

Military Conflict between MPLA and FNLA-UNITA - Soviet and Cuban Involvement -Diplomatic Developments - South African Statements on Involvement - Cessation of US Covert Aid - Inconclusive OAU Summit - Declaration of State of Emergency in Zambia - MPLA Victory - Recognition of People's Republic of Angola by OAU and Other Countries -Economic Developments

Notwithstanding the breakdown on Jan. 18 of an emergency summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on Angola, the capture by forces of the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) of most strategic towns in the north and south of the country led to almost immediate recognition in February of the MPLA People's Republic by the OAU and many other countries, including the nine European Community member-states. The two retreating liberation movements, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), announced that they would henceforth wage guerrilla warfare from the bush. In spite of initial MPLA setbacks following independence on Nov. 11, 1975[see 27497 A] chiefly the loss, to an armoured column of the FNLA and UNITA led by White mercenaries and advancing northwards, of several towns along the MPLA's southern front, including Novo Redondo (Nov. 13), Lobito and Benguela (Nov.16) and Malanje (Nov.17), cutting the movement's road link between Luanda and the airport at Malanje-increased Soviet and Cuban aid enabled the MPLA to slow and eventually halt the advance of the column. Although by the end of 1975 there were only 4,000 Cuban regulars in the MPLA's ranks, the US State Department reported on March 5 that the numbers had risen to 13,500. Moreover, a map issued by the Pentagon on Jan. 29 showed that there were 2,848 Soviet military advisers in the whole of Africa, about 200 of these being in Angola.

The South African Defence Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, on Nov. 27 appealed to Western powers to play a more direct role in preventing the establishment of a Soviet foothold in Angola. He described the involvement of the Soviet Union as an arrogant attempt to establish itself in southern Africa by sheer force, endangering trade routes and oil routes between the Persian Gulf and most of the free world", and urged the free world to " show more direct interest in getting the Soviet Union out of southern Africa".

At the same time authoritative South African Government sources disclosed that South African troops and advisers (which officially had hitherto been confined to the Ruacana Falls hydroelectric project and the dam at Calueque, both on the Cunene river—see 27497 A) were providing support to anti- MPLA forces within Angola. Although at a press conference on Nov. 29 Mr Botha said that South Africa was "not taking part in the war", he admitted that South African troops had again penetrated deep into Angola on recent occasions during "hot pursuit" of guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) [see 29499 A; 27582 A].

Mr Botha confirmed on Dec. 16 that four White soldiers captured and presented to the press in Luanda by the MPLA were in fact South Africans. Re also announced the extension by one month of the period of national service for White South Africans due for demobilization in January 1976 and said that citizen reserve units would in 1976 be sent to the "operational area" for three-month tours of duty, not as "a panic measure" but to "increase effectiveness".

The MPLA Prime Minister, Mr Lopo do Nascimento, claimed during a visit to Nigeria on Dec. 18 that South Africa had 1,000 regular troops in Angola. Earlier, on Dec. 16, the MPLA had claimed that "the invading South African Army" was fighting on the central, southern and eastern fronts and that "some other South African technicians are also present on the northern front" in the FNLA ranks.

In the first admission by the South African Government that its aircraft had been deployed over Angola, a defence headquarters statement on Dec. 1 disclosed that a South African reconnaissance aircraft had been lost over the territory.

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, on Dec. 10 gave an assurance that South Africa had no territorial ambitions in Angola but expressed deep concern at Soviet and Cuban involvement; the aim of their "blatant" intervention, he said, was to create a Marxist state in Angola and to have "a string of Marxist states from Angola to Dar-es-Salaam", which would divide the African continent with serious consequences not only for South Africa but for' Zaire, Zambia and the West.

During a visit to Brussels, President Nyerere of Tanzania had on Nov. 27 urged the Organization of African Unity to condemn South Africa's intervention in Angola; at the same time, he had defended the Soviet Union's support for the MPLA, while criticizing the West for failing to support the movement under Portuguese rule and issuing a strong warning to South Africa and "other super-powers" not to intervene further.

