential election; Mr. Dukakis had pledged to cut off aid to UNITA. After his defeat the Angolans suffered another body blow when Democratic Senator Dennis DeConcini and 50 other Senators (including 20 Democrats) signed a letter urging continued U.S. support for UNITA. Then in his first foreign-policy statement, President-elect Bush sent Mr. Savimbi a letter pledging that the \$15 million in annual U.S. aid would continue. "Angola's Soviet and Cuban backers were finally convinced that there could be no military solution in Angola," says Mr. DeConcini.

The leaders of 17 other black African nations persuaded President dos Santos of Angola to meet with them and Mr. Savimbi for this month's bargaining session in Zaire. There Mr. Savimbi was openly received and praised by other African leaders for the first time, ending the myth that he is merely a South African puppet.

Under the Reagan Doctrine, anti-communist rebels were given U.S. military aid to prevent victory by their opponents. In those instances where Congress supported the doctrine it proved a valuable tool in containing Soviet adventurism, as in Angola and Afghanistan. Its one conspicuous failure is Nicaragua, where Congress's Democratic majority only reluctantly gave the Contras on-again, off-again life support. Ultimately Congress pulled the plug on the Contras, and the Sandinistas extended their control over Nicaraguan life. Indeed some Members of Congress who would never think of excusing the actions of Afghanistan's Soviet-backed regime have somehow rationalized the jackboot tactics of the Sandinistas and their thugs.

The loss in Nicaragua makes it all the more important to preserve the fragile progress toward peace and national reconciliation in Angola. That means the U.S. must continue to support Mr. Savimbi and UNITA until an agreement on internationally supervised elections is finally reached.

# What hope for peace in Angola?

By Tony Banks

ANGOLAN Government forces and UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) rebels have engaged in heavy fighting following the collapse of the June cease-fire.

According to sources in South Africa and UNITA intelligence intercepts, the government Central Committee approved a major offensive against the UNITA stronghold of Mavinga. Earlier attempts to take the town had failed, but reports indicate that government troops (FAPLA) reached the outskirts of Mavinga last week.

The capture of Mavinga would allow FAPLA to fly bombing missions against Jamba, UNITA's 'capital' in southern Angola.

The Angolan Government has always seen the capture of Mavinga as the penultimate goal in its effort to break the power of UNITA, headed by Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi.

An Angolan diplomat in London denied that a FAPLA offensive was underway, saying that troops were defending themselves against UNITA attacks.

The threat of an offensive by FAPLA and Cuban forces against Mavinga last year pressured South Africa into a massive reinforcement of UNITA in southern Angola, leading to the fierce battles around Cuito Cuanavale and along the Lomba River. The ensuing stalemate was partly responsible for the US-brokered South Africa/Angola/Cuba peace accords, which allowed for the removal of foreign troops from Angola and the decolonisation by South Africa of Namibia.

Both UNITA and the Angolan Government say that no Cuban forces have taken part in the recent fighting.

Cuban President Fidel Castro warned recently that UNITA attacks could slow the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops and 10 000 "armed co-operators" from Angola, putting into question South Africa's granting of independence to neighbouring Namibia and Pretoria's future involvement in Angola (*JDW* 2 September).

The Angolan Government has never been reticent in reporting military successes against UNITA. UNITA has never failed to indicate Cuban involvement in military operations, and the latest reports from both sides appear to indicate that behind-the-scenes diplomatic activity is attempting to restore the cease-fire.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' acceptance of a negotiated settlement with UNITA possibly went beyond the accepted Angolan Government guidelines, with hardliners Pedro Castro Van-Dunem (Loy) and Diogo de Jesus advocating a military solution to the war. A failed offensive will strengthen dos Santos' hand within his government, allowing him to re-open talks with Savimbi.



FAPLA BMP-1 infantry fighting vehicle knocked out by UNITA forces

UNITA says the morale of the FAPLA troops is at an all-time low, for two reasons: the Cubans, who in the past have 'led-from-behind,' forcing the FAPLA troops to fight, have been absent from the battles; and because the troops realise a cease-fire is within reach.

The collapse of the Zairean-sponsored cease-fire has been taken as a personal snub by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko. Mobutu reacted by giving the go-ahead for joint Zairean/FAPLA border patrols, to help halt the flow of arms from Zaire into UNITA-controlled Angola.

However, sources indicate that the United States is still regularly supplying weapons to Savimbi across the border with the full knowledge of Mobutu. "America is still pulling the strings," a source told *JDW*.

The latest three-pronged offensive centred on Cuito Cuanavale, scene of some of the bitterest fighting during the latter stages of the South African/Cuban involvement in the 14-year-old civil war.

One FAPLA battle group comprising two fully-mechanised infantry brigades (including the 59th) and one mechanised artillery brigade, backed by Portuguese advisors, deployed along the Kuzumbia and Cuzizi Rivers and 150 km east of Cuito Cuanavale, north of the Lomba River.

UNITA sources told *JDW* that its forces

destroyed six T-55 tanks, seven BTR-60 armoured personnel carriers, five BMP-1 infantry fighting vehicles, one BRDM-2 amphibious scout car, two BM-21 multiple rocket launchers, 22 trucks and one tanker.

A second FAPLA group, also comprising three brigade-size units, deployed in the 3rd Military region, south of Lucusse and headed toward Cangamba.

In the 1st Military region, Cunene Province, in the Caiundo-Ongiva-Savate triangle, a three-brigade FAPLA offensive, including the 35th and 53rd Brigades, is said to have been stopped by UNITA. FAPLA abandoned five BMP-1s before withdrawing to Yonde.

FAPLA carried out two air strikes against Mavinga in mid-August. During the same period, UNITA claims to have shot down a Gazelle helicopter and three MiG-21s.

The size of the offensive has forced UNITA to withdraw many of its guerrilla fighters from the government-held north of Angola to support its regular troops in the south. However, a three-battalion offensive by UNITA against one FAPLA battalion in the diamond-mining area of Cafunfo appears to have ended with a rout of government troops.

UNITA is expecting a FAPLA offensive, based on Munhango and comprising the 16th, 32nd, 58th and 85th Brigades, supported by MiG-23s and helicopters.

# Savimbi Ready to Resume Angola Truce

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

PRETORIA, South Africa, Aug. 27 — The Angolan guerrilla leader, Jonas Savimbi, said today that he was prepared to restore the cease-fire that has broken down in his country's civil war amid confusion over what was agreed to in a June accord.

In an interview here, Mr. Savimbi blamed the Marxist Government in Luanda for the collapse of the cease-fire. He said that Angolan Government forces had mounted an offensive using five brigades, or about 10,000 troops, against his positions 10 days ago and that he had ordered his troops to defend themselves. Mr. Savimbi denied that he had told his fighters to attack.

"Once we achieve the cease-fire, the rest will be very quick," he said when he was asked how the settlement could be put back on track.

But Mr. Savimbi, who said he was willing to wait for a month for the truce to take hold, emphasized that Government forces must withdraw to their earlier positions. The Government has denied it is pursuing a new offensive.

## Rebel With a Cause

Mr. Savimbi leads the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola — known as Unita from its Portuguese officials. It has been fighting the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola for 14 years since losing a power struggle that broke out among three rival liberation movements when the former Portuguese colony was given independence in 1975. Unita is believed to control about a third of Angolan territory.

Mr. Savimbi accused Zambia's President, Kenneth D. Kaunda, of distorting the terms of the agreement on Angola reached by 18 African heads of government on June 22 in Gbadolite, Zaire, the country residence of Zaire's President, Mobutu Sese Seko.

The guerrilla leader said he had never consented to go into exile or to let his forces be absorbed into the Government's army as President Kaunda contended at a meeting with other African leaders in Harare, Zimbabwe, last week.

As published, the text of the Gbadolite accord makes no reference to the two provisions Mr. Kaunda mentioned. Mr. Savimbi said that the Zambian leader was referring to a meeting of African leaders in Luanda on May 16, the outcome of which Unita has rejected.

Mr. Savimbi, who was at Gbadolite when the agreement was announced on June 22, charged that President Kaunda took the position he did because he supported Angola's President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos. He added that the other African leaders meeting in Harare did not contradict Mr. Kaunda because they also sympathized with Mr. dos Santos.

Mr. Savimbi agreed to be interviewed here after meeting for two and a half hours with South Africa's acting President, F. W. de Klerk, and Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha, who are scheduled to fly to Livingstone, Zambia, tomorrow for talks with President Kaunda

The New York Times  
August 28, 1989

The collapse of the Angolan cease-fire, which went into effect on June 24, is expected to be at the top of the agenda in Livingstone. South Africa has given Mr. Savimbi military and political support for his insurgency, making the leaders of the front-line black African states hostile to his cause. Pretoria insists it no longer sends material aid to Unita.

The deteriorating situation in Angola preoccupied Mr. de Klerk at his meeting on Friday with President Mobutu in Goma, Zaire. The two leaders agreed then to follow up "at appropriate levels," an allusion to persuading President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi to stop their fighting.

Mr. Savimbi confirmed that Mr. de Klerk asked him to come to Pretoria, where he said the South African leader briefed him on the meeting with the Zairian President. Mr. Mobutu, who mediated the discussions that led to the

Gbadolite accord, scheduled a similar session with Angolan officials. South Africa is concerned that if civil war resumes, Cuban troops sent to help the Angolan Government will halt their phased withdrawal. They are obliged to depart under a regional political settlement signed last December that links their departure to self-rule for Namibia.

The Washington Times  
March 28, 1989

# U.S. backs Savimbi's peace offer

By Peter LaBarbera  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The State Department yesterday urged Angola's Marxist government to embrace the peace proposal of Angolan resistance leader Jonas Savimbi to open direct talks aimed at ending the country's civil war.

Under the plan, announced March 13, Mr. Savimbi's U.S.-backed UNITA forces would refrain from offensive operations until July 15. Mr. Savimbi also said he would exclude himself from the negotiations and participation in a transitional government provided he is allowed to run for president within two years.

"An end to the civil war in Angola is in the interest of all Angolans . . . These proposals . . . by UNITA are a significant step in that direction and are deserving of broad support," said State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler.

"We urge Luanda to respond positively to UNITA's gestures and offer of peace," she said at the daily noon briefing at the State Department.

Angola's government, headed by the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, has rejected any direct dialogue with the National Union for the Total Inde-

pendence of Angola, which controls one-third of the country after 13 years of civil war.

A State Department spokesman said yesterday's remarks were the first public endorsement of the UNITA offer, made after the department's Africa specialists were able to study the offer.

The United States annually provides about \$15 million in military aid to UNITA.

Meanwhile, outgoing Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker told the Voice of America Sunday that recent charges by UNITA dissidents linking Mr. Savimbi and UNITA to torture and human rights abuses are timed in a way that benefit those in the Luanda government who are opposed to reconciliation talks with UNITA.

"It is not a secret from anyone that these kinds of stories don't serve any interests, except perhaps the interest of those — and I think they are in the minority — within the government in Luanda who are still determined to avoid a peace process," Mr. Crocker said.

Mr. Crocker said he believes there is a "growing body of opinion in Luanda" that a peace process must

get under way.

"But for those who don't share that view, obviously such reports and allegations . . . provide an excuse, perhaps, for not . . . talking," he said.

Sources close to UNITA, however, said that the government forces favoring a military solution to the civil war still have the upper hand over moderate factions. They cited the reported demotion of two senior MPLA officials who advocated a more moderate track:

- Franza Ndaulo, the chief negotiator for Luanda on the tripartite peace agreement among Cuba, South Africa and Angola, reportedly has been relegated to head the Angolan army's military operations in Lubango province in southwestern Angola.

Mr. Ndaulo last month revealed in Lisbon that the MPLA had conducted secret talks with UNITA. The assertion was later denied by the MPLA.

- Manuel Alexandre "Kito" Rodrigues, a former interior minister and veteran of the revolutionary struggle who also favored conciliation with UNITA, was demoted to a minor government post.

# The Bargain in Angola Doesn't Look So Clear Now

By KENNETH B. NOBLE

**T**WO months ago, before 17 other African leaders, President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola reluctantly extended a hand to the rebel leader Jonas Savimbi after the two arranged a cease-fire in an effort to end their 14-year civil war. But today, those present differ widely over what the two men had actually agreed on.

The question of who said what and when is at the heart of the impasse that now threatens to undo the uneasy truce in Angola. Mr. Savimbi insists that the only thing agreed on at the conference, held in the Zairian town of Gbadolite, was a cease-fire. But Mr. dos Santos and some of the other African leaders have said Mr. Savimbi also agreed to accept some form of exile — external or internal — at least for a transitional period of reconciliation in this southern African country. The confusion over what occurred in Zaire came close to unraveling the peace process last weekend when Mr. Savimbi briefly called off the cease-fire, complaining that the African leaders had misrepresented his side of the bargain.

While the African leaders' Gbadolite declaration made no mention of what was to become of Mr. Savimbi, his fate has always been an issue. Mr. dos Santos, a Marxist who leads a one-party state, denounced the rebel leader as a "bandit" and "traitor" for accepting military aid from South Africa, and had insisted that he would never bargain with him. The animosity was mutual. Mr. Savimbi never ceased referring to the Angolan President as a "puppet" for "Russian-Cuban imperialism."

Any real settlement would mean that the old enemies would first have to find some common ground. "The elegant solution has always been that either dos Santos or, more likely, Savimbi step aside for a decent interval for the peace process to take hold," a Western diplomat here said.

## A Stumbling Block

But the question remains whether Mr. Savimbi would go along with any plan that would keep him even temporarily on the sidelines. Exile, he has said, would amount to surrender.

Mr. Savimbi has always called for free elections, but some Western diplomats here suggest he would be willing to settle for less. There have been widespread reports that the talks included a proposal by African mediators that Mr. Savimbi be of-

ferred a post like vice president in a coalition government. African diplomats say that he might accept such a proposal, but that the dos Santos Government has not offered it because it fears giving him too large a platform. This raises perhaps the most vexing issue: how to mesh the longtime rivals into a single government and army. Angolan officials have said Mr. Savimbi's supporters could be given jobs in the civil service and military but Mr. Savimbi himself must go. The question of just what role the rebels could play in the party has been left open.

Mr. Savimbi's supporters want the one-party system dismantled alto-

gether. Their hope, fiercely opposed by the Marxist Government, is that talks will lead to free elections. The rebels are also determined not to be absorbed by Angola's ruling party.

Nevertheless, both sides have recognized that little is to be gained by continuing the fighting, which has devastated the country and cost hundreds of thousands of lives. With Cuba promising to withdraw its 50,000 troops by July 1991, Mr. Savimbi has found it harder to resist calls for reconciliation. And with South Africa ending its incursions into Angola, it has become harder for the Government to refuse to negotiate with Angola's rebels.



Black Star/Mark Peters

Jonas Savimbi, leader of Angola's rebels.

## THE WASHINGTON POST INDEX

# Savimbi Says Rebels Will Honor Truce

## *Officials Try to Save Angolan Peace Pact*

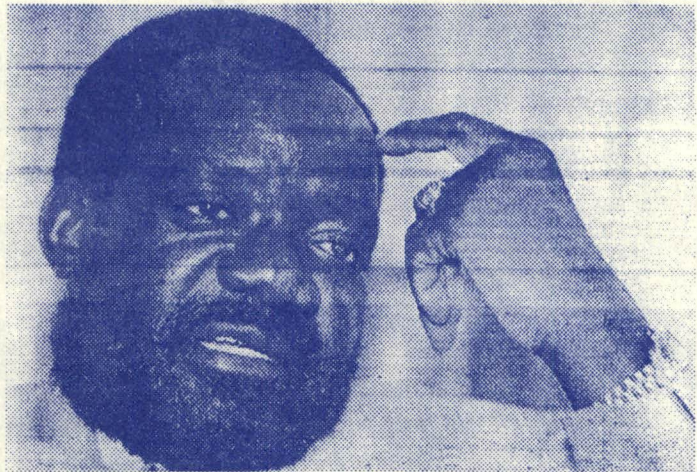
By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, Aug. 27— Anti-communist rebel leader Jonas Savimbi met today with South African Acting President Frederik W. de Klerk and said his guerrilla forces in Angola will resume a cease-fire for a month while diplomats try to put a faltering two-month-old peace agreement back on course.

At the same time, Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko met with Angolan Foreign Minister Afonso Van Dunem in Zaire in an attempt to reach a compromise in a growing dispute over Savimbi's role in Angola during a period of national reconciliation between the nominally Marxist Angolan government and Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

The dispute became public last Tuesday when Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, chairman of an Angolan peace conference held June 22 in Gbadolite, Zaire, said Savimbi had at the gathering agreed to go into temporary exile. Kaunda made the statement at a meeting of an Organization of African Unity subcommittee in Zimbabwe.

Kaunda's interpretation of the Gbadolite accord, however, has been rejected by Savimbi, Mobutu and the U.S. government, which brokered the original regional peace agreement last year on independence for Namibia and the withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola.



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Jonas Savimbi says the UNITA guerilla forces in Angola will resume a cease-fire there while diplomats try to reach a peace agreement. Article: Page A19.

The dispute over Savimbi's future and the alleged cease-fire violations, if not resolved, could affect the withdrawal of the remaining Cuban troops in Angola. That, in turn, could jeopardize the U.N.-supervised independence process in Namibia, which has been occupied by South Africa for 74 years, because Namibian independence is linked under last year's regional peace accord with the Cuban pull-out.

The Gbadolite declaration called for an end to the Angolan war and national reconciliation, a cease-fire as of June 24 and the establishment of a commission for the purpose of "finalizing" a peace plan.

