**Recent Legislative Action**

Since the July 1985 repeal of the Clark Amendment, prohibiting U.S. intervention in Angola, conservatives in Congress have launched a drive to funnel aid to UNITA, the South African-backed rebels fighting the Angolan government. At the end of the First Session of the 99th Congress, six pro-UNITA measures were pending in the House and Senate:

**HR 3472** — Claude Pepper (D-FL); $27 million in "humanitarian aid" to UNITA;

**HR 3598** — Bill McCollum (R-FL); economic sanctions on Angola;

**HR 3642** — Mark Siljander (R-MI); $27 million in military aid to UNITA;

**HR 3725** — Bob Dornan (R-CA); $27 million in "humanitarian" and $19.1 million in military aid to UNITA;

---

**The UNITA—South Africa Connection**

UNITA and South Africa maintain a mutually beneficial alliance. South Africa has acknowledged that it provides "material, humanitarian, and moral support" to UNITA. South Africa's invasions of Angola (ostensibly to attack SWAPO bases) are usually to assist UNITA.

UNITA fulfills one of South Africa's primary foreign policy objectives: the destabilization of Angola. UNITA has wrecked Angola's infrastructure by bombing its only oil refinery, by vandalizing its agricultural research station, and by sabotaging the trans-Angolan Benguela railroad. UNITA has also terrorized the Angolan population by kidnapping and murdering civilian technicians, burning and stealing crops on a scale which has produced acute famine, and mining the paths used by villagers to get to their fields.

This ongoing war ensures Pretoria's continued control over Namibia and delays economic reconstruction in Angola, the southern African state least dependent on South Africa, thus frustrating the attempts of the frontline states to alter economic relations in the region. At the same time, UNITA's activities encourage perception of the war as a civil war, obscuring its fundamental nature as a South African war of aggression. South African troops frequently pose as UNITA forces. In the end, distinguishing between UNITA and South African forces is largely an academic exercise for, as Jose Belmund, a captured soldier of the South African-created 32 Battalion soldier, admitted, "The 32nd and UNITA had different spheres of operation, but we had the same boss—South Africa."

The cosiness of Savimbi's relationship with Pretoria was vividly illustrated in 1984 when Savimbi was the only Black leader to attend the inauguration of P.W. Botha. Savimbi's ties to the apartheid regime have destroyed UNITA's credibility both within Angola and with other African nations.

---

**Cuban Troops Help Repel Apartheid Attacks**

The MPLA requested Cuban combat troops in October 1975, after it had already established control over much of Angola and after a South African invasion had penetrated quite deeply into Angola.

South Africa has invaded Angola on numerous occasions since independence, and the Cuban force has been maintained as a rear-guard for Angolan combat troops. Both Havana and Luanda have repeatedly stated that Cuban troops will withdraw once the threat of South African invasion of Angola is diminished through the creation of an independent Namibia.

---

**Historical Background**

Armed opposition to Portugal's colonial rule began in earnest in 1961. Three major nationalist movements subsequently emerged: the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) under the leadership of Holden Roberto; the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) led by Dr. Agostinho Neto; and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) headed by Jonas Savimbi. The FNLA and UNITA received aid from the US and China, while the MPLA received support from the Soviet Union. On January 15, 1975, all three liberation movements signed the "Alvor Accord", a peace agreement calling for Portuguese-supervised elections followed by independ­ence on November 11. The agreement was sabotaged the following month when the FNLA, with the moral and financial backing of the CIA, murdered unarmed SWAPO activists to the destabilization of Angola. UNITA has wrecked Angola's infrastructure by bombing its only oil refinery, by vandalizing its agricultural research station, and by sabotaging the trans-Angolan Benguela railroad. UNITA has also terrorized the Angolan population by kidnapping and murdering civilian technicians, burning and stealing crops on a scale which has produced acute famine, and mining the paths used by villagers to get to their fields.

This ongoing war ensures Pretoria's continued control over Namibia and delays economic reconstruction in Angola, the southern African state least dependent on South Africa, thus frustrating the attempts of the frontline states to alter economic relations in the region. At the same time, UNITA's activities encourage perception of the war as a civil war, obscuring its fundamental nature as a South African war of aggression. South African troops frequently pose as UNITA forces. In the end, distinguishing between UNITA and South African forces is largely an academic exercise for, as Jose Belmund, a captured soldier of the South African-created 32 Battalion soldier, admitted, "The 32nd and UNITA had different spheres of operation, but we had the same boss—South Africa."

The cosiness of Savimbi's relationship with Pretoria was vividly illustrated in 1984 when Savimbi was the only Black leader to attend the inauguration of P.W. Botha. Savimbi's ties to the apartheid regime have destroyed UNITA's credibility both within Angola and with other African nations.

---

**Update**

**WASHINGTON NOTES**

THE WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA

110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002

(202) 546-7961

**Congress and Administration Launch New Drive for UNITA Aid in Angola**

---

**NOTES**

**S. 1972** -- Sen. John East (R-NC); companion to HR 3609.

**S.Res. 280** -- Sen. Bob Dole (R-KS); U.S. aid for UNITA in "early 1986" unless the Angolan government opens talks with UNITA.

In addition, Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY) introduced HR 3690, designed to reinstate Clark Amendment-type restrictions on U.S. aid to Angolan rebel groups.

Since the opening of the Second Session on 21 January 1986, three new pro-UNITA initiatives have been introduced:

**S. 2021** -- introduced 27 January by Sen. Paul Trible (R-VA); companion legislation to HR 3472.

**S. 2049** -- introduced 5 February by Sen. William Proxmire (D-WI); to prohibit Export-Import Bank loans to Angola.

*S. Con. Res. 284- introduced 6 February by Rep. Claude Pepper (D-FL); to express the sense of the House in support of UNITA.

**Sen.** is the introduction of the Second Session on 21 January 1986, three new pro-UNITA initiatives have been introduced:

**S. 2021** -- introduced 27 January by Sen. Paul Trible (R-VA); companion legislation to HR 3472.

**S. 2049** -- introduced 5 February by Sen. William Proxmire (D-WI); to prohibit Export-Import Bank loans to Angola.

*S. Con. Res. 284- introduced 6 February by Rep. Claude Pepper (D-FL); to express the sense of the House in support of UNITA.

Savimbi and Friends Jockey for U.S. Aid

UNITA's leader, Jonas Savimbi, was in Washington recently to lobby for U.S. aid. Right-wing