Dr Nyerere had added: "I want to emphasize that, while we might hesitate to send arms to a civil war, we would not hesitate to let arms through to fight the South Africans."

The OAU defence subcommittee, meeting on Nov. 28 in Dar-es-Salaam, called South Africa's involvement in Angola "naked aggression... whose magnitude and scope exceed any foreign intervention in Africa". The US Senate on Dec. 19 approved by 54 votes to 22 an amendment to the Defence Appropriation Bill, sponsored by Senator John V. Tunney (Democrat, California), which prohibited the Ford Administration from continuing covert military aid to anti- MPLA forces in Angola. The bill's appropriations of \$112,300 million were reported to include \$33,000,000 for use by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in providing aid to Angola.

Senator Tunney claimed that the CIA had already sent \$25,000,000 in arms and funds to Angola since July 1975 (when the initial decision to supply arms was taken), and that \$7,000,000 more was already intended for Angola out of a further \$28,000,000 sought by President Ford. Dr Kissinger had made it clear at a press conference on Dec. 9 that the United States had in fact lent its support to anti- MPLA forces, but refused to give details; he said that "whatever we have done started long after massive Soviet aid became evident".

On Dec. 18 the Senate had rejected by 72 votes to 26 an amendment to the bill submitted by Senator Robert Griffin (Republican, Michigan) forbidding the deployment of US "combat personnel" in Angola, but permitting aid to continue; while on the same day the Senate adopted by 93 votes to four a draft amendment, approved by its foreign relations committee on Dec. 17, which prohibited any US assistance to any group in Angola without the full authorization of Congress.

At a press conference on Dec. 19, President Ford described the Senate vote of that day as " a deep tragedy for all countries whose security depends on the United States". He urged the Senate to reverse its decision, adding that failure to do so would, in his judgment, "seriously damage the national interest of the United States".

President Ford went on : "The issue in Angola is not, never has been and never will be a question of the use of US forces. The sole issue is the provision of modest amounts of assistance to oppose military intervention by two extra-continental powers, namely the Soviet Union and Cuba."

The House of Representatives on Jan. 27 approved by 323 votes to 99 a similar amendment to the Defence Appropriation Bill, despite a warning issued to the House by President Ford in a letter prior to the vote that US-backed forces in Angola "will be destroyed by Soviet armaments and a Cuban expeditionary force". The bill as amended was signed by the President on Feb. 10.

At a press conference on Dec. 23 in Washington, Dr Kissinger stated that the Senate vote had " severely complicated" efforts for a diplomatic solution to the Angola war; he warned that "an extremely dangerous situation" might develop with the Soviet Union over Angola, and that "we will resist without question any military expansion".

In response, the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* on Dec. 25 said that "some leading personalities in the United States and other imperialist powers are trying to put pressure on the Soviet Union, to place at its door the responsibility for the outbreak of the conflict in Angola and to accuse It of disturbing the balance of power in southern Africa and of pursuing a policy that conflicts with the relaxation of tension ". It concluded that it was " quite natural" for Soviet aid to the MPLA to continue.

In a subsequent article on Jan. 6, *Izvestia* asked : "As far as détente is concerned, is it not true that the struggle against racism and apartheid, and protection and respect for the sovereignty of the young independent countries, is in reality an investment in détente ?"

Dr Kissinger said before leaving for Moscow on Jan. 19 for talks with Soviet leaders on arms limitation : "I am going to make it clear to my hosts that the United States will not accept Soviet intervention in other parts of the world. Continuation of such measures must lead to a deterioration of Soviet-American relations."

After talks in Nairobi on Dec. 13–14, Presidents Kaunda of Zambia and Kenyatta of Kenya appealed in a joint communiqué issued on Dec. 15 for a ceasefire in Angola and expressed their concern over foreign involvement. President Kaunda then flew on to Dar-es-Salaam, where he held further talks with President Machel of Mozambique and President Nyerere.

On his return to Lusaka Dr Kaunda disclosed that his Foreign Minister, Mr Rupiah Banda, and Mr Mark Chona, his special envoy, had left for Paris on a mission regarding a ceasefire, while a second Zambian delegation had flown to OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa.