Last Thursday, Savimbi, citing Kaunda's interpretation of the agreement and complaining of cease-fire violations by Angola, said that the 14-year civil war in Angola had "restarted" and ordered his troops to resume fighting.

But after meeting with de Klerk and South African Defense Minister Magnus Malan today in Pretoria, Savimbi said his guerrillas will observe the Gbadolite truce until Sept. 26, when UNITA will hold a leadership congress at its bush headquarters in Jamba, in southeastern Angola.

"In this spirit, and in the interests of all our people, we have decided to ... commit ourselves again to the effort to achieve peace and national reconciliation," Savimbi said in a statement before leaving Pretoria.

Savimbi said any military responses by UNITA will be for defensive purposes only, and his forces will not seek to engage Angolan troops.

He said he will "welcome the prospect of resuming talks" with the government of Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. Negotiations had been held regularly in Zaire until last week.

The UNITA leader, however, denied dos Santos's assertion that secret minutes of a closed-door session at Gbadolite show that Savimbi agreed to temporary exile. "UNITA does not engage in 'secret' understandings or minutes," Savimbi said.

On March 13, Savimbi did say publicly that if dos Santos's government agreed to a democratic, multi-party election, he would step aside temporarily during an interim period of reconciliation.

Pennies from Heaven?

SEABEE STORY

# Tiny Aid Budget Goes A Long Way With U.S. Navy In West Africa

By Scott Hessek

One of America's most successful continuing African foreign aid projects is run out of a small office in a converted World War II barracks in Virginia Beach, Va.

The program is a part of the U.S. Navy's annual West African Training Cruise, a military and civic action venture which puts the U.S. Navy in close contact with number of small West African nations; countries on or below "the bump" where the African continent sticks out as though to divide the North and South Atlantic.

Usually only one American ship is involved in the venture. Most frequently it is an LST, a landing-type ship, able to work in shallow waters with few port facilities, although other non-capital ships, such as destroyers, have been used in the past. The initials for the venture, WATC, give rise to its more pronounceable acronym- "The What-Sea Cruise."

As the name implies, the military purpose of the cruise is training, not only for the Americans, but for the small West African navies and patrol forces operating in the region, as well as providing specialized help for a number of projects ashore. American Coast Guardsmen, adept at training others for tactical small-boat maneuvers, are usually also embarked.

But, even more than that, the purpose is to "show the flag" in a comparatively remote part of the Third World, and emphasize America's intentions to remain the friendly Western power in the region.

Part of that mission is accomplished through joint training at sea and ashore with the armed forces of the countries involved. Despite the fact the African military groups are small, American Navy forces says they are well-trained, but underequipped. They

must "make do" with what they have. Another part involves turning the ship visit and the actions of U.S. Navy "Seabee" construction forces into a positive good for the nations and peoples visited during the deployment.

Lt. John Socha, a Navy civil engineer at the headquarters of Construction Battalions Atlantic Fleet at the Naval Amphibious Base Little Creek, Vir-

ginia is the man most involved with this second portion of the mission; the part that remains behind long after the ship is gone, and most memories of the visit have faded.

Socha, 39, is a "mustang," a man who truly earned his commission. He came up through the ranks from recruit through E-8 Senior Chief Construction Electrician before being commissioned ensign a few years ago. "I took a cut in pay," said the lieutenant with four rows of ribbons on his chest, "but

the toughest part was the loss in perceived status early on. People figure a senior chief knows what he's doing, but when they don't know you and just see your rank on a sheet of paper or a letter, they assume you're a young officer who just came into the Navy out of college. Now, three pay-grades up, it's not so difficult, but I still get teased about it," he said.

Socha's job entails making decisions about what major civic action projects the Navy's "Seabee" team will undertake while they are ashore in West Africa. The 30-man teams are usually broken into four or more detachments of each, then are left "in country" for several weeks to build, rehabilitate or renovate schools, hospitals, orphanages or other major community

Please see AID page 10

804-422-5652  
463-3845

Scott Herold

Annex

You may find this useful for  
anything President Bush does  
on Africa, the Navy, etc.  
It may also come in handy if  
he does any other visits to  
that region of the world.

Dear Sir:

President Bush  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

7/9/85

## AID...continued from page 4

facilities in countries with little in the way of educational resources or medical care.

During actual ship visits to the ports, volunteer crewmen from the ship often go ashore and into nearby areas to take on small one- or two-day projects, such as painting a building, or providing open-air medical or dental clinics. But the Seabees stay behind for pick-up several weeks later after they have completed the more involved projects.

"The budgeting for our total operation is usually very small...often only a few thousand dollars per country," said Socha. "What we try to do in these construction projects is get the villagers and local people involved in the construction process so they will feel like they're a part of it, too!"

This year's cruise, slated for mid-summer, will have the Navy's Seabee teams working in Conakry, Guinea, Freetown, Sierra Leone, Monrovia, Liberia, and Libreville, Gabon.

The slides of the proposed sites Socha brought back from his planning trip to the target areas this spring tell the whole story of the need, the primitive conditions, and the potential and continuing benefits that his construction projects by the four six-to-nine-man construction teams will bring to the countries involved.

They include a wing for a school in Libreville, Gabon, the virtual construction of a medical clinic in the shell of a building in Kakata, Liberia, the construction of sanitation facilities and dry latrines in Guinea and a new dormitory and therapy room in a home for the handicapped in Sierra Leone.

Projects are chosen on the basis of what will give the biggest bang for the buck...those that will do the most good for the most amount of people and have long-lasting effects. If they are highly visible projects, so much the better.

"Trying to choose projects is like asking someone to play God," said Socha. "We work closely with the American embassies in the nations involved. They usually have their fingers on the pulse of the country, and will propose two or three projects with the most potential. The tough part is saying 'no' to worthy projects because we don't have the money or the manpower to do them all," he said. "In Freetown, Sierra Leone, for example, there were six or seven really worthy projects. We had to choose only one. Hopefully, when the ship pulls in, the six not chosen will be targeted for the one-or-two-day projects, which can be done by volunteers from the ship."

The aid money comes from "Title 10 funds," military money earmarked for humanitarian or civic action projects. It is usually transmitted to the embassies in advance for the purchase of supplies and building materials. When the Navy "Seabee" teams arrive in the country, the material is usually waiting

for them. The aid funds are only used for the purchase of supplies.

The Navy's manpower time is "donated," so to speak, but the actual on-site construction, often under the most primitive conditions, provides

"real world" training for the Navy construction teams in the field. It forces them to improvise when they have no choice...a possible scenario in a battle zone.

"Conditions in some of the West African nations are often abominable," said Socha, who spent four years of his Navy life working for the military mission of the State Department in a half-dozen countries in Africa, as well as in much of Eastern Europe. "We try to make some significant difference with what resources we have."

Taking the planned projects in Conakry, Guinea as an example...The Seabees will be building dry latrines for two mother and infant clinics, one elementary school and a trade school. In a nation where hepatitis and other water-borne diseases thrive,

such a simple system of sanitation can mean the difference between life and death for mothers and children. This will also cut pollution of local water sources to prevent the spread of a host of African diseases hardly known outside the tropics, but whose ravages kill tens of even hundreds of thousands every year. Malarial strains in some of these countries are now resistant to quinine drugs. Killing thousands each year. Dry latrines require no water, thus no mosquito-breeding stagnation or other water-borne diseases.

The clinic in Liberia will be serving a remote area, and is being created at the urging of Peace Corps volunteers in the region. Of necessity, those working in remote areas of Africa must take a Schweitzer-like approach to medicine: "Keep it simple and moderate, and make it easy for the villagers to do and understand. It was the only approach the famed missionary doctor found to meet with any continuing success in nations where even rudimentary sanitation is virtually nonexistent."

In Freetown, Sierra Leone, a new dormitory and therapy room for the handicapped was the project chosen among seven proposed by the local community leaders, while a wing for a school in Libreville, Gabon, will increase the capacity for educating more Gabonese children in a way that will be a visible reminder to the Gabonese that Americans really do care about their future.

Construction techniques are simple and compatible with what is standard and available locally. Tin roofs. Mud brick. Concrete, if possible. Occasionally a set of pre-fab walls for an area which must be kept especially clean and sanitary.

The Seabees themselves are sometimes almost overcome with their first

experiences of African poverty, ignorance, disease and the suffocating Equatorial climate. Yet, they prevail.

"The problems of Africa almost overwhelm the senses at times," said Socha. "Yet the key to the future must lie in education, health care and sanitation. Passing on this knowledge in context of our construction jobs is what our people do best."

In some ways, many people may feel Socha and the Seabees are fighting a losing battle.

A preliminary draft on a World Bank study on Africa to be released this fall says that 30 years after the independence movement began in Africa, conditions have visibly and almost irreversibly eroded in many areas.

Life expectancy is down in nine of twelve countries, defoliation caused by over-grazing, clear-cutting of timber and the scramble for fuel and food by subsistence farmers and refugees has pushed the Sahel further south, and may cause huge, cyclical droughts and famine several times each decade.

Birth rates are way up to seven or eight children per woman in some areas, ameliorated only by the incomprehensible death rate of up to 600 children under the age of five years for every thousand live births. Dehydration from intestinal illnesses and starvation is the main child-killer throughout the Third World. The West African countries are generally not as bad off as their East African neighbors, and the Seabee efforts apparently are making at least some difference.

Huge aid efforts by the United States in trying to combat massive East African starvation, and the aid some European countries, Japan, South Africa and even Saudi Arabia give to African states sometimes have immediate, but no long-lasting effects.

In a small way, Lt. Socha hopes he can have some effect on turning the tide.

"Yes," he said, "Sometimes I feel like we're swimming upstream. But we are making little dents of progress, and if we stop swimming, we'll be swept away."

Oftentimes local labor is called in to help the Seabees on their projects. In a town without electricity, boards must be sawed by hand, and in the process of assisting, a young African may have the beginnings of what may be a trade. More than that, there is also the matter of civic pride. If a clinic or school wing is built by Africans and Americans working together, chances are it will be taken better care of by the village than if someone just came in and handed it to them. It becomes a source of community pride.

It is still a battle for the minds and the hearts of the people, and in the grand scheme of things, the efforts of the Seabees might seem puny, beside the mega-projects most American equate with "foreign aid." But in the smaller African republics, a school or

a clinic which the locals can virtually operate by themselves is infinitely more useful than a high project costing millions, providing public relations eye-wash and little else.

When an American landing ship visits the African ports later this summer, there will be much action in the four target countries. There will be the on-board reception for the ambassador, embassy staff and local dignitaries. The ship will be opened to hundreds of visitors and curiosity-seekers. U.S. training people on-board will be working closely with the water and land-based local forces in the countries. American sailor volunteers will go ashore to perform several one- or two-day mini-projects, perhaps delivering "project Handclasp" supplies. These are goods contributed by American Industry for charitable use overseas.

And Socha's four detachments of construction-skilled Seabees will be dropped ashore to work on their respective long-term projects until completed.

After the flags are down, and the bands have packed up, and the tourists and ship visitors have gone home, four small construction teams will leave Liberia, Gabon, Guinea and Sierra Leone behind with four completed construction projects.

Perhaps they will be the only things that really last.

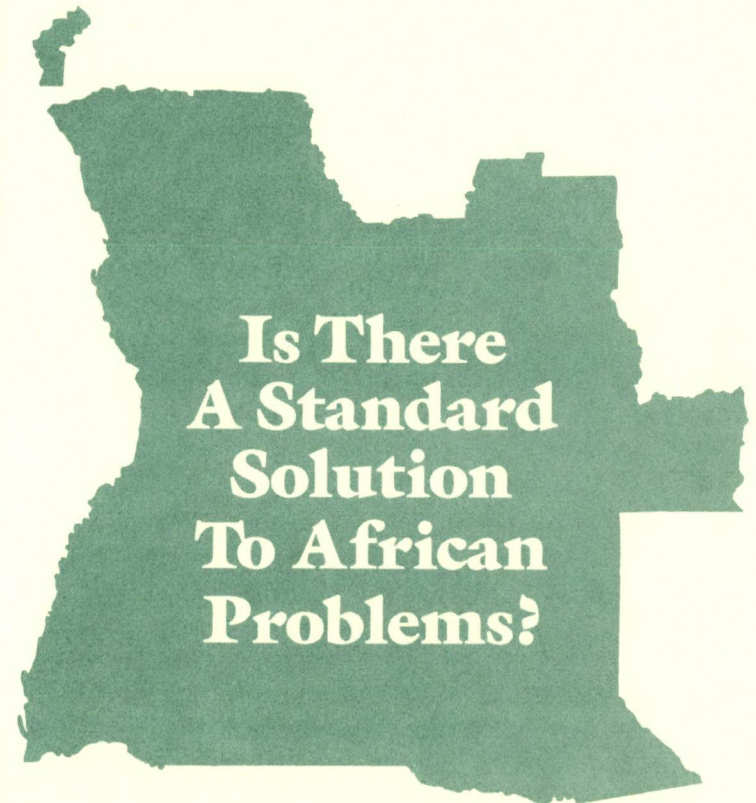
and asked if they would help him move into his home. His wife would cook them a good meal and he would supply some beer for them, he said, after they had finished the move. The white sailors smiled and said, "that's a deal," and proceeded to go help him. The black sailor approached a group of black sailors with the same deal, they replied, "and how much do you plan to pay us?"

The group of black sailors did not take into consideration the financial bind the sailor was in, recently coming aboard the ship, and the burden of having to move his family and belongings to his new home.

"Tough times never last, but tough people do," another old wise saying. For over 400 years blacks has struggled through those "tough times." There is a "breather" period today, no one is holding you down, spread your wings and fly. "Let's all realize that there's no such thing as a free lunch."

---

# **THE CASE FOR DEMOCRACY IN ANGOLA**



Produced by  
The FREE ANGOLA Information Service  
P.O. Box 65463  
Washington, DC 20035-5463  
(202) 775-0958

---

between the parties today is no more than it was in 1975. Yet, we had major agreements, and a coalition government then. We were also forming one single army. The process collapsed largely due to the intervention of foreign forces, specifically the Cubans.

Today, there is a new political environment and new economic realities in the world. The propensity of foreign countries to intervene militarily has been reduced, opening up new opportunities. The winds of change are blowing from Moscow to Poland. Why can't these breezes touch Angola? The Cubans are going home to Havana, and we hope "glasnost" will come to Luanda.

Individual freedoms, and the right to participate in the affairs of one's country are not western luxuries. As recent history shows, these are universal principles. We in UNITA did not suffer and die for all these years to come this far, and then go back to the past. UNITA's resilience has been proven throughout the years and it is based on the Angolan people's aversion to foreign domination. There is something in the Angolan soul that will keep us fighting as long as true freedom is not obtained.

- 
1. The withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola;
  2. Direct negotiations with the MPLA;
  3. The formation of a government of National Unity;
  4. The holding of free and fair elections.

The government of national unity will review the constitution, draft provisions to make the opposition legal and allow for elections to be held regularly after an agreed upon period of time. This government will also form a national army outside of the control of political parties. We believe that where democracy is allowed to flourish, there will be no losers. You simply can not have any progress without freedom and the competition of ideas.

Africa can move forward if the Africans make it move. We cannot sit and wait until "Africa is ready for democracy". We have to make her ready. Otherwise, we can wait for another 100 years and we will still have a hundred reasons why "democracy is not a tradition in Africa". For those who would say that democracy is a western idea, they would do well to remember that Marxism is not of African origin either. The question is how to select and adapt principles that can bring prosperity to our country and yet allow individuals to respect one another. We need a system that brings stability without denying a person's individuality.

Democracy is possible in Angola. The enmity

---

## Background

Angola and Portugal's four other African colonies were ending anti-colonial insurgencies and looking forward to independence following the April 25, 1975 military coup in Portugal. The coup was precipitated by Portuguese military officers' disenchantment with the costly wars to maintain that country's far flung colonial empire.

The people of Angola, and the other Portuguese colonies rejoiced. They were ecstatic at the prospect of leaving the long night of colonialism with its suffering, oppression, and death behind. However, the prospects for freedom were clouded by a unique political situation. Three ideologically opposed liberation movements were in intense competition to lead the country. The divisions in the ranks of the liberation movements left the possibility of instability, fratricidal war, and foreign intervention.

African heads of state played a major role in bringing the three movements, FNLA, MPLA, and UNITA together in Mombassa, Kenya. This historic meeting resulted in the Mombassa Accord signed on January 5, 1975, which provided for a common program in upcoming negotiations with the Portuguese. This agreement was hailed by the African independent states, which had unsuccessfully tried to get the Angolan liberation movements to cooperate during the previous fourteen years.

The path from Mombassa led to Portugal where the

---

liberation movements, in common, negotiated the Alvor Agreement with the Portuguese. The agreement, which had the full support of the Organization of African Unity, OAU, called for:

- a) the formation of a transitional government;
- b) the drafting of a constitution;
- c) the holding of elections leading to
- d) independence on November 11, 1975.

### **The Short-lived Democratic Experience**

The transitional government was formed and the liberation movements began to campaign for the scheduled elections. The MPLA, a Marxist-Leninist party, quickly realized that it could not win the elections and set out to undermine the whole process agreed upon at Alvor. They were assisted by Admiral Rosa Coutinho, the infamous "Red Admiral", the Portuguese High Commissioner during the transition period. This officer, a member of the Portuguese Communist Party, allowed shipments of war material from eastern bloc countries to reach the MPLA. He also negotiated the Cuban intervention on behalf of the MPLA. After the Cubans came into Angola, the MPLA was ready for war. The Cuban intervention invited further foreign intervention.