In a New Year message published on Dec. 31, Mr Vorster reiterated that only a broader Western involvement in diplomatic and other fields could stop the attempt to force a Marxist state on a "resisting and unwilling people". He warned that if the non-communist world allowed Angola to be "hounded into the communist fold at the point of a bayonet", the price for Africa would be "enslavement far worse than that of the 18th and 19th centuries".

Mr Vorster also announced that an "ultra-alert" had been declared for South African troops in the "operational area".

Earlier, on Dec. 29, Mr Botha told the *Rand Daily Mail*, in response to reports that South Africa would be willing to withdraw from Angola if the Soviet Union and Cuba also withdrew, that his Government would almost certainly reconsider its involvement if its interests were guaranteed and terrorist attacks into South West Africa were halted. South Africa only wished to see an "orderly and free Angola" and had no interest in determining the country's future.

In a joint statement issued on Jan. 1 in Bangui after a meeting between Presidents Bokassa of the Central African Republic, Amin of Uganda and Mobutu of Zaire, the three heads of state agreed to work towards the formation of a government of national unity in Angola, to prevent foreign troops from passing through their countries to Angola, and to use their influence to end international interference in the Angola war.

In statements issued on Jan. 6–7, Britain, the United States, France and West Germany denounced foreign involvement in Angola and called for an end to hostilities.

On his return from a 10-day tour of Cameroon, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Senegal and Zaire, Mr William Schauffele, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs, visited London on Jan. 6 where he held talk" with Mr David Ennals, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs. A Foreign Office statement issued after the talks expressed the hope of the two Governments that "there could be an early ceasefire in Angola followed by the ending of foreign intervention and a negotiated settlement", and added that "both recognized the importance" of the forthcoming OAU summit [see below].

President Giscard d'Estaing stated on Jan. 7 : "The French Government condemns the massive shipment of war material and, still more, of foreign troops that has been publicly observed for several weeks in Angola. It demands an end to it. Its continuation will create a situation of permanent tension and division in Africa, destroying the climate of peace which until now has accompanied independence, and will divert the continent from its priority tasks of development."

On Jan. 6 Herr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German Foreign Minister, in a letter to 12 African nations urged them to reject outside intervention in Angola and called for an African solution to the civil war there.

The British Government also on Jan. 7 sent a message to Field Marshal Amin, as President of the OAU, calling for an immediate ceasefire, the withdrawal of foreign forces and the ending of supplies of weapons and military material.

Mr James Callaghan, the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, had on Dec. 22 summoned the Soviet ambassador and the South African charge d'affaires to the Foreign Office to discuss the Angola situation and was reported to have requested their Governments to withdraw their troops from Angola.

The Nigerian Government on Jan. 7 published the text of a letter sent by President Ford to the Nigerian head of state, Brigadier Murtala Ramat Muhammed (as well as to other African leaders), which it had described the previous day as "patronizing" and an insult to the intelligence of African nations and to the dignity of the Black man.

President Ford's letter stated inter alia: "The upcoming OAU summit meeting on Angola can clearly be extremely important in promoting an early end to the fighting and a peaceful settlement of the civil war. It

is our hope that the OAU will insist upon a prompt end to all foreign involvement in Angola, arrange a standstill ceasefire between the forces and bring about negotiations among the Angolan groups." It continued: "My Government would support such an initiative and co-operate with It, provided other distant powers do so as well. We would also, in that case, urge South Africa to end its involvement. We cannot, however, stand Idly by if the Soviet and Cuban intervention persists."

Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Namvan Garba, the Nigerian External Affairs Commissioner, said on Jan. 7 before leaving for the OAU summit that his delegation would seek to convince the others to resist US pressure for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola.

An emergency summit meeting of the 46 member-states of the OAU which began on Jan. 10 ended in deadlock on Jan. 13 without reaching any agreement on Angola. The member-states split evenly into two blocks of 22, with Ethiopia, the host country, and Uganda, which held the chairmanship of the OAU, refraining at this point from aligning themselves with either bloc [see below], so that no majority could be found either to recognize the MPLA or to call for a ceasefire. Moreover, whereas all delegations condemned South African entry into Angola, the pro-Western faction (i.e. that which supported the FNLA and UNITA) refused to formalize this viewpoint unless the OAU also condemned the presence of Soviet and Cuban personnel in Angola, which the pro- MPLA faction refused to do.

The three liberation movements (the FNLA and UNITA being represented by their leaders—respectively Mr Holden Roberto and Dr Jonas Savimbi—while the MPLA leader, Dr Agostinho Neto, did not attend) all reiterated their intention to continue fighting.

Earlier, in an opening speech at a preparatory meeting of Foreign Ministers on Jan. 8, the President of the Ethiopian Provisional Military Government, Brigadier-General Teferi Benti, urged the ministers not to rush into any "premature decisions". He went on "There should be no mistake that the struggle in Angola is for the body and soul of Africa... For the first time, in a sustained and determined manner [South Africa], has taken the offensive against the onward march of independence in southern Africa. This offensive will have to be stopped in its tracks or it will roll back the frontiers of freedom."

Two main opposing resolutions were tabled at the OAU summit meeting, one by the Nigerian delegation and one by Senegal]. The Nigerian resolution supported the recognition of the MPLA and was in the course of the meeting amended to condemn "other foreign intervention" apart from that of South Africa; in contrast, the Senegalese resolution called for a ceasefire, the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the establishment of a government of national unity.

The countries supporting the Nigerian resolution (all of which had individually recognized the MPLA Government) were: Algeria, Benin, Burundi, Cape Verde Islands, Chad, Comoro Islands, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Mauritius, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Sao Tomé and Príncipe, Somalia, Sudan and Tanzania.

Those supporting the Senegalese resolution were : Botswana, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Egypt, Gabon, The Gambia, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Mauritania, Morocco, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Togo, Tunisia, Upper Volta, Zaïre and Zambia.

At the end of the meeting a short communique issued on Jan. 13 said that "after seriously considering the Angola problem the assembled heads of state decided to adjourn and request the bureau of the 12th [annual] summit [to be held in Mauritius in June 1976] to continue to follow the Angolan problem closely". Field Marshal Amin, the OAU President, declared that he was "happy" with the outcome and that some "agreements and understandings" had been reached.

Dr Kaunda of Zambia, who left the OAU meeting on Jan. 12 before its conclusion, told the press as he departed : "Our failure to find a solution here confirms that the OAU has no power to shape the destiny of Africa. The power is in the hands of super-powers to whom we are handing over Africa for our failure." Earlier in the day, in an appeal for an end to foreign intervention and the establishment of a government of national unity, Dr Kaunda called the war in Angola "the most serious and tragic crisis" Africa had faced in the history of the OAU. He told the meeting: "We should not indulge in endless recriminations. We must not sink as low as to trade insults among ourselves. We have come here not to save face but to save the lives of millions of innocent Africans."

A "peace plan" put forward by Dr Kaunda, much of which was included in the Senegalese resolution, condemned South African aggression and called for that country's withdrawal from Angola; condemned and called for an immediate end to all foreign intervention; demanded an immediate ceasefire; and called upon the three Angolan movements to find a political solution which would]d guarantee peace, unity and the territorial Integrity of their "bleeding fatherland".

President Amin on Jan. 14 announced that Ethiopia had recognized the MPLA and that Uganda had formally joined the opposing group supporting the Senegalese resolution. He said that he would now consider asking the other super-powers to "balance" the Soviet and US involvement in Angola. Following the collapse of the OAU summit, Dr Kaunda, Dr Nyerere, President Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana and President Machel of Mozambique met for talks in Dar-es Salaam on Jan. 14, despite their opposing views at the OAU.

No details were published concerning the outcome of the talks, and the four Presidents renewed their discussions on Feb. 6 in Quelimane (Mozambique).

At the conclusion of a state visit to India, President Nyerere said on Jan. 18 that the biggest failure of the OAU summit had been the failure to distinguish between South African "aggression" in Angola and the continued desire to end internal fighting in the territory; in their efforts to end this, he said, African movements had been able to obtain arms only from communist countries such as the Soviet Union and Cuba.

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