The O.A.U. held an emergency meeting on Angola, on January 22, 1976, to review the deteriorating situation. President Kaunda, tried to save the Alvor Accord. Speaking of the Soviets, he said "Africa must realize imperialism is imperialism. It

---

experience, Angola is an unprecedented case for which a novel solution is required. We welcome the interest shown and the efforts that African leaders are making to promote national reconciliation. However, Africa has to rise and meet the challenge that Angola poses instead of trying to tailor Angola to suit a selected "African Solution". The foot cannot be cut to fit the shoe. The shoe must be fitted to the foot.

### **UNITA**

UNITA is an Angolan political and military organization known by all Angolans, both friend and foe. If the circumstances of war lead the MPLA to stick a hundred labels on UNITA, that is understandable. However, no one can say that UNITA's supporters are not Angolans. Therefore, the MPLA cannot determine the political participation of other Angolans. Angola will have to have its constitution reviewed and accepted by all representative political forces. **Once again for the record, UNITA rejects the MPLA's policies of clemency, amnesty, and integration as a solution to the Angolan conflict. UNITA rejects exile for Dr. Savimbi or for anybody else. We hope that when the MPLA offensive underway is foiled, the MPLA will come back to the negotiating table with new ideas and new words.** To repeat the same ones would amount to a sad poverty of ideas. Angolans must face each other and once and for all work out their differences.

UNITA's goals remain unchanged:

---

and pretend that they have discovered the perfect society, they fool themselves. The result is stagnation at best and deterioration at worst. Solutions applied more than a decade ago to other African countries should not be used as a model to solve the Angolan conflict. The issues are different in their nature and genesis. Let us quickly review some of them:

**Nigeria:** Ojuku was fighting for the secession of Biafra in a short sighted desire to form an independent country on an ethnic basis. He was militarily defeated. Therefore, he could well be asked to go into exile. I am quite sure that he did not wait until he was requested to go. This is not the case with UNITA. When so many meetings are needed to call for Dr. Savimbi's "voluntary and temporary exile", one wonders what "voluntary" means.

**Zaire:** Zairean dissidents were individuals who have not organized themselves as political or military forces. Moreover, they were part of either the government or the Party (MPR), who for various reasons, decided to go abroad and criticize the establishment. If at the end of a given time, they realized they were wrong or felt that the reasons for their dissent were no longer valid, they could decide to just go back. If we talk about the Katangese, the issue is again secession based on ethnicity. None of these cases apply to UNITA.

We could go on pointing out the differences between Angola and other cases to substantiate the view that within the context of the African

---

knows neither color, nor race or ideology". He further said that "...for the first time in the history of independent Africa, non-African troops have intervened to install in power a political faction in the pursuit of their own interests..." The faction was, of course, the MPLA and the non-African troops were the Cubans, which he also called "the tiger cubs".

Africa at that time exhibited confidence and responsibility. The OAU meeting called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola and the restoration of dialogue among Angolans. The South Africans in Angola withdrew and the Cubans simply ignored the O.A.U. resolution and steadily increased their numbers. Once again, President Kaunda said, "Our failure to find a solution here (in Angola) confirms that the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) has no power to shape the destiny of Africa. Power is in the hands of the Super-powers to whom we are handing Africa by our failure!" The Angolan conflict became so internationalized that its resolution went beyond the capabilities of Africa.

For President Kaunda, the issue was no longer the situation in Angola but the survival of his own government. Accordingly, he changed his views. Of course if the West had stood by Kaunda and others who thought like him, perhaps they could have resisted the Cuban intervention. But having been abandoned, their capacity for resistance was severely curtailed.

Today, more than a decade later, the Cubans are

---

leaving Angola under the December 22, 1988 New York Accord and prospects for an internal solution have greatly improved. Africa now needs to show the same responsibility and initiative and go beyond incomplete and obsolete solutions to a conflict that they all know so well. The point is that democracy in Angola is both possible and necessary. Otherwise, how do you solve the question of representation? The MPLA will not fit ideologically into UNITA and the opposite is also true. Angola simply needs a different solution.

### The MPLA

Since coming to power with the help of the Cubans and the Soviets in 1976, the MPLA has sought to destroy UNITA. Their leadership kept describing UNITA as "armed groups", "bandits" or "terrorists" who, in due time, would be wiped off the Angolan map. Military offensives have come and gone, and propaganda campaigns to discredit UNITA were unleashed and failed. All of this had the single aim of destroying UNITA. Obviously, when Dos Santos shook hands with Dr. Savimbi, at the Gbadolite Summit on June 22, 1989, the MPLA had failed to fulfill its military objectives. However, the MPLA has not given up the idea of destroying UNITA. This time they want to do it through the negotiations. They insist on nonsensical positions such as:

- 1) the exile of Dr. Savimbi;
- 2) amnesty and clemency for UNITA members;
- 3) the integration of UNITA military and civil structures into the MPLA.

---

They could say all this in a simple way: **give up and surrender.**

The MPLA refuses to hold elections, and rejects a multi-party system on the grounds that democracy is not an African tradition. In other words, Africans are condemned to one-party dictatorial systems. To support their arguments they bring up what they call "the African solutions" of Nigeria, Zaire or Zimbabwe, where rivals were either integrated into a single party or sent into exile. They conveniently forget the "African solutions" of Tchad or Uganda, where the sitting governments were forced to leave the power, and even more recently the solution of Algeria and Somalia, where both countries announced the creation of multi-party systems.

It is true that most African countries are one-party systems and have not had elections for some time. This makes the MPLA's arguments appealing to them. However, the fact of the matter is that there is no such thing as an African standard solution, unless one re-draws the map of Africa. Each country has its own specific situation for which specific solutions have to be found.

### Is There a Standard Solution for African Problems?

Like everywhere else, the African experience in all aspects of life has to be an evolutionary process. When people reach a given stage of development



# KWACHA NEWS



The Official Newsletter of the Free Angola Information Service

## Savimbi to Visit United States

Dr. Jonas Savimbi, President of UNITA, is scheduled to visit Washington, D.C. and other U.S. cities in October to promote peace, national reconciliation and democratic elections in Angola.

Dr. Savimbi is expected to meet with high government officials including President George Bush, Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney. He will also meet with Herman Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and a number of Congressmen and Senators, including those involved in the Senate Angola Task Force, chaired by Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ), and the newly formed House Angola Task Force, chaired by Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-OK).

This will be Dr. Savimbi's third official visit to the United States since 1986.

Shortly before his U.S. trip, President Savimbi visited five African nations to discuss the situation in Angola. During an official visit to the Ivory Coast, Dr. Savimbi met with President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, who gave his full support to the Angolan peace process to end the 14-year civil war.

In Togo, official talks were held on August 13 between Dr. Savimbi and President Gnassingbe Eyadema. The Togolese President also held a banquet in honor of Dr. Savimbi. Guests included the former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, the Togo Minister of Foreign Affairs, Yaovi Adodo, and other prominent African and international figures.

In Cameroon, Dr. Savimbi had an official meeting on August 17 with President Paul Biya, who also attended the Gbadolite Summit. The two African leaders exchanged ideas concerning future steps in the peace process in Angola.



DAVID VALDEZ, The White House

*During his peace mission to the United States last year, UNITA President Jonas Savimbi met with then Vice President George Bush to discuss the future of Angola.*

On August 28, Dr. Savimbi was in Morocco for a meeting with His Majesty King Hassan II, a long-time supporter of UNITA, who reiterated his full backing of the peace process in Angola. In Morocco, Dr. Savimbi also met with Sen. Robert Dole (R-KS) and Herman Cohen, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

Finally, on September 22, 1989, President Savimbi met with President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya in the historic city of Nakuru. It was in Nakuru in June 1975 that the celebrated meeting with Dr. Savimbi, the late Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta, then-FNLA President Holden

Roberto, and MPLA President Agostinho Neto took place. An accord was signed during this meeting, which pledged compliance with the January 1975 Alvor Accord.

After his meeting with President Arap Moi in Nakuru, Dr. Savimbi went to Nairobi, where he met with other political dignitaries of Kenya.

The Kenyan government also gave credit to UNITA's peace plan which paved the way for a peaceful solution to the 14-year civil war in Angola.

During his visits to these African countries, Dr. Savimbi also met with the international news media. □

# Jonas Savimbi—African Leader



Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, President of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), has been one of Africa's most pivotal political leaders for nearly three decades. He was born in 1934 in Munhango (Moxico Province), which was then a major rail repair and marketing center next to the Benguela Railroad in central Angola. His parents, Loth and Helena Savimbi, were Protestant lay ministers. His father became the first African station master on the 1,000-mile Benguela Railway. At every railroad station he was assigned to, Loth and his wife founded a church and a school. President Savimbi received his strong religious convictions and organizing abilities from his parents.

Savimbi was also trained by his grandfather Sakaita Savimbi, a traditional chief who fought against the seizure of his land by the Portuguese and participated in the Bailundo Revolt of 1902-04. Sakaita taught his grandson about the rich culture of his people.

Although he began his university studies in Portugal, he was forced to leave that country in 1960 because of his anti-colonialist activities. He studied medicine and then began course work for a doctorate in Political Science at the University of Lausanne in Switzerland, which he completed in 1965.

While in Switzerland, he resumed his political activities and established contact with Holden Roberto of the Union of the Peoples of Angola (UPA) and leaders of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). At this time, he met Tom Boya, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Kenya, who encouraged him to join UPA. He took Tom Boya's advice and soon became Secretary-General of UPA.

Under his leadership, he brought about the merging of several groups into a single national movement known as the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA).

Dr. Savimbi was convinced that the struggle for liberation from the Portuguese must be carried on *within* the country rather than from *without*. On March 13, 1966, he founded UNITA to work for "a real united front of all nationalist forces" in his home province of Moxico.

As the struggle for liberation from Portugal was coming to completion, Dr. Savimbi was a key player in various negotiations that were to provide a peaceful transition to democratic rule. He enlisted the support of presidents of African countries to hold negotiations with the Portuguese. His persistence led to the Alvor conference in January 1975, which resulted in the historic Alvor Accord between the liberation movements of Angola and the Portuguese government. Alvor set forth the guidelines for a government of national unity, and set the date for elections and independence in Angola.

Shortly after Alvor was signed, war broke out between the MPLA and the FNLA. Savimbi pressed for a conference to restore peace and safeguard the Alvor Accord. The conference was held in Nakuru (Kenya) in June 1975.

Unfortunately, the civil war continued and the MPLA, with Soviet tanks and Cuban troops, seized power in Luanda. The scheduled elections were never held.

Savimbi's UNITA would not accept this new form of foreign intervention. Soviet, Eastern European and Cuban military

personnel had replaced the Portuguese. UNITA unleashed a guerrilla war on the unelected minority government. Operating from its base at Jamba in south-east Angola, UNITA created not only an effective army, but also schools, hospitals, agricultural cooperatives and other economic enterprises throughout the territory controlled by UNITA.

Savimbi led UNITA to continue the fight against foreign intervention and totalitarianism in Angola. Savimbi's grass-roots support and military expertise led UNITA to win victory after victory over the Soviet/Cuban-backed MPLA.

The resounding theme of Dr. Savimbi's leadership has been the call for peace, national reconciliation and free and fair elections in Angola. In 1985, Dr. Savimbi petitioned the United Nations for support in bringing an end to the war in Angola. In 1986, UNITA offered a peace platform at its 6th Ordinary Congress. In 1987, UNITA offered to reopen the strategic Benguelan Railroad for non-military purposes.

In 1988, a series of formal and informal negotiations were held concerning proposals to end the war and force the withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola. On March 13, UNITA proposed once again a withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola and a Peace Plan, which included a moratorium on UNITA's military offensives and the appointment of a negotiating commission.

On June 22, 1989, Dr. Savimbi met with MPLA President Eduardo dos Santos and 18 Heads-of-State from Africa in Gbadolite, Zaire. This historic meeting resulted in a pledge for a ceasefire and negotiations leading to national reconciliation in Angola.

Dr. Savimbi's leadership has been the chief reason that Angola is now nearing a lasting peace, national reconciliation and a democratic society. □

**[Editor's Note: An excellent biography of Dr. Savimbi, entitled *Jonas Savimbi: A Key to Africa*, by Fred Bridgland (Paragon House Publishers, New York, 1987) is available from your local bookstore or library.]**

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1989

The Washington Times

# Despite truce, war in Angola rolls on

By Jonathan Sharp  
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

KUNZUMBIA BASE, Angola—Mangled weaponry, shell-blasted trees and the chilling debris of modern combat litter the latest killing field in the Angolan civil war.

"I send you the kiss of victory," wrote a soldier to his wife in a letter that was never sent because its smoky remnants were found in a shellhole.

But this battle, fought in a desolate corner of the African bush, was not one that the soldier's leaders in the faraway Angolan capital of Luanda will relish.

The wrecks of more than 20 government military vehicles, including two Soviet-made T55 tanks, lie shattered, victims of the pro-Western rebel UNITA guerrillas who have fought leftist Luanda forces for the past 14 years.

Shells and bullets, live or spent, still litter the churned earth although the UNITA victors have buried their own and their enemy's dead.

The battle, which broke out last month near a muddy little river called the Kunzumbia, was one that international diplomacy was supposed to prevent.

In June, Angolan leader Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi, his counterpart in the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), shook hands in Gbadolite, Zaire, apparently sealing an accord that held out hope for peace.

But a ceasefire failed to hold. Both sides accused the other of multiple violations and the accord was in shreds.

Last weekend, UNITA escorted reporters by truck across roadless bush country to the battle zone in southeast Angola to give its version of events that have dragged the former Portuguese colony back into the mire of war.

According to Gen. Arlindo Pena, a UNITA commander who favors the pseudonym "Ben, Ben" and sports a pair of designer dark glasses, a 3,000-strong govern-

ment force advanced on Aug. 18 from Cuito Cuanavale, just west of the rebel enclave.

This was a direct violation of the ceasefire, UNITA says. The government denies any contravention.

On Aug. 19, two Angolan MiG-23 fighter-bombers were shot down over UNITA-held territory. The wreckage of one was on show.

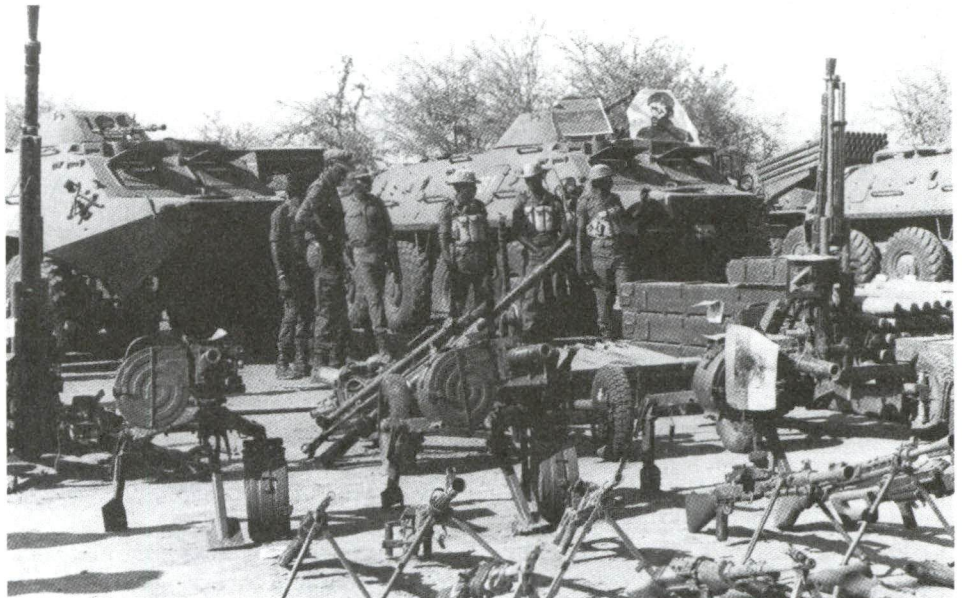
According to Gen. Pena, speaking in a camouflaged dugout at his headquarters called Kunzumbia Base, the government forces penetrated 40 miles into UNITA territory.

station measuring several hundred square yards.

A few miles away the scene was repeated when UNITA badly mauled a second government stronghold.

On the third day, the Angolans pulled back 20 miles, half the distance they had advanced.

But the fighting may not be over.



Pictured above is Soviet-made weaponry captured by UNITA forces. Despite the recent accords, the war continues in Angola.

ment force advanced on Aug. 18 from Cuito Cuanavale, just west of the rebel enclave.

This was a direct violation of the ceasefire, UNITA says. The government denies any contravention.

On Aug. 19, two Angolan MiG-23 fighter-bombers were shot down over UNITA-held territory. The wreckage of one was on show.

According to Gen. Pena, speaking in a camouflaged dugout at his headquarters called Kunzumbia Base, the government forces penetrated 40 miles into UNITA territory.

On Aug. 27, they ran into trouble on the banks of the Kunzumbia River. A UNITA mortar bombardment hit and blew up a loaded rocket launcher parked near fuel and ammunition stores.

The resulting blast gouged a huge crater and left only a few blackened chunks of the rocket launcher visible.

The UNITA bombardment of the government position left a panorama of deva-

"We know they have 10,000 men [in this sector], and so far they have used only half. At any time, they will be used to attack again," says the UNITA commander.

He put government losses in the offensive at 89 men, while UNITA losses were 23 killed and 76 wounded. Government accounts put rebel casualties far higher.

UNITA says the Luanda government may feel the rebels are ripe for defeat now that South Africa, their longtime ally, has stopped sending aid. South Africa, along with the United States, supported UNITA until an agreement last year under which Cuban forces withdrew from Angola in return for the independence of neighboring South African-run Namibia.

Efforts are proceeding to mend the Gbadolite accord, but the sights and sounds at Kunzumbia Base remain much as they have been in Angola for the past 14 years.

As Gen. Pena briefed reporters, the dull clump of artillery sounded in the distance.

Someone, somewhere, was breaking the ceasefire.

# U.S. Strategy on Angola Peace Talks Falters

*White House Is Relying on Zaire's President to Mediate 'African Solution' to Civil War*

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Three months after a much-heralded start on peace talks for Angola, the Bush administration strategy is failing badly and the process is still not underway.

The administration has relied on Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko to mediate an "African solution" to the Angolan civil war. But the two warring parties have not yet even sat down together in the same negotiating room.

Jonas Savimbi, the U.S.-backed Angolan rebel leader, has publicly rejected Mobutu as mediator, and U.S. efforts to get Savimbi to the latest proposed round of talks last Monday in Zaire proved fruitless.

Meanwhile, a ceasefire declared June 24 is floundering amid accusations of multiple violations by both sides.

"I don't know what the next step is myself," a senior U.S. official said Wednesday.

"That whole initiative is in trouble," said the director-general of South Africa's Foreign Ministry, Niel Van Heerden, at a press briefing Tuesday. "We are virtually back to square one."

It is unclear what this means for the U.S.-brokered accord of last December that provides for the withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola and independence elections for South African-ruled Namibia.

But both South African and U.S. officials said Cuba is so far adhering strictly to the timetable for phased withdrawal of its troops. In addition, Havana has given no indication that it might renege on its pull-out commitment even if the civil war resumes, according to these officials.

Congressional and other American backers of Savimbi are blaming the administration for the failure to achieve any progress in the national reconciliation talks.

"The State Department has remained strangely silent" about the peace process, said 13 senators in a Sept. 12 letter to Secretary of State James A. Baker III. They urged Baker to become personally involved in the process.

The United States has considerable influence with both sides. It is Savimbi's main

outside supporter now, with a covert aid program of \$40 million to \$50 million. It also can offer the Angolan government diplomatic recognition and U.S. technology, both of which it ardently seeks, in return for a compromise.

But the Bush administration, seemingly anxious to avoid high-profile and risky diplomacy, has not shown any interest in mediating the talks. Instead, it has deliberately promoted Mobutu as the Angolan peacemaker.

At first, this strategy seemed possible. The Zairian leader started with a major diplomatic coup on the eve of a visit to Washington, getting Savimbi and Angolan President Eduardo Jose dos Santos to shake hands and agree to a ceasefire at a meeting June 22 in Gbadolite, Zaire.

Mobutu even got 17 other African heads of state to witness and bless the historic meeting between the two adversaries, who have been locked in a devastating civil war since Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975.

But Mobutu never succeeded in getting an Angolan delegation in the same room with one from Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

The senior U.S. official said the Angolan delegation "refuses to sit at the same table with these 'bandits,' as they call them [UNITA members]," and Mobutu has never gone beyond "contact talks" carried out indirectly by Zairian officials shuttling between the two parties.

Meanwhile, Mobutu began associating himself in August with the Angolan government's view of what was allegedly agreed to at Gbadolite, which Savimbi has hotly contested.

At an Aug. 22 meeting of eight African leaders in Harare, Zimbabwe, Mobutu signed a declaration that upheld the Angolan government position: Savimbi's followers are simply to be "integrated" into existing Angolan institutions while Savimbi is to go into "temporary and voluntary retirement" in exile.

Savimbi, on the other hand, is demanding elections, a transitional government, the creation of a multiparty system and sweep-

ing changes in Angola's Marxist-Leninist constitution. He also refuses to go into exile.

Mobutu's apparent acceptance of the Angolan government view so infuriated Savimbi that he announced he would not attend the next planned round of talks in Kinshasa Sept. 18.

Assistant Secretary of State Herman J. Cohen rushed to the region last week in a futile effort to convince Savimbi to show up. The State Department issued a statement saying it "strongly supports UNITA and its goal of national reconciliation followed by fair and free elections." It also rejected the Angolan government's "concepts of exile [for Savimbi], amnesty and integration [for his followers]."

The statement did not change Savimbi's mind but it did infuriate the Angolan government. Angola's ambassador to the United Nations, Manuel Pedro Pacavira, said Thursday that the U.S. demands amounted "almost to a declaration of war."

"Our government will not make concessions that would take its people to suicide. It will not accept the demand for the creation of a government of transition. It will not revise its constitution because of foreign pressure and to satisfy the ambitions of a small group [UNITA]," he said in an interview here.

The U.S. position now, as explained by the senior U.S. official, is that both sides should accept a new ceasefire followed by face-to-face "open-ended negotiations with no preconditions and no non-negotiable demands." Mobutu, he said, still has the full backing of the administration to serve as mediator.

But the Zairian leader's current approach seems certain to be rebuffed by Savimbi again. Mobutu is supposed to draw up a declaration—basically along the lines of the Angolan government's approach, which is embraced now by eight African leaders—and then get Savimbi to sign on, according to both Pacavira and the U.S. official.

It is not clear how Mobutu will do this. But Zaire is now the main conduit for U.S. and other arms flowing to Savimbi, giving Mobutu considerable leverage if he decides to use it.

## MPLA Violates Ceasefire in Angola

Despite the historic Gbadolite Declaration, during which the MPLA and UNITA agreed to a ceasefire as of June 24, 1989, the hostilities have not ceased in Angola. The Marxist government in Angola mounted an offensive against UNITA in August utilizing five brigades, or about 10,000 troops. UNITA troops were forced to defend themselves against the surprise attack.

The unprovoked attack, which was in direct violation of the June 24 ceasefire, occurred near the Kunzumbia

River inside UNITA-controlled territory. Eighty-nine MPLA and 23 UNITA soldiers were killed and 76 were wounded. More than 20 MPLA military vehicles, including two Soviet-made T55 tanks, were destroyed. In addition, two MPLA MiG-23 fighter bombers were shot down over UNITA-held territory.

Although the MPLA troops were stopped in Kunzumbia on August 27, 1989 and forced to retreat back to Chaminga (10 to 15 km.

from Cuito Cuanavale), another offensive near Munhango is now in progress. Three MPLA brigades, supported by a company of T55 tanks and armored personnel carriers, are being used.

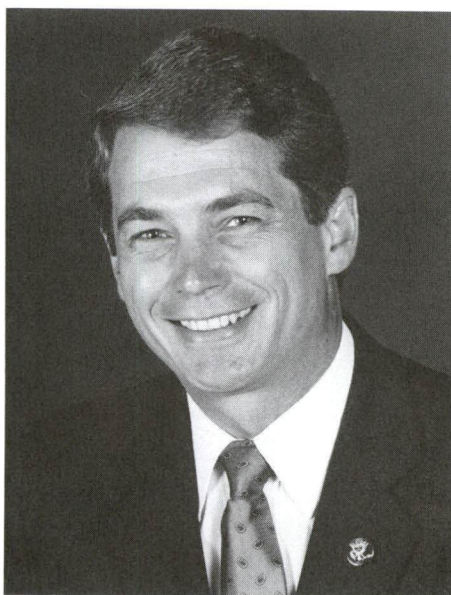
UNITA is committed to the new ceasefire agreement, which began two days after the Gbadolite Summit on June 24, 1989. UNITA calls on the MPLA to abide by the terms of the ceasefire so that peace, national reconciliation and democratic elections can take place in Angola. □

## Oklahoma Congressman Forms House Task Force on Angola

Congressman Dave McCurdy, a Democrat from Oklahoma, is the new Chairman of the U.S. House Task Force on Angola. Congressman McCurdy is also the Chairman of the Task Force on Foreign Policy and Defense and is a member of the House Armed Services and Intelligence Committees.

The House Task Force on Angola will serve as "an informal, bipartisan forum to augment U.S. policy in southern Africa, including the verification of Cuban troop withdrawals, a negotiated settlement to the civil war in Angola and the holding of free elections there," according to *The Defense Democrat*, a monthly newsletter on national defense and foreign affairs published by the Coalition for a Democratic Majority.

Congressman Joel Hefley (R-CO) will



Congressman McCurdy

serve as the Vice-Chairman of the Task Force. Other members include: Michael A. Andrews (D-TX), Dan Burton (R-IN), Beverly B. Byron (D-MD), Jim Cooper (D-TN), David Dreier (R-CA), Bill Emerson (R-MO), James M. Inhofe (R-OK), Ben Jones (D-GA), Bob McEwen (R-OH), Thomas C. McMillen (D-MD), Alan B. Mollohan (D-WV), John J. Rhodes III (R-AZ), Bud Shuster (R-PA), Gerald B.H. Solomon (R-NY), Ike Skelton (D-MO), Jim Slattery (D-KS), Lawrence J. Smith (D-FL), John M. Spratt, Jr. (D-SC), Charles W. Stenholm (D-TX), Robert G. Torricelli (D-NJ) and Tim Valentine (D-NC).

A parallel organization, the Senate Task Force on Angola, has been working under the direction of Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) since last year. □

## Brochures, Booklets & Materials Available from Free Angola.....

Bumperstickers: **"Angola: Free and Fair Elections"**

**"The Economic Rehabilitation of Angola: Priorities & Action Lines"**—a 16-page illustrated booklet describing the development of industry in Angola and plans to rebuild the country

**"A New Year's Message to the Angolan People"**—Dr. Jonas Savimbi's annual New Year's Speech delivered on December 31, 1988

**"Human Rights in Angola"**—an eight-page illustrated booklet delineating the human rights abuses by the Marxist government of Angola

**"The Gbadolite Declaration"**—The complete text of the historic declaration of June 22, 1989

**"Angola: The Long Road to Freedom & Democracy"**—a 16-page booklet which includes the historical background of Angola, a chronology of UNITA's efforts to achieve national reconciliation, and the success of bi-partisan support in the United States of UNITA's goals

## KWACHA NEWS

*Kwacha News* is the official publication of the Free Angola Information Service. KWACHA is the official slogan of UNITA and means, literally, "wake up."

*Kwacha News* is distributed by the Free Angola Information Service, which is registered with the Department of Justice under 22USC Sec. 611 *et seq.* as a representative of UNITA in Angola. The required statements are on file at the Department of Justice. Registration does not indicate approval by the U.S. government.

Editor & Publisher: *Fig Paulo*  
 Contributing Editor: *Emmanuel Mundombe*  
 Production: *Griffin Communications*  
 Design/Type: *Ellis Graphics, Inc.*

Address all correspondence to:  
**The Free Angola Information Service**  
 P.O. Box 65463  
 Washington, D.C. 20035-5463

### ORDER FORM

Please enclose \$2.00 for postage and handling.

Quantity	Item

Please send my order to:

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
 ORGANIZATION/COMPANY \_\_\_\_\_  
 STREET ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
 CITY/STATE/ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Please return this form to: Free Angola, P.O. Box 65463, Washington, D.C. 20035

### Bulk Orders

For information on bulk order postage and handling rates, please call:

Free Angola  
 Information Service  
 202/775-0958



## Zaire Conference Paves Way for Peace in Angola: Savimbi and dos Santos Meet, Shake Hands

For the first time in the 14-year civil war in Angola, the leaders of the two warring factions met face-to-face and agreed in principle to a cease-fire and negotiations leading to a settlement of the conflict.

The historic meeting between Dr. Jonas Savimbi, President of UNITA, and Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the MPLA, took place in Gbadolite, Zaire on June 22. The event, which captured front-page headlines in newspapers throughout the world, was arranged by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire. Nineteen African leaders were present (see box, page 3) including Moussa Traore, President of Mali and acting chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

The meeting was a result of an accelerated effort by African heads of state to promote a peaceful solution to the Angolan war. During the past 14 years, the war has resulted in 200,000 Angolan casualties.

The immediate result of the Zaire conference was the declaration of a cease-fire in Angola as of midnight, June 24. The meeting also set the stage for a series of negotiations on the resolution of the war in Angola.

While this meeting was a momentous achievement, it is still important to point out that UNITA and the MPLA have separate agendas for peace. UNITA's agenda includes:

1. Direct negotiations leading to national reconciliation.
2. A review of the current MPLA Constitution.
3. The formation of a government of national unity, which will set the date for free and fair elections.
4. The establishment of negotiating and verification commissions to work out



UNITA President Dr. Jonas Savimbi (left) and MPLA President Jose Eduardo dos Santos (right) are shown here flanking Ibrahim Babangida, President of Nigeria, after agreeing to a cease-fire on June 22 in Zaire. Standing behind them are, from the left, Presidents Aristides Pereira of the Republic of Cape Verde, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, Moussa Traore of Mali and Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia.

the technical details of the cease-fire and final agreement. (This provision was endorsed by both sides in Zaire.)

The agenda proposed by the MPLA is:

1. The Constitution set forth by the MPLA must not be tampered with; the one-party political system must not be altered.
2. UNITA members who are repentant could be amalgamated into the one-party totalitarian system.
3. Dr. Savimbi would not participate in any way in Angolan politics.
4. All international funds and support are to be halted to UNITA.

Despite the differences in the approach of UNITA and the MPLA, Dr.

Savimbi declared after the Zaire meeting: "Never in 14 years of war have we come so close [to peace in Angola]." The UNITA President said that his negotiating team is willing to be flexible about the procedures leading to elections and the formation of a government of national unity.

However, Dr. Savimbi said that UNITA would reject the MPLA plan of amnesty and clemency for UNITA members. "Our army, 75,000 men in the field, will not accept amnesty, clemency or integration" into the MPLA, Dr. Savimbi said. "Our army was not defeated and is not going to be defeated."

The Gbadolite conference was welcomed by the U.S. State Department

Continued on page 3

## ***McCurdy Leads Members Urging Peace Negotiations in Angola***

A bipartisan group of 19 House members led by Congressman Dave McCurdy (D-OK) has urged Angola's president to engage in direct dialogue with the opposition party, UNITA, and seek an end to the country's 14-year civil war.

The request was in a letter to President Eduardo dos Santos, leader of the ruling MPLA party (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola). The letter was sent at a critical time, one day before African heads of state met in Zaire to discuss national reconciliation in Angola, McCurdy said.

Dr. Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, warned that the African summit would fail unless

UNITA is represented at the talks, McCurdy said.

Savimbi has agreed to remove himself from UNITA's negotiating delegation thus removing a major obstacle to direct discussions with the government, which steadfastly refused his inclusion, McCurdy said.

McCurdy said those who signed the letter "will be sending a clear message to the leaders of Angola: 'It is time to put down your weapons, sit down at the peace table, and negotiate an end to the war.' "

The letter to dos Santos stated, "We believe that UNITA's recent proposal for national reconciliation in Angola represents an important step forward . . . We view UNITA's offer of an immediate cease-fire and ex-

change of prisoners as a necessary step for negotiations to begin."

Before the Gbadolite conference, U.S. Rep. Olympia Snowe (R-ME), expressed satisfaction that UNITA representatives were going to meet with MPLA leaders for the first time at the conference in Zaire.

"I reiterate the importance of dialogue in Angola to achieve a fair and lasting settlement of the conflict there, and I hope the meetings in Zaire will facilitate such a settlement," Snowe added.

McCurdy attributed the recent diplomatic progress to a consistent U.S. policy supporting national reconciliation in Angola.

---

### **Congress of the United States House of Representatives Washington, DC 20515**

Dear President dos Santos:

As Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, we are very interested and concerned about developments in Angola. We believe it is in the best interest of the people of Angola and all of southern Africa for the war in your country, now in its fourteenth year, to come to an end and for the process of national reconciliation to begin.

As a result of the accords signed last December in New York between your government, Cuba and South Africa, the removal of Cuban troops from Angola is assured and the prospects for independence and democratic elections in Namibia have been greatly enhanced. However, the accords do not address the problem of Angola's civil war. Therefore, we believe the best chance for a peaceful resolution to the Angolan conflict rests with a negotiated settlement between your government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, led by Dr. Jonas Savimbi. This will require compromises from both the MPLA and UNITA.

We believe that UNITA's recent proposal for national reconciliation in Angola represents an important step forward. Your government has stated repeatedly that Dr. Savimbi's leadership of UNITA is a major obstacle to negotiations. The new proposal from UNITA satisfies this precondition. Dr. Savimbi has agreed to remove himself from UNITA's negotiating delegation and any transitional government that would be formed prior to free and fair elections in Angola. In addition, we view UNITA's offer of an immediate cease-fire and exchange of prisoners as a necessary step for negotiations to begin.

We join President Bush's Administration in supporting a peaceful resolution to Angola's civil war. Once national reconciliation is achieved and a transitional government is in place, Congress can support important changes in U.S. policy toward Angola.

We look forward to working with you to end the tragic conflict in your country. The MPLA and UNITA can make a significant contribution to a settlement by adopting pragmatic and reasonable positions leading up to negotiations. We intend to work in a bipartisan manner with the Bush Administration to assist in bringing about such a settlement.

We eagerly await your reply to our concerns and look forward to hearing your plans for ending the civil war in Angola.

Sincerely,

Doug Bereuter, R-NE  
Dan Burton, R-IN  
Beverly Byron, D-MD  
Lawrence Coughlin, R-PA  
Henry Hyde, R-IL  
John Kasich, R-OH  
Dave McCurdy, D-OK

Ronald Machtley, R-RI  
Lynn Martin, R-IL  
Robert Matsui, D-CA  
Jan Meyers, R-KS  
Timothy Penny, D-MI  
Gerry Sikorski, D-MI  
Ike Skelton, D-MO

Lawrence Smith, D-FL  
Olympia Snowe, R-ME  
Bud Shuster, R-PA  
John Spratt, D-SC  
Robert Torricelli, D-NJ

## For Angola Rebel, New Respectability

By **KENNETH B. NOBLE**

Special to The New York Times

KINSHASA, Zaire, June 25— Rushing through the airport here last week, the Angolan rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi, found himself unexpectedly sharing a lounge with President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique.

Mr. Chissano, a Marxist, gave Mr. Savimbi a warm hug and offered him a lift on his personal plane. It was a courteous gesture among African leaders, particularly among ideological foes, that would have been "unthinkable a week ago," an American diplomat remarked.

The cease-fire agreement between Mr. Savimbi and the Angolan Government, which went into effect Saturday, otherwise produced no concessions on the issue of whether the rebel forces have a fair claim to a share of power. But the willingness of the African leaders to deal with both sides as equals was a symbolic triumph for Mr. Savimbi, Western diplomats here said.

### Treated as an Outcast

In the past, Mr. Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, was treated as a pariah by much of black Africa. He was shunned as a "puppet" for accepting military aid from the United States and South Africa. Angola's Marxist Government refused to negotiate with him, even though his forces say they control a third of Angolan territory and are able to wage guerilla warfare through much of the country.

"The picture of Savimbi sitting down with the other African leaders has given him a legitimacy that he has never had before," a Western diplomat said. "And this is maybe more important in the long run than the cease-fire agreement."

Until last week, Mr. Savimbi and his movement in the Angolan bush had been largely cut off from the outside world. This situation began in December, when South Africa stopped flying aid, and also journalists, into rebel-controlled territory.

### Few Major Concessions

In the view of diplomats here in Kinshasa, the capital of neighboring Zaire, the cease-fire will allow the Angolan rebels to replenish their ammunition and supplies, as well as provide a psychological lift. "Savimbi gave up very little," a Western envoy said, "and he has potentially gained a lot more breathing space. He was dead in the water before the summit."

Since 1986, the United States has been providing Mr. Savimbi's rebels with about \$15 million a year in military assistance, including Stinger ground-to-air missiles. Their officers refuse to divulge the size of their forces, but Western analysts estimate that the insurgents have about 28,000 regulars and as many as 37,000 others.

The meeting of African leaders also provided Zaire's President, Mobutu Sese Seko, with a well-timed opportunity to play the role of Africa's elder statesman on the eve of his visit to Washington this week. He will meet with President Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d.

### What Mobutu Wants

What Mr. Mobutu hopes for in Washington is debt relief, an issue that is becoming increasingly embroiled with controversy over Zaire's human rights record. Mr. Mobutu has often arrested opponents and exiled them to the countryside to intimidate or silence them.

Perhaps most important for Zaire, the Angola peace talks have already yielded some movement on rehabilitating the Benguela railroad, an east-west link that is vital to the economy of Angola as well as to the landlocked states of southern Africa. The line has been repeatedly damaged by rebel attacks.

Western analysts here, however, say they are mystified why Angola's Marxist Government abandoned its hardline position against negotiations with the rebel forces. The Angolan President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, insisted as recently as three weeks ago that he would not agree to a political solution that would allow Mr. Savimbi to be part of a coalition government. In the view of diplomats here, that scenario, though still remote, no longer seems to be out of the question.

### Soviet Hand Seen

An important factor in the Angolan Government's decision to negotiate with Mr. Savimbi, a Western diplomat said, may have been pressure from the Soviet Union. The Soviets have made no secret that they are wearying of pouring money into a conflict that no one could win.

Another factor propelling the Marxist Government toward the bargaining table, diplomats says, was the international accord reached last December for the withdrawal of the Cuban force that has protected Angola's Government since independence in 1975. Western analysts have expressed skepticism that Angolan troops could have maintained control without the Cubans.

"Maybe they want to strike a deal while the Cubans are still there, while they still have some leverage," one diplomat said.

Reprinted by permission of *The New York Times*.

## Angola at the Brink of Peace

Fig Paulo

The agreement in principle of the cease-fire made in Gbadolite between the MPLA and UNITA opens a new chapter in Angolan history which will lead to a process of national reconciliation, free and fair elections and a government of national unity.

Although the process toward this goal will be arduous, all accounts seem to indicate that the process is irreversible. The news from Angola—mainly from the cities—is that the people are already celebrating the cease-fire. On some of the military fronts, the MPLA and UNITA military personnel are already fraternizing with each other.

Upon hearing that the Cubans would pull out of Angola and that a cease-fire would occur, an elderly man exclaimed: "Savimbi is the Moses of Angola!"

Savimbi is now viewed as the leader who saved the country from foreign domination. Even MPLA supporters are crediting the courageous resistance of UNITA and the leadership of Savimbi for the fact that Angola will finally be free from those who have plundered the riches of the country.

Thus it is wishful thinking on behalf

of the MPLA to speculate that Savimbi will go into exile. At a press conference in the city of Bie toward the end of 1975, when invading Cuban forces were occupying some towns held by UNITA, President Savimbi was asked by a journalist if he would go into exile. **"We have no other country where we can go," Dr. Savimbi said. "This is our country. Therefore we will stay here."**

**Fortunately, the Angolan people are intelligent enough to realize the indispensable role that UNITA and its leader are rendering for freedom and human dignity in Angola.**

UNITA has been struggling for many years to achieve national unity in Angola. Ironically, the headline of a June 23, 1989 *New York Times* article read: "Rebels Join Government in Seeking the Basis of a Lasting Peace." In fact, it is not UNITA who is joining the MPLA government in order to achieve a lasting peace, but it is the MPLA who is now joining UNITA.

*[Editor's note: The article below lists the chronology of UNITA's efforts to achieve national reconciliation in Angola, beginning in 1966.]* □

### Chronology of UNITA's Efforts To Achieve National Reconciliation

- **July & August 1966:** UNITA representatives meet with MPLA leader Anibal de Melo in Lusaka, Zambia, to discuss joint efforts for achieving a united democratic front of all Angolan patriots against Portuguese colonialism.
- **September 1966:** UNITA leaders meet with FNLA President Holden Roberto in Lusaka, Zambia, to discuss once more the formation of a united democratic front of the Angolan liberation movements.
- **1968:** UNITA's President, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, moves his permanent base to Angola.
- **1969:** UNITA petitions the President of Zaire to assist in the creation of a united democratic front of the Angolan liberation movements.
- **1970:** Members of UNITA's Central Committee request assistance from the People's

Republic of the Congo for the formation of a united front of the three liberation movements.

UNITA sent a delegation to the Non-Aligned Summit Conference in Zambia to meet with various African delegations to discuss the national unity issue.

- **1972:** UNITA announces its willingness to join the FNLA-MPLA alliance.
- **1974:** Through the tireless efforts of UNITA's President, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, the Mombassa agreement is signed by UNITA, FNLA and MPLA in Kenya.
- **January 1975:** The Angolan liberation movements draft the historic Alvor Agreement defining the terms for independence.
- **March 1975:** Soviets begin stockpiling armaments in Angola while Cuba sends military troops disguised as civilians. UNITA continues to abide by the terms of the Alvor

Agreement, which scheduled elections in Angola before Independence Day on November 11, 1975.

- **May 1975:** Having violated all of the provisions of the Alvor Agreement, the MPLA, with the assistance of Cuban troops and other foreign military advisers, captures the capital city of Luanda and installs itself as the Marxist government of Angola. UNITA still abides by the Alvor Agreement.
  - **1976-1981:** UNITA continues to promote national reconciliation and a government of national unity in order to end the war.
  - **1982:** UNITA's 5th Ordinary Congress reiterates its readiness to negotiate the end of armed conflict against the MPLA.
  - **1984:** UNITA's Central Committee states its willingness to find a peaceful solution to the war.
  - **1985:** President Savimbi petitions the United Nations Secretary-General for support in bringing an end to the war in Angola. No response was received.
  - **1986:** UNITA's 6th Ordinary Congress passes a platform for national reconciliation in Angola.
  - **1987:** UNITA offers to reopen the strategic Benguela Railway for the shipment of non-military goods and personnel to promote reconciliation. The Marxist MPLA regime—with the full support of 50,000 Cuban troops—responds by launching a massive offensive against UNITA. UNITA forces trounce the attack, defeating the MPLA and foreign troops.
  - **1988:** A series of formal and informal discussions are held concerning proposals to end the war and to force the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola.
  - **1989:** On **March 13**, UNITA proposed the following Peace Plan:
    - A four-month moratorium on UNITA's military activity to give diplomacy a chance.
    - The appointment of a 10-member commission which would not include Dr. Savimbi. The commission would be responsible for negotiations with the MPLA.
    - The first two years of a transitional government would not include Dr. Savimbi. But he reserves the right to put forth his candidacy when national elections are held.
    - Exchange of prisoners with the MPLA.
    - No interference with the reconstruction of the Benguela Railway.
- On **June 22**, leaders of African nations met in Gbadolite, Zaire, where Dr. Savimbi and Jose Eduardo dos Santos of the MPLA met for the first time and agreed, in principle, to a cease-fire and future talks leading to national reconciliation in Angola. □

### Conference

Continued from page 1

which viewed it as "a positive development if [it] leads to a direct dialogue between the two sides to resolve the Angolan civil war."

(See reprints of a *Wall Street Journal* editorial and a *New York Times* article on the Zaire conference on pages 3 and 5 respectively.) □

### African Leaders Meeting in Gbadolite

Gen. Moussa Traore, President of the OAU and President of the Republic of Mali

Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia

Dr. Jonas Savimbi, President of UNITA

Mr. Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the MPLA

Dr. Quett K.J. Masire, President of the Republic of Botswana

Maj. Pierre Buyoya, President of the Republic of Burundi

Mr. Paul Biya, President of the Republic of Cameroon

Mr. Aristides Pereira, President of the Republic of Cape Verde

Mr. Hissene Habre, President of the Republic of Chad

Gen. Denis Sassou Nguesso, President of the Peoples Republic of the Congo

Mr. El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Republic of Gabon

Gen. Joao Bernardo Vieira, President of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau

Mr. Ahmed Osman, President of the House of Representatives of Morocco and King Hassan II's representative

Mr. Joaquim Chissano, President of the Peoples Republic of Mozambique

Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

Maj. Gen. Juvenal Habyarimana, President of the Republic of Rwanda

Mr. Manuel Pinto de Costa, President of the Republic of Sao Tome and Principe

Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, President of Zaire, who arranged the Gbadolite conference

Mr. Idris Abdul Wakil, Second Vice-President of the Republic of Tanzania and President of Zanzibar

Mr. Robert Gabriel Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe

## Savimbi's Success

For years Angola's Marxist regime dismissed Jonas Savimbi, leader of the pro-Western UNITA rebels, as an "armed bandit." Last week, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos dramatically shook Mr. Savimbi's hand and agreed to both a cease-fire in Angola's 14-year-old civil war and talks on forming a new government.

Angola's Marxist leaders finally concluded they could not defeat Mr. Savimbi on the battlefield—thanks, in no small part, to the Stinger missiles the U.S. has provided UNITA since 1986. Along with Afghanistan, the Reagan Doctrine has scored its second major preliminary victory.

Preliminary because no one knows yet if the negotiations between Angola and UNITA will succeed, but few expected the two sides would even talk. For his part, Mr. Savimbi has agreed that he won't serve in a transitional government but he insists that the free elections guaranteed by the 1975 Alvor accord giving Angola its independence from Portugal finally be held. As former Portuguese Admiral Rosia Caetano, a Marxist, reveals in a new documentary "Soviets at the Crossroads," Angola's Marxists never intended to honor the accord. Instead, they seized power and canceled the elections after inviting in 50,000 Cuban troops. Mr. Savimbi, a veteran of the struggle against Portugal, began fighting Cuba's *Afrika Korps*.

Even though Mr. Savimbi has controlled a third of Angola, the Marxist regime was confident of ultimate victory and refused to deal with him. UNITA stayed alive thanks to infusions of aid from both white-ruled South Africa and black African nations. Then in 1985, a U.S. Congress impressed with UNITA's tenacity voted to repeal the Clark Amendment, which had barred all U.S. aid to Angolan rebels for a decade.

Within a year, the Reagan administration was shipping anti-aircraft Stinger missiles to the front lines. As in Afghanistan, the Stingers robbed the communists of air superiority.

The Angolans then pinned their

hopes on a Democratic victory in the 1988 presidential election; Mr. Dukakis had pledged to cut off aid to UNITA. After his defeat the Angolans suffered another body blow when Democrat Senator Dennis DeConcini and 50 other Senators (including 20 Democrats) signed a letter urging continued U.S. support for UNITA. Then in his first foreign-policy statement, President-elect Bush sent Mr. Savimbi a letter pledging that the \$15 million in annual U.S. aid would continue. "Angola's Soviet and Cuban backers were finally convinced that there could be no military solution in Angola," says Mr. DeConcini.

The leaders of 17 other black African nations persuaded President dos Santos of Angola to meet with them and Mr. Savimbi for this month's bargaining session in Zaire. There Mr. Savimbi was openly received and praised by other African leaders for the first time, ending the myth that he is merely a South African puppet.

Under the Reagan Doctrine, anti-communist rebels were given U.S. military aid to prevent victory by their opponents. In those instances where Congress supported the doctrine it proved a valuable tool in containing Soviet adventurism, as in Angola and Afghanistan. Its one conspicuous failure is Nicaragua, where Congress's Democratic majority only reluctantly gave the Contras on-again, off-again life support. Ultimately Congress pulled the plug on the Contras and the Sandinistas extended their control over Nicaraguan life. Indeed some Members of Congress who would never think of excusing the actions of Afghanistan's Soviet-backed regime have somehow rationalized the jackboot tactics of the Sandinistas and their thugs.

The loss in Nicaragua makes it all the more important to preserve the fragile progress toward peace and national reconciliation in Angola. That means the U.S. must continue to support Mr. Savimbi and UNITA until an agreement on internationally supervised elections is finally reached. □

Reprinted by permission of *The Wall Street Journal*.

## Zaire Conference a Success: Difficult Road Ahead

Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ)  
Chairman, U.S. Senate Angola Task Force

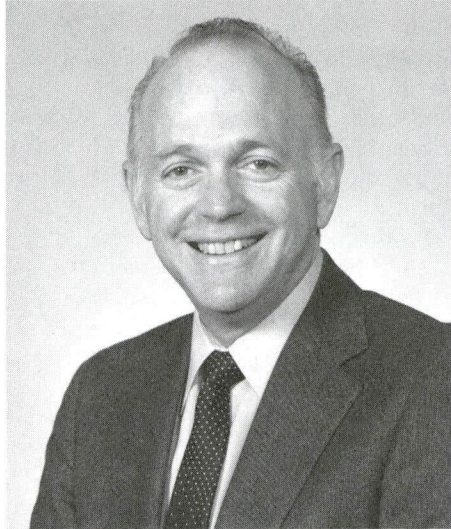
On June 22, the Marxist President of Angola Eduardo dos Santos, and the President of the UNITA rebels Jonas Savimbi, shook hands and agreed to end a 14-year civil war. Long and difficult negotiations lie ahead of us. The U.S. must continue to provide sustained support for a full national reconciliation in Angola leading to free and fair elections.

The actions of UNITA and the MPLA are an important diplomatic first step in which the U.S. government should take great satisfaction. **It was U.S. support to UNITA that finally convinced the MPLA and their Soviet and Cuban backers that there could be no military solution in Angola.** This realization produced the Tripartite Agreement signed on December 22, 1988 between Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

After years of denying UNITA's existence as a legitimate nationalist force, the MPLA has agreed to direct negotiations. Again, it was the consistency of U.S. policy that produced this result. Early in his Administration, President Bush affirmed that the U.S. will continue to support UNITA until national reconciliation is achieved. The U.S. Congress has repeatedly reinforced the Administration's position on Angola. Just last month the Senate and House agreed to my amendment to the FY89 Dire Supplemental Appropriations Bill which strengthens the Tripartite Agreement and restates U.S. policy—that the U.S. will continue to support UNITA until genuine national reconciliation is achieved.

Our Angola success demonstrates that we can form a strong bipartisan foreign policy. It illustrates the importance of a coherent foreign policy that is reached cooperatively between the Administration and the Congress.

The road ahead will be difficult. **The U.S. must continue to strongly support UNITA so that the dual objectives of a government of national**



Sen. Dennis DeConcini

**unity and free and fair elections are achieved.** Once an agreement is reached that is satisfactory to both parties, the U.S. government should consider how it can help the newly established government rebuild a nation. □

### Let Us Hear From You

You are encouraged to submit articles for possible publication in *Kwacha News*.

We also appreciate any comments or suggestions you may have regarding our newsletter.

## KWACHA NEWS

*Kwacha News* is the official publication of the Free Angola Information Service. KWACHA is the official slogan of UNITA and means, literally, "wake up."

*Kwacha News* is distributed by the Free Angola Information Service, which is registered with the Department of Justice under 22USC Sec. 611 *et seq.* as a representative of UNITA in Angola. The required statements are on file at the Department of Justice. Registration does not indicate approval by the U.S. government.

Editor & Publisher: *Fig Paulo*  
Contributing Editor: *Emmanuel Mumbo*  
Production: *Griffin Communications*  
703/255-2211

Design/Type: *Coastal Type & Design*

Address all correspondence to:  
**The Free Angola Information Service**  
P.O. Box 65463  
Washington, D.C. 20035-5463  
202/775-0958

## Update on Political Prisoners

In the May-June issue of *Kwacha News*, we printed a list of 120 Angolan citizens who are believed to be either political prisoners or victims of executions by the MPLA.

*Kwacha News* has since learned that one of the persons on the list, Mr. Bonefacio Chingala of Huambo, is alive and well.

We call on Amnesty International and other humanitarian groups to continue investigating the fate of the other missing Angolans. □

# **The Gbadolite Declaration**

**Zaire**

**June 22, 1989**



### **ON THE COVER:**

*This photo was taken on June 22, 1989 in Gbadolite, Zaire, after Dr. Jonas Savimbi (front row, left) and Mr. Jose Eduardo dos Santos (front row, third from left) agreed to a ceasefire and negotiations leading to national reconciliation in Angola. Also pictured are: front row (left to right) President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria (between Savimbi and dos Santos); President Omar Bongo of Gabon; and President Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda.*

*Second row: (left to right, behind President Bongo) President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe.*

*Third row: (left to right) President Mobuto Sese Seko of Zaire; President Moussa Traore of Mali; President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia; President Denis Sassou Nguesso of the Congo; and President Manuel Pinto de Costa of Sao Tome and Principe.*

*Fourth row: (left to right) President Idris Abdul Wakil of Zanzibar, who also is the Second Vice-President of Tanzania; President Joao Bernardo Vieira of Guinea-Bissau; President Pierre Buyoya of Burundi; Mr. Ahmed Osman, President of the House of Representatives in Morocco; President Paul Biya of Cameroon; and President Hissene Habre of Chad.*

---

## Contents

---

Map of Africa .....	2
Introduction .....	3
Text of Gbadolite Declaration on Angola .....	4
OAU Chairman Reports on Background to Gbadolite Summit and Final Agreement .....	6
Gabon's President Omar Bongo Comments On the Gbadolite Summit .....	8

---

## Map of Africa Showing Countries Participating in the Gbadolite Summit

---



---

## Introduction

---

In the following pages we have reprinted the full text of the Gbadolite Declaration, issued after the summit held by African leaders on June 22, at Gbadolite, Zaire, as well as comments by African Heads of State. After 14 years of war the Gbadolite Summit opened a new horizon and a new era that should definitely lead Angola to lasting peace, freedom and democracy. Since 1974, UNITA, under the leadership of Dr. Jonas M. Savimbi, has been calling for direct negotiations with the MPLA leading to national reconciliation in order to end the devastating war. Therefore, the Gbadolite Summit came as a vindication of UNITA's long-standing policies. On the other hand, the presence of 18 African Heads of State shows the growing interest that Africa has in ending the war and promoting national reconciliation in Angola.

UNITA views national reconciliation as incorporating a) the ceasefire, b) the formation of a government of national unity, and c) the holding of free and fair elections. The task of the government of national unity would include the review of the present constitution. It is now left to the MPLA leaders to rise above personal interests and narrow politics and assume, with responsibility, the noble task of implementing the principles contained in this declaration which were accepted by all present at the summit and broadcast to the nation by both UNITA and MPLA radio stations. Angola needs peace, unity and democracy.

---

## Gbadolite Declaration on Angola

---

1. At the invitation of Marshal Mobuto Sese Seko, Founder and President of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and President of the Republic of Zaire, an historic meeting took place in Gbadolite, Zaire on Thursday 22 June 1989.
2. The following Heads of State attended this important conference:
  - His Excellency General Moussa Traore, President of the OAU and President of the Republic of Mali
  - His Excellency Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda, Dean of our region of Central and Southern Africa and President of the Republic of Zambia
  - Others in attendance were (in alphabetical order by country):
  - His Excellency Mr. Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the Peoples Republic of Angola
  - His Excellency Dr. Quett K.J. Masire, President of the Republic of Botswana
  - His Excellency Major Pierre Buyoya, President of the Republic of Burundi
  - His Excellency Mr. Paul Biya, President of the Republic of Cameroon
  - His Excellency Mr. Aristides Pereira, President of the Republic of Cape Verde
  - His Excellency Mr. Hissene Habre, President of the Republic of Chad
  - His Excellency General Denis Sassou Nguesso, President of the Peoples Republic of the Congo
  - His Excellency Mr. El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Republic of Gabon
  - His Excellency General Joao Bernardo Vieira, President of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau
  - His Majesty Hassan II, King of Morocco's representative, Mr. Ahmed Osman, President of the House of Representatives of Morocco
  - His Excellency Mr. Joaquim Chissano, President of the Peoples Republic of Mozambique
  - His Excellency General Ibrahim Babangida, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
  - His Excellency Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, President of the Republic of Rwanda

---

His Excellency Mr. Manuel Pinto de Costa, President of the  
Republic of Sao Tome and Principe  
His Excellency Mr. Idris Abdul Wakil, Second Vice-President of  
the Republic of Tanzania and President of Zanzibar  
His Excellency Mr. Robert Gabriel Mugabe, President of the  
Republic of Zimbabwe

3. This meeting is part of efforts made by the President of Angola and other African Heads of State, notably the President of Gabon, and is also a result of decisions adopted during the Luanda Summit on 16 May 1989 to hold a second meeting in Zaire in August of 1989.
4. Taking into account the positive evolution of events, which has permitted the expectation of peace and National Reconciliation, the Presidents of Angola and Zaire have determined to suggest to their colleagues and brothers that this meeting should be brought forward to this date.
5. At the conclusion of their discussions, the Heads of State meeting in Gbadolite have adopted, with due satisfaction and legitimate pride, the principles of restoring peace and National Reconciliation in Angola, which will further the process of Namibian independence.
6. To this end, taking into account the peace plan of the Government of Angola and the proposals of the President of Zaire and his efforts of mediation, the following fundamental principles were accepted by all Angolans:
  - A. The wish of all Angolans to put an end to the war and proclaim to the world their National Reconciliation.
  - B. Cessation of all hostilities as well as the proclamation of a ceasefire which will be effective from 0000 hours on 24 June 1989.
  - C. The forming of a mixed commission charged with finding ways of implementing this plan to establish National Reconciliation under the mediation of the President of the Republic of Zaire.
7. The Heads of State are satisfied with the substantial and rapid progress made toward Peace and National Reconciliation in Angola as a result of the willingness of all Angolan people to put an end to several years of civil war, and to commit themselves to the development of their great country.
8. To this end, the Heads of State congratulate and thank the Presi-

---

dent of Zaire for his exceptional efforts in making possible the historic events of today.

9. The Heads of State were gratified by the spirit and atmosphere of friendship and fraternity that prevailed throughout the conference.
10. The Heads of State have also decided to meet shortly in Zimbabwe with the aim of evaluating the progress of the current initiative.
11. Finally the Heads of State decided to express their gratitude to the Founder and President of the Popular Movement of the Revolution, Marshal Mobuto Sese Seko, the President of the Republic of Zaire, for his authentic African hospitality and warmth during their entire stay, and they wish to take this opportunity to extend a message of friendship, fraternity and solidarity from their respective citizens to the people of Zaire as represented by the welcoming population of Gbadolite.

---

## OAU Chairman Reports on Background to Gbadolite Summit and Final Agreement

---

*The following are excerpts from a broadcast featuring General Moussa Traore, President of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and President of Mali. The broadcast is excerpted from Radiodiffusion-Television Malienne, Bamako, in French, 1500 gmt, on June 23, 1989.*

*{Reporter}: Mr. President, peace in Angola is part of a global strategy for the total liberation of Africa, peace in southern Africa, and the complete eradication of apartheid from our continent. You must certainly be a happy head of family today. I mean the head of the African family.*

*{Traore}: Certainly. You see, the problems of southern Africa can be summed up in three main points: Apartheid in South Africa itself, Namibian independence, and the Angolan issue. The Namibian independence process has been under way since April. Despite a bloody beginning, we are now at a point which allows us to affirm that nothing will henceforth hamper the process. As I have already said, the international community must draw the lessons from these bloody events so that they never occur again. Yesterday, 22nd June, we finalized the*

---

return of peace to Angola. I must say, without exaggerated optimism, that peace in Angola is now certain. . . .

The OAU chairman was asked to say a word. I thanked the summit, the president of Zaire, and Dr. Savimbi—I must admit that we were meeting each other for the first time—whom I congratulated for his courage. I told him that his decision to give up armed opposition through the mediation of the OAU is comforting to us and that Africa alone can solve all its problems without external interference. I thanked all the heads of state on behalf of the African peoples for the results achieved. Other heads of state addressed the summit, notably Presidents Aristides Pereira, Mugabe and Babangida. They all expressed the same feelings as the OAU chairman. Unlike the chairman, they had all had the opportunity of meeting Dr. Savimbi.

I must emphasize two things: President Mugabe, who met Jonas Savimbi in 1963—the year the OAU was created—when he was also fighting colonialism in his country, told him that the day was a great day and that he wished he were in Savimbi's position. Unfortunately, the grave crisis which had put the Angolan patriots at odds ended only today. As for President Babangida, he recalled the beginning and the end of the civil war in his country. So this was a great day for Africa.

We thought the chairman of the summit was about to make concluding remarks when President dos Santos asked the heads of state to excuse his indiscipline. He thanked the heads of state at the summit and President Mobuto Sese Seko for all their efforts. He said: "Before shaking hands with my compatriot, I want to thank you for the accomplishments." At that very moment, he and Jonas Savimbi met at the table and shook hands in a friendly, I would say rather, in a brotherly way. This was the most touching moment of the summit. This handshake was greeted by the thunder of applause from the heads of state at the summit. I would like to reiterate my thanks to President Mobuto Sese Seko of Zaire and to the people of Gbadolite for the warm, friendly reception given to my delegation and me.

---

## Gabon's President Omar Bongo Comments on the Gbadolite Summit

---

*The following is a transcript of a French broadcast of comments made by His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of Gabon, upon his return from the Zaire summit. This broadcast appeared in the FBIS (Foreign Broadcast Information Service) Daily Report. FBIS-AFR-89-124. 29 June 1989. "Gabon's Bongo Returns from Zaire, Notes Summit" from AB2306109589. Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 0730 GMT 23 June 9.*

. . . The Gabonese head of state, Omar Bongo, who took part in the Gbadolite summit in Zaire devoted to attaining peace in Angola, upon his return to Libreville, reviewed for the press the highlights of the agreement that was proposed by the representatives of many African countries and which was accepted by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and by UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi. Here President Bongo takes stock of the proceedings of the Gbadolite summit.

"We reached an agreement after listening to Presidents Mobutu and dos Santos. We all more or less addressed the summit to gather more information. Then Savimbi arrived. He listened to our decisions, and, believe me, Mr. Savimbi displayed his qualities of a great statesman, judging from his short but significant statement. After Savimbi, dos Santos also made a brief statement. Both statements were sealed with a very warm handshake.

---


Published by the Free Angola Information Service, which is registered with the Department of Justice under 22USC Sec. 611 *et seq.* as a representative of UNITA in Angola. Registration does not indicate approval or disapproval by the U.S. Government.

Type/Design: Coastal Type & Design, N. Myrtle Beach, SC  
Production & Distribution: Griffin Communications  
713 Park Street, S.E., Vienna, VA 22180 / (703) 255-2211

Free Angola Information Service: P.O. Box 65463, Washington, DC 20035-5463.

---

# **ANGOLA**



**THE LONG ROAD  
TO FREEDOM  
AND  
DEMOCRACY**

---

## Timetable for the Angola-Namibia Accord



Copyright *Congressional Quarterly*. Reprinted with permission.

**January 22, 1989:** A joint appeals commission is established to negotiate solutions to problems arising from verification of troop withdrawals. The United States and the Soviet Union are both participating in this effort. A very small United Nations force will oversee Angolan troop withdrawals.

**April 1, 1989:** U.N. Resolution 435, which calls for the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and gives independence to Namibia under elections supervised by the U.N., takes effect. Cuba withdraws a small number of its troops from Angola.

**July 1989:** South African troops in Namibia are to be reduced to 1,500.

**August 1, 1989:** Cuban troops in Angola must be moved north of the 15th parallel.

**November 1, 1989:** About half of all Cuban troops must have left Angola and those remaining must be north of the 13th parallel. The remaining South African troops in Namibia must leave and elections are to be held.

**April 1, 1990:** Sixty-six percent of all Cuban forces in Angola must be removed.

**October 1, 1990:** Seventy-six percent of all Cuban forces must be withdrawn from Angola.

**July 1, 1991:** All Cuban troops must be out of Angola.

---



*“We welcome the prospect of resuming talks with the MPLA with the objective of implementing the Gbadolite Declaration, which calls for direct negotiations between the two Angolan parties to comprise an end to the hostilities and the achievement of true national reconciliation in Angola. In this spirit, and in the interest of all our people, we commit ourselves to the effort of achieving peace and national reconciliation and call upon the MPLA to do likewise.”*

—Dr. Jonas Savimbi  
President of UNITA

---

---

## *Contents*

Summary .....	1
Historical Background .....	1
Chronology of UNITA's Efforts to Achieve National Reconciliation .....	2
A Wave of Change & Hope .....	3
Gbadolite—The Breakthrough .....	3
Text of Gbadolite Declaration on Angola .....	4
The MPLA Reign: 14 Years of Occupation and Devastation .....	6
The Success of Bipartisan Support in the United States .....	7
Text of Letter to President Reagan from 51 U.S. Senators .....	8
Text of Congressional Letter to Jose Eduardo dos Santos .....	9
Text of Letter to Dr. Savimbi from President Bush .....	10
UNITA's Goals .....	11

---



*Pictured above are (left to right) President Jonas Savimbi of UNITA; the late President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya; FNLA President Holden Roberto; and MPLA President Agostinho Neto. This photograph was taken in June, 1975 during the signing of the Nakuru Accord which pledged compliance with the Alvor Agreement signed in January of 1975.*

## Summary

In 1975, Portugal and the three Angolan liberation movements reached an agreement known as the Alvor Accord, which called for the formation of a government of national unity to establish a peaceful and democratic transition from colonialism to independence in Angola. The Accord also specifically called for free elections. Unfortunately, before elections could be held, Cuban troops with technical assistance from the Soviet Union, installed the Marxist MPLA party as the government of Angola. UNITA, which was a major participant in the coalition government and in the struggle against Portuguese colonial rule, has been fighting for elections and democracy in Angola ever since.

## Historical Background

For nearly 500 years—from 1482-1975—Angola was a Portuguese colony. During the 1950s and 1960s, three Angolan

liberation movements were formed to fight against Portuguese rule:

- the FNLA, under the leadership of Holden Roberto,
- the MPLA, led by Dr. Agostinho Neto, and
- UNITA, led by Dr. Jonas Savimbi.

In 1975, a *coup d'etat* in Portugal ended 493 years of Portuguese rule of Angola. At that time, the three liberation movements signed the Alvor Agreement with Portugal, detailing a plan for a peaceful transition to independence. The Alvor Accord established a government of national unity encompassing the three liberation movements and provided for the holding of free and fair elections under Portuguese supervision.

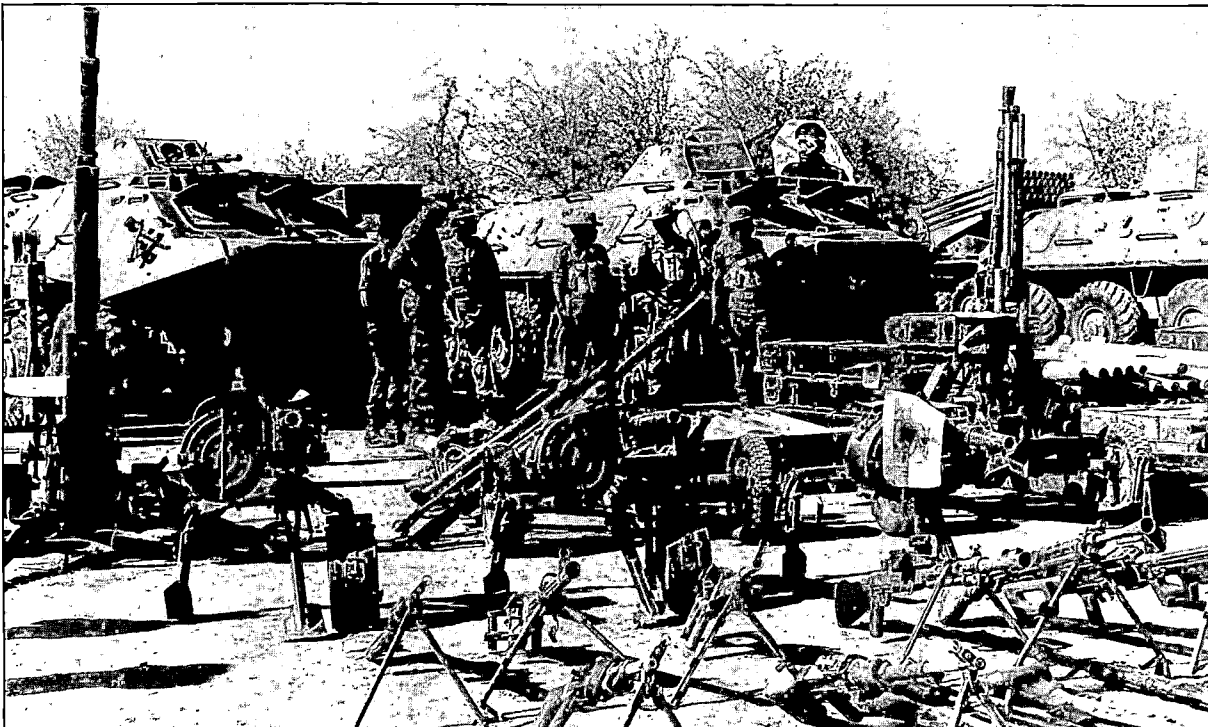
In March 1975, just two months after the signing of the historic Alvor Accord, Cuban combat forces disguised in civilian garb arrived in the capital city of Luanda. Simultaneously, Soviet weaponry began stockpiling at Luanda's international airport and harbor. These maneuvers were part of a plot by the MPLA—in conjunction with the U.S.S.R. and Cuba—to seize power. A civil war soon erupted between the MPLA and the FNLA. Later, UNITA was forced to enter the war.

This insidious plot was corroborated by Rosa Coutinho, better known as the

Portuguese "Red Admiral." Coutinho was empowered by the new Portuguese government as the chief negotiator for the Portuguese government between Angola's liberation movements. It was his task to fairly establish the terms of independence in Angola, but he was biased toward the MPLA.

In a surprising interview, broadcast by the Public Broadcasting Service on November 25, 1987, Rosa Coutinho admitted publicly for the first time that the Alvor Accord was never meant to be more than "window dressing." The staunch pro-Marxist Admiral admitted that his goal from the outset was to ensure the Marxist MPLA's succession to power in Angola. Consequently, the Portuguese official, who was assigned to bring peace to Angola, instead devoted his time to facilitating the delivery of weapons to the MPLA from Havana and Moscow.

Despite the efforts of UNITA through the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to encourage national reconciliation, the civil war escalated to a level of foreign intervention involving the Soviets, Cubans and South Africans. In the Addis Ababa Conference on January 22, 1976, the OAU appealed for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola. The South Africans withdrew,



Soviet-made weaponry captured by UNITA forces.

---

but the Soviets and Cubans remained in Angola, progressively increasing their military and personnel.

Thus, elections were never held.

Angola merely exchanged one set of colonizers—the Portuguese—for another—the Soviets and Cubans.

## *Chronology of UNITA's Efforts To Achieve National Reconciliation*

□ **July & August 1966:** UNITA representatives meet with MPLA leader Anibal de Melo in Lusaka, Zambia, to discuss joint efforts for achieving a united democratic front of all Angolan patriots against Portuguese colonialism.

□ **September 1966:** UNITA leaders meet with FNLA President Holden Roberto in Lusaka, Zambia, to discuss once more the formation of a united democratic front of the Angolan liberation movements.

□ **1968:** UNITA's President, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, moves his permanent base to Angola.

□ **1969:** UNITA petitions the President of Zaire to assist in the creation of a united democratic front of the Angolan liberation movements.

□ **1970:** Members of UNITA's Central Committee request assistance from the People's Republic of the Congo for the formation of a united front of the three liberation movements.

UNITA sent a delegation to the Non-Aligned Summit Conference in Zambia to meet with various African delegations to discuss the national unity issue.

□ **1972:** UNITA announces its willingness to join the FNLA-MPLA alliance.

□ **1974:** Through the tireless efforts of UNITA's President, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, the Mombassa agreement is signed by UNITA, FNLA and MPLA in Kenya.

□ **January 1975:** The Angolan liberation movements draft the historic Alvor Agreement defining the terms for independence.

□ **March 1975:** Soviets begin stockpiling armaments in Angola while Cuba sends military troops disguised as civilians. UNITA continues to abide by the terms of the Alvor Agreement, which scheduled elections in Angola before Independence Day on November 11, 1975.

□ **May 1975:** Having violated all of the provisions of the Alvor Agreement, the MPLA, with the assistance of Cuban troops and other foreign military advisers, captures the capital city of Luanda and installs itself as the Marxist government of Angola. UNITA still abides by the Alvor Agreement.

□ **1976-1981:** UNITA continues to promote national reconciliation and a government of national unity in order to end the war.

□ **1982:** UNITA's 5th Ordinary Congress reiterates its readiness to negotiate the end of armed conflict against the MPLA.

□ **1984:** UNITA's Central Committee states its willingness to find a peaceful solution to the war.

□ **1985:** President Savimbi petitions the United Nations Secretary-General for support in bringing an end to the war in Angola. No response was received.

□ **1986:** UNITA's 6th Ordinary Congress passes a platform for national reconciliation in Angola.

□ **1987:** UNITA offers to reopen the strategic Benguela Railway for the shipment of non-military goods and personnel to promote reconciliation. The Marxist MPLA regime—with the full support of 50,000 Cuban troops—responds by launching a massive offensive against UNITA. UNITA forces trounce the attack, defeating the MPLA and foreign troops.

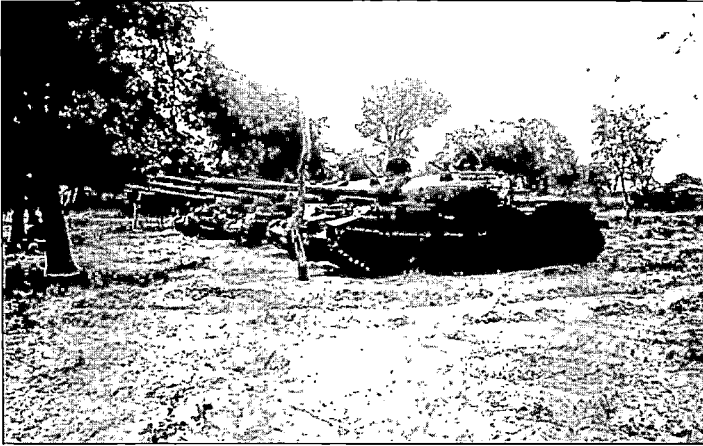
□ **1988:** A series of formal and informal discussions are held concerning proposals to end the war and to force the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola.

□ **1989:** On March 13, UNITA proposed the following Peace Plan:

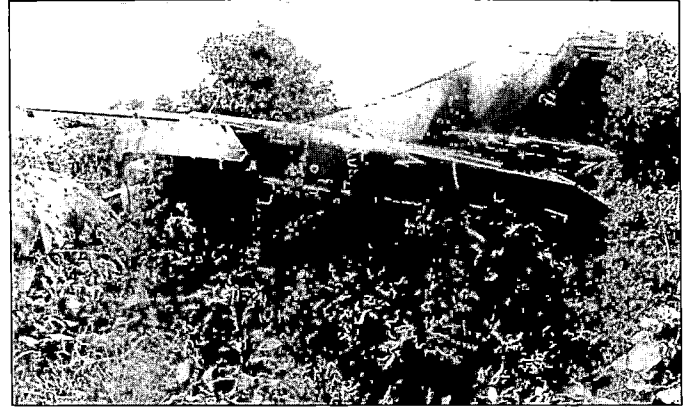
- A four-month moratorium on UNITA's military activity to give diplomacy a chance.

- The appointment of a 10-member commission which would not include Dr. Savimbi. The commission would be responsible for negotiations with the MPLA.
- The first two years of a transitional government would not include Dr. Savimbi. But he reserves the right to put forth his candidacy when national elections are held.
- Exchange of prisoners with the MPLA.
- No interference with the reconstruction of the Benguela Railway.

On June 22, leaders of African nations met in Gbadolite, Zaire, where Dr. Savimbi and Jose Eduardo dos Santos of the MPLA met for the first time and agreed, in principle, to a cease-fire and future talks leading to national reconciliation in Angola.



Captured Soviet-made tanks.



Destroyed Soviet-made MIG-23 jet fighter.

## *A Wave of Change & Hope*

On December 22, 1988, the Tripartite Agreement was signed by the MPLA, Cuba and South Africa, which established the terms for the independence of Namibia and the total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. According to the agreements, the Cuban forces are to leave Angola over a period of 27 months, with an initial 3,000 troops departing by April 1, 1989. The balance of the troops are scheduled to leave in stages. All Cubans are supposed to be out of Angola by July 1, 1991.

After the Accord, the most pressing unresolved issue remained the internal conflict between UNITA and the MPLA. Consistent with its past efforts of national reconciliation, UNITA once again offered significant concessions to the MPLA to facilitate direct dialogue for peace in Angola.

At a press conference held in Jamba on March 13, 1989, attended by foreign dignitaries from Europe and America in addition to the international media, Dr. Jonas Savimbi announced his new Peace Initiative.

Some of the highlights of the Peace Initiative include:

- A four-month moratorium on UNITA's military offensives.

- The appointment of a 10-member commission to begin the negotiating

process with the MPLA. The commission will tour Africa, Europe and the United States to brief government officials.

- The exchange of political prisoners.

- UNITA troops will not interfere with the reconstruction of the Benguela Railroad as long as the MPLA does not use it for military purposes.

UNITA's peace initiative came at a critical time in the negotiating process to end the war in Angola. The peace initiative was consequently endorsed by the Bush Administration as a "significant step" toward peace in Angola.

The MPLA continued to respond with hostile proposals and military action, despite UNITA's commitment of a unilateral ceasefire.

## *Gbadolite— The Breakthrough*

On June 22, 1989, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, President of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the Marxist People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), shook hands and agreed to the principles of national reconciliation, a cessation of all hostilities as well as the proclamation of a cease-fire.

The historic meeting in Gbadolite,

Zaire, marked the first time in the 14-year civil war in Angola that the leaders of the two warring factions met face-to-face, shook hands and agreed to begin negotiations leading to a settlement of the conflict.

The event, which captured front-page headlines in newspapers throughout the world, was arranged by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire. Eighteen African heads-of-state were present, including Moussa Traore, President of Mali and acting chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

The immediate result of the Zaire conference was the declaration of a cease-fire in Angola as of midnight, June 24. The meeting also set the stage for a series of negotiations on the resolution of the political differences in Angola.

While the meeting was a momentous achievement, it is still important to point out that UNITA and the MPLA have separate agendas for peace and national reconciliation that must be discussed. As President Savimbi stated, "We regard the Gbadolite Declaration as an important milestone on the road to the achievement of peace precisely because it rejected destructive and inappropriate concepts such as 'integration', 'amnesty', 'clemency' and 'exile', and declared the commitment of the Angolan parties to the establishment of peace and national reconciliation."

## Gbadolite Declaration on Angola

1. At the invitation of Marshal Mobuto Sese Seko, Founder and President of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and President of the Republic of Zaire, an historic meeting took place in Gbadolite, Zaire on Thursday 22 June 1989.
2. The following Heads of State attended this important conference:
  - His Excellency General Moussa Traore, President of the OAU and President of the Republic of Mali
  - His Excellency Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda, Dean of our region of Central and Southern Africa and President of the Republic of Zambia
  - Others in attendance were (in alphabetical order by country):
    - His Excellency Mr. Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the Peoples Republic of Angola
    - His Excellency Dr. Quett K.J. Masire, President of the Republic of Botswana
    - His Excellency Major Pierre Buyoya, President of the Republic of Burundi
    - His Excellency Mr. Paul Biya, President of the Republic of Cameroon
    - His Excellency Mr. Aristides Pereira, President of the Republic of Cape Verde
    - His Excellency Mr. Hissene Habre, President of the Republic of Chad
    - His Excellency General Denis Sassou Nguesso, President of the Peoples Republic of the Congo
    - His Excellency Mr. El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Republic of Gabon
    - His Excellency General Joao Bernardo Vieira, President of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau
    - His Majesty Hassan II, King of Morocco's representative, Mr. Ahmed Osman, President of the House of Representatives of Morocco
    - His Excellency Mr. Joaquim Chissano, President of the Peoples Republic of Mozambique
    - His Excellency General Ibrahim Babangida, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
    - His Excellency Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, President of the Republic of Rwanda
    - His Excellency Mr. Manuel Pinto de Costa, President of the Republic of Sao Tome and Principe
    - His Excellency Mr. Idris Abdul Wakil, Second Vice-President of the Republic of Tanzania and President of Zanzibar
    - His Excellency Mr. Robert Gabriel Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe
3. This meeting is part of efforts made by the President of Angola and other African Heads of State, notably the President of Gabon, and is also a result of decisions adopted during the Luanda Summit on 16 May 1989 to hold a second meeting in Zaire in August of 1989.
4. Taking into account the positive evolution of events, which has permitted the expectation of peace and National Reconciliation, the Presidents of Angola and Zaire have determined to suggest to their colleagues and brothers that this meeting should be brought forward to this date.
5. At the conclusion of their discussions, the Heads of State meeting in Gbadolite have adopted, with due satisfaction and legitimate pride, the principles of restoring peace and National Reconciliation in Angola, which will further the process of Namibian independence.
6. To this end, taking into account the peace plan of the Government of Angola and the proposals of the President of Zaire and his efforts of mediation, the following fundamental principles were accepted by all Angolans:
  - A. The wish of all Angolans to put an end to the war and proclaim to the world their National Reconciliation.
  - B. Cessation of all hostilities as well as the proclamation of a ceasefire which will be effective from 0000 hours on 24 June 1989.
  - C. The forming of a mixed commission charged with finding ways of implementing this plan to establish National Reconciliation under the mediation of the President of the Republic of Zaire.
7. The Heads of State are satisfied with the substantial and rapid progress made toward Peace and National Reconciliation in Angola as a result of the willingness of all Angolan people to put an end to several years of civil war, and to commit themselves to the development of their great country.
8. To this end, the Heads of State congratulate and thank the President of Zaire for his exceptional efforts in making possible the historic events of today.
9. The Heads of State were gratified by the spirit and atmosphere of friendship and fraternity that prevailed throughout the conference.
10. The Heads of State have also decided to meet shortly in Zimbabwe with the aim of evaluating the progress of the current initiative.
11. Finally the Heads of State decided to express their gratitude to the Founder and President of the Popular Movement of the Revolution, Marshal Mobuto Sese Seko, the President of the Republic of Zaire, for his authentic African hospitality and warmth during their entire stay, and they wish to take this opportunity to extend a message of friendship, fraternity and solidarity from their respective citizens to the people of Zaire as represented by the welcoming population of Gbadolite.



*This photo was taken on June 22, 1989 in Gbadolite, Zaire, after Dr. Jonas Savimbi (front row, left) and Mr. Jose Eduardo dos Santos (front row, third from left) agreed to a ceasefire and negotiations leading to national reconciliation in Angola. Also pictured are: front row (left to right) President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria (between Savimbi and dos Santos); President Omar Bongo of Gabon; and President Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda.*

*Second row: (left to right, behind President Bongo) President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe.*

*Third row: (left to right) President Mobuto Sese Seko of Zaire; President Moussa Traore of Mali; President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia; President Denis Sassou Nguesso of the Congo; and President Manuel Pinto de Costa of Sao Tome and Principe.*

*Fourth row: (left to right) President Idris Abdul Wakil of Zanzibar, who also is the Second Vice-President of Tanzania; President Joao Bernardo Vieira of Guinea-Bissau; President Pierre Buyoya of Burundi; Mr. Ahmed Osman, President of the House of Representatives in Morocco; President Paul Biya of Cameroon; and President Hissene Habre of Chad.*

Photo by Reuter via Photo International

# The MPLA Reign: 14 Years of Occupation and Devastation

For 14 years the Soviet Union and Cuba, along with a host of Eastern Bloc nations, have succeeded in keeping the Marxist MPLA regime in power. However, maintaining illegitimate minority rule has been a costly venture. The Soviet Union has invested over \$8.5 billion since 1974, while Cuba has provided some 60,000 combat troops and suffered more than 10,000 casualties.

The cost to Angola has been deplorable. Over 200,000 Angolans have died in the decade-long war. Angola, once the bread basket of Africa, has been transformed into a hunger zone, compelled to beg for food aid from international donors. Meanwhile, despite the poverty and starvation, the MPLA spends billions of dollars on sophisticated Soviet weaponry to maintain its minority rule.

Unfortunately, the Marxist MPLA regime has opted to wage a fratricidal war in Angola rather than submit to the will of the Angolan people. The MPLA has violated the basic human rights of its political prisoners by such methods as torture, prolonged detention without a fair trial or legal counsel, and arbitrary death sentences.

According to Amnesty International,

there were more than 1,000 political prisoners in detention camps in 1987, most of whom were not given a fair court hearing. In addition, 30 persons received mock trials before military tribunals, and 17 of these were sentenced to death.

The 1987 U.S. State Department "Country Reports on Human Rights" was particularly critical of the situation under the MPLA regime. According to this authoritative report: *"The Angolan people live under censorship and intimidation. Opposition views are not tolerated, and critics have been sentenced to long prison terms."*

Sadly, there is no reason for hope under the Marxist rule. As the State Department report points out: "Angolan citizens do not have the right to change their government."

The Marxist MPLA regime remains completely dependent upon Cuban troops and Soviet advisers in a desperate war without a military solution. The MPLA's refusal to allow national elections demonstrates its vulnerability to the challenge posed by the popular support enjoyed by UNITA across the country.

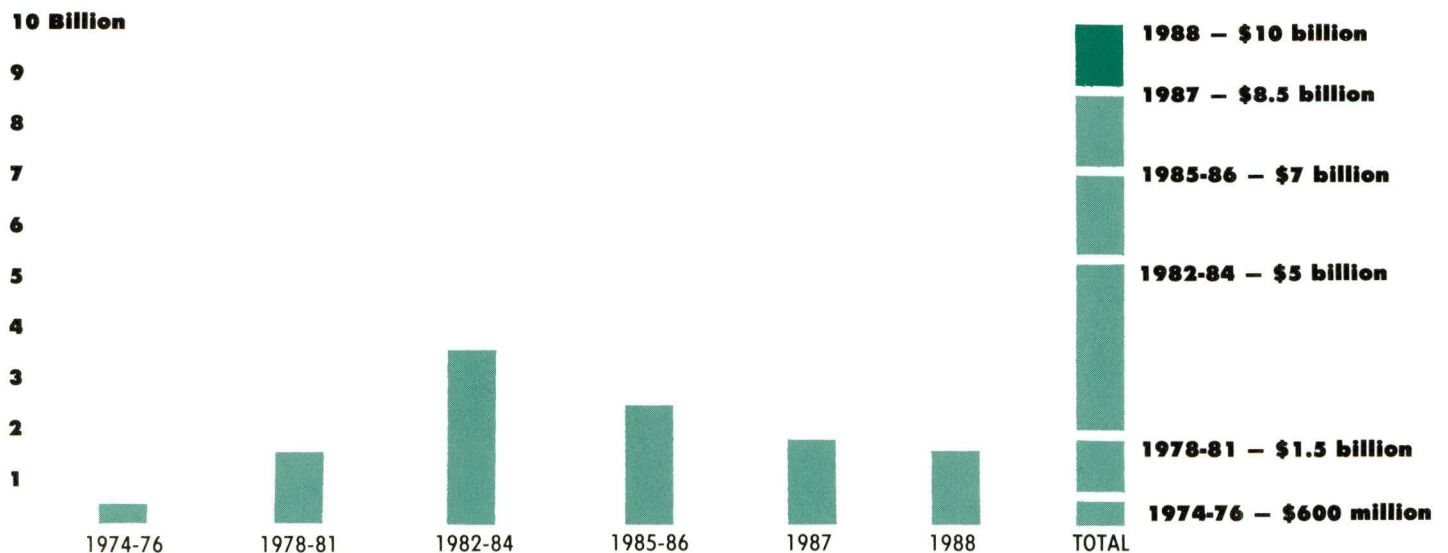
Combined with its repressive policies at home, the MPLA, with the assistance

and leadership of Moscow and Havana, has engaged in a massive propaganda campaign to stain UNITA's credentials as a genuine nationalist movement and to deny the widespread support UNITA enjoys throughout Angola. The MPLA has also endeavored to confuse public opinion about the true nature of the Angolan conflict in order to legitimize its reign and the presence of some 60,000 Cuban troops.

These tactics were increased significantly during 1988 and 1989 as the MPLA came under tremendous pressure to negotiate with UNITA for peace and national reconciliation. Rather than talk peace, the MPLA launched a vicious propaganda campaign to discredit UNITA and its President, Dr. Jonas Savimbi. As UNITA's representative in Washington, D.C. stated, these lies "represent the height of the MPLA and Cuban disinformation campaign aimed at discrediting UNITA's 23 years of struggle for freedom, justice and democracy in Angola. The irony of these false allegations is that Angola has been devastated by the atrocities of the Marxist MPLA in its 13-year illegal rule."

The Soviets have poured an estimated \$10 billion of military equipment into Angola over the past 14 years.

## Soviet Military Investment in Angola



# *The Success of Bipartisan Support in the United States*

Strong bi-partisan support in the U.S. has been a major factor in bringing about these diplomatic successes. For 14 years the MPLA had refused to negotiate and instead opted for the use of force in attempting to squelch the opposition of UNITA. But it did not succeed. UNITA proved to be too powerful an opponent to defeat on the battlefield.

In 1976, the U.S. Congress passed the Clark Amendment which prohibited the U.S. from providing military assistance to any Angolan resistance movement. The amendment was passed on the intellectual assumption that continued U.S. support would only escalate the conflict. This assumption proved to be inaccurate. In Angola, the Soviets were left with a free hand. Their initial investment of \$250 million in 1975 ballooned to over \$8 billion 13 years later.

From 1978 until 1986, Soviet and Cuban involvement in Angola escalated to an unprecedented level in the history of Africa.

In July 1985, the U.S. Congress repealed the Clark Amendment. Since 1986, when the United States resumed "effective and appropriate" assistance to UNITA, the successive MPLA offensives—led by Soviet military advisers and Cuban troops—have been incapable of advancing.

Before U.S. assistance, UNITA was vulnerable to large-scale air bombings. U.S. aid to UNITA has rendered the Marxist air force inoperative.

The enemy forces are aware that they face tremendous obstacles if they attempt to launch another large-scale offensive against UNITA forces.

The message the United States is now constantly sending to the Marxist government of Angola is that support for UNITA will not waiver until an agreement for national reconciliation and free and fair elections has been reached.

In June of 1988, Senators Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) and Robert Kasten (R-WI), formed a bipartisan Task Force on Angola and the co-chairmen were joined by a number of their colleagues, both Democrat and Republican. In the fall of 1988, the Task Force sponsored a letter

to President Reagan concerning the Brazzaville Accords.

The letter, signed by 51 U.S. Senators, stresses their concern over the fact that the Brazzaville Accords did not address genuine national reconciliation in Angola. The letter goes on to say that UNITA should be brought into the negotiations, and that without direct dialogue between UNITA and the MPLA there can be no hope for lasting peace. The final point the letter makes is that the United States should continue providing assistance to UNITA so long as the MPLA continues to receive Soviet, Cuban or other Soviet-bloc or foreign military assistance; all Cuban forces have been withdrawn; an agreement has been reached on national reconciliation, and a date for the holding of free and fair elections has been set.

\*\*\*\*\*

*Following the Gbadolite Summit, Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ), Chairman of the Senate Angola Task Force, issued the following statement which best demonstrates the role of bipartisan support in facilitating a peaceful settlement in Angola.*

On June 22, the Marxist President of Angola, Eduardo dos Santos, and the President of the UNITA rebels, Jonas Savimbi, shook hands and agreed to end a 14-year civil war. Long and difficult negotiations lie ahead of us. The U.S. must continue to provide sustained support for a full national reconciliation in Angola leading to free and fair elections.

The actions of UNITA and the MPLA are an important diplomatic first step in which the U.S. government should take great satisfaction. It was U.S. support to UNITA that finally convinced the MPLA and their Soviet and Cuban backers that there could be no military solution in Angola. This realization produced the Tripartite Agreement signed on December 22, 1988 between Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

After years of denying UNITA's exist-

tence as a legitimate nationalist force, the MPLA has agreed to direct negotiations. Again, it was the consistency of U.S. policy that produced this result. Early in his Administration, President Bush affirmed that the U.S. will continue to support UNITA until national reconciliation is achieved. The U.S. Congress has repeatedly reinforced the Administration's position on Angola. Just last month the Senate and House agreed to my amendment to the FY89 Dire Supplemental Appropriations Bill which strengthens the Tripartite Agreement and restates U.S. policy—that the U.S. will continue to support UNITA until genuine national reconciliation is achieved.

Our Angola success demonstrates that we can form a strong bipartisan foreign policy. It illustrates the importance of a coherent foreign policy that is reached cooperatively between the Administration and the Congress.

The road ahead will be difficult. The U.S. must continue to strongly support UNITA so that the dual objectives of a government of national unity and free and fair elections are achieved. Once an agreement is reached that is satisfactory to both parties, the U.S. government should consider how it can help the newly established government rebuild a nation.



Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ),  
Chairman of the Senate Angola Task Force

# United States Senate

Washington, D.C.

October 14, 1988

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear President Reagan:

From all reports it appears that progress is being made to secure the withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola and negotiate the independence of Namibia. While we applaud the Administration's efforts, we are concerned that "genuine" national reconciliation in Angola is not addressed. Furthermore, we are disturbed by recent statements from Luanda which indicate that the Marxist MPLA regime is using the negotiations to create conditions for the military destruction of UNITA.

We are now witnessing the consequences of a settlement with the Soviet Union which did not involve indigenous resistance movements in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union has halted its scheduled troop withdrawal. Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze announced at the United Nations that the "non-interference clause" denies the United States the right to re-supply the mujaheddin through Pakistan. Still, the Soviets are under no obligation to halt their assistance to the Kabul regime.

The lessons of Afghanistan cannot be ignored in Angola. We should not permit the Soviet Union, Cuba, and the Marxist MPLA to subvert the efforts of peace, a prospering economy, and fair and free elections.

Mr. President, we believe four crucial issues must be addressed in the negotiations to ensure that true and lasting peace is achieved in Southwestern Africa:

(1) UNITA must be brought into the negotiations; there can be no peace without direct dialogue between the MPLA and UNITA;

(2) There must be synchronization between the international agenda—comprising the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola and the implementation of the United Nations-sponsored process of independence for Namibia—and the domestic agenda of national reconciliation and free and fair elections in Angola.

(3) The United States should not cease, suspend, diminish, or otherwise restrict—or cause to be restricted—assistance to UNITA as long as the MPLA continues to receive Soviet, Cuban, or other Soviet-bloc or foreign military assistance, and until the President has certified to the Congress that

A) all Cuban forces have been withdrawn from Angola, including those who may be serving in any capacity with the forces of the MPLA regime —

B) such forces have not been redeployed elsewhere for the purpose of a later invasion of Angola; and

C) UNITA and the MPLA have agreed to form a government of genuine national reconciliation and have agreed to set a date for the holding of free and fair elections;

(4) The United States should urge the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the independent majority-ruled states of Africa, as well as the Soviet Union and Cuba, to press the MPLA regime in Angola to open direct talks with UNITA to craft such a political settlement of Angola's internal divisions. The U.S. should also commend those leaders who have already shown this leadership.

Mr. President, however desirable the goals of Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal, they are not sufficient to sacrifice U.S. foreign policy and national security interests vis-a-vis a poorly negotiated agreement.

We hope that we can work together to find a political solution which results in freedom and democracy for the people of Namibia, Angola, and all of Africa.

William Armstrong, R-CO  
Max Baucus, D-MT  
Kit Bond, R-MO  
David Boren, D-OK  
John Breaux, D-LA  
Dale Bumpers, D-AR  
Quentin Burdick, D-ND  
Lawton Chiles, D-FL  
Thad Cochran, R-MS

Kent Conrad, D-ND  
Altonse D'Amato, R-NY  
Tom Daschle, D-SD  
Dennis DeConcini, D-AZ  
Alan Dixon, D-IL  
Bob Dole, R-KS  
Pete Domenici, R-NM  
James Exon, D-NE  
Wendell Ford, D-KY

Jake Garn, R-UT  
Bob Graham, D-FL  
Phil Gramm, R-TX  
Chuck Grassley, R-IA  
Orrin Hatch, R-UT  
Chic Hecht, R-NV  
Howell Heflin, D-AL  
John Heinz, R-PA  
Jesse Helms, R-NC

Ernest Hollings, D-SC  
Gordon Humphrey, R-NH  
Daniel Inouye, D-HI  
David Karnes, R-NE  
Bob Kasten, R-WI  
John McCain, R-AZ  
James McClure, R-ID  
Mitch McConnell, R-KY  
John Melcher, D-MT

Frank Murkowski, R-AK  
Don Nickles, R-OK  
Larry Pressler, R-SD  
William Proxmire, D-WI  
David Pryor, D-AR  
Dan Quayle, R-IN  
Jim Sasser, D-TN  
Richard Shelby, D-AL  
Ted Stevens, R-AK

Steve Symms, R-ID  
Strom Thurmond, R-SC  
Paul Trible, R-VA  
Malcolm Wallop, R-WY  
John Warner, R-VA  
Pete Wilson, R-CA

The House of Representatives has also expressed its commitment to peace and national reconciliation in Angola. In June, a prominent group of Democrat and Republican members, led by Congressman Dave McCurdy (D-OK), Chair-

man of the newly formed House Angolan Task Force, sent a letter to President dos Santos of the MPLA urging him to engage in direct dialogue with UNITA for peace. The letter is reprinted below.

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515**

June 21, 1989

Dear President dos Santos:

As Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, we are very interested and concerned about developments in Angola. We believe it is in the best interest of the people of Angola and all of southern Africa for the war in your country, now in its fourteenth year, to come to an end and for the process of national reconciliation to begin.

As a result of the accords signed last December in New York between your government, Cuba and South Africa, the removal of Cuban troops from Angola is assured and the prospects for independence and democratic elections in Namibia have been greatly enhanced. However, the accords do not address the problem of Angola's civil war. Therefore, we believe the best chance for a peaceful resolution to the Angolan conflict rests with a negotiated settlement between your government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, led by Dr. Jonas Savimbi. This will require compromises from both the MPLA and UNITA.

We believe that UNITA's recent proposal for national reconciliation in Angola represents an important step forward. Your government has stated repeatedly that Dr. Savimbi's leadership of UNITA is a major obstacle to negotiations. The new proposal from UNITA satisfies this precondition. Dr. Savimbi has agreed to remove himself from UNITA's negotiating delegation and any transitional government that would be formed prior to free and fair elections in Angola. In addition, we view UNITA's offer of an immediate cease-fire and exchange of prisoners as a necessary step for negotiations to begin.

We join President Bush's Administration in supporting a peaceful resolution to Angola's civil war. Once national reconciliation is achieved and a transitional government is in place, Congress can support important changes in U.S. policy toward Angola.

We look forward to working with you to end the tragic conflict in your country. The MPLA and UNITA can make a significant contribution to a settlement by adopting pragmatic and reasonable positions leading up to negotiations. We intend to work in a bipartisan manner with the Bush Administration to assist in bringing about such a settlement.

We eagerly await your reply to our concerns and look forward to hearing your plans for ending the civil war in Angola.

Sincerely,

Doug Bereuter, R-NE  
Dan Burton, R-IN  
Beverly Byron, D-MD  
Lawrence Coughlin, R-PA  
Henry Hyde, R-IL  
John Kasich, R-OH  
Dave McCurdy, D-OK

Ronald Machtley, R-RI  
Lynn Martin, R-IL  
Robert Matsui, D-CA  
Jan Meyers, R-KS  
Timothy Penny, D-MI  
Gerry Sikorski, D-MI  
Ike Skelton, D-MO

Lawrence Smith, D-FL  
Olympia Snowe, R-ME  
Bud Shuster, R-PA  
John Spratt, D-SC  
Robert Torricelli, D-NJ

The Administration has likewise demonstrated its support for UNITA's objectives. In his first foreign policy pronouncement, President Bush pledged that the new Administration will continue to support UNITA's goals of national reconciliation and democracy in Angola. President Bush's letter to Dr. Savimbi is reprinted on the next page.

The most recent show of bipartisan

support in the United States occurred in June, when the Senate and the House of Representatives passed an amendment to require certification of the withdrawal and compliance to the agreement by all parties (Angola, Cuba and South Africa) and to encourage a process of genuine national reconciliation in Angola between the MPLA regime and UNITA.



THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

January 6, 1989

Dr. Jonas Savimbi  
UNITA  
P.O. Box 65463  
Washington, D.C. 20035-5463

Dear Dr. Savimbi:

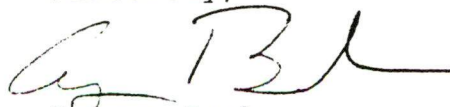
Since our exchange of letters in November, the Tripartite Agreement for the departure of Cuban troops from Angola and the independence of Namibia was signed in New York on December 22, 1988. With the implementation of the agreement, the stage will be set for peace in southwestern Africa and for national reconciliation in Angola. I want to join you in welcoming this great diplomatic achievement which holds out so much hope for the Angolan people.

While we take pride in our role as the mediating power, the United States remains mindful of the fact that peace has not yet been achieved within Angola, and that much work remains to be done in pursuit of that goal. UNITA is to be congratulated for its courageous demonstration over more than a decade that solutions to Angola's problems cannot be found through repressive military force.

My Administration will accord the highest priority to the full and prompt implementation of the Tripartite Agreement so that Angolans will be free to settle their own political future without the destructive presence of foreign military forces. I also want to assure you that American diplomacy will continue to encourage African and other interested governments to provide maximum support to a process of negotiation leading to national reconciliation in your country. Until that objective is achieved, my Administration will continue all appropriate and effective assistance to UNITA.

I want to take this opportunity to wish you, your family, and the entire UNITA movement a successful and prosperous New Year. I look forward to seeing you again for exchange of views as the situation evolves in your country and in your region.

Sincerely,



George Bush

---

## UNITA's Goals

UNITA enjoys the popular support of over 65 percent of the population and fields an army of 65,000 troops. UNITA's objectives remain unchanged and basically identical to those embodied in the 1975 Alvor Accord, which was also unanimously endorsed by the other liberation movements in Angola. These principles include:

- the withdrawal of all foreign forces,
- the formation of a government of national unity, and
- the holding of free and fair elections to establish a pluralistic political system to guarantee the freedoms of expression, religion, speech, assembly and the press.

UNITA has always been willing to test its popularity at the polls and does not favor a military solution in Angola. However, the MPLA has consistently refused to negotiate and has instead opted to suppress all voices of opposition through the importation of tens of thousands of foreign troops and billions of dollars worth of sophisticated Soviet hardware.

As President Savimbi stated on August 27, "Our struggle has been and remains directed at freeing Angola, securing the removal of all foreign forces, establishing the conditions for peace, leading to national reconciliation, to be followed in the shortest time possible by free and fair elections to enable the people of Angola to select the government of their choice."

The MPLA's insistence on clemency, amnesty and the integration of UNITA members into the Marxist state party as well as the exile of Dr. Savimbi, are irrational and preposterous propositions. These demands are not acceptable to UNITA.

The issue in Angola is freedom and democracy, which can be guaranteed only by a multi-party system. This necessarily implies a change of the present system and a review of the constitution.

We believe that where democracy is allowed to flourish there will be no losers. Everyone's future, including the MPLA's, can be guaranteed by a multi-party democracy promoting a free competition of ideas and economic development.

The challenge is clear, and is best defined by the Senate Angola Task Force:

*"The road ahead will be difficult. The U.S. must continue to strongly support UNITA so that the dual objectives of a government of national unity and free and fair elections are achieved. Once an agreement is reached that is satisfactory to both parties, the U.S. government should consider how it can help the newly established government rebuild a nation."*

---

Published by the Free Angola Information Service, which is registered with the Department of Justice under 22USC Sec. 611 *et seq.* as a representative of UNITA in Angola. Registration does not indicate approval or disapproval by the U.S. Government.

Type/Design: Coastal Type & Design, N. Myrtle Beach SC

Production & Distribution: Griffin Communications  
713 Park Street, SE, Vienna, VA 22180 / (703) 255-2211

Free Angola Information Service: P.O. Box 65463, Washington, D.C. / (202) 775-0958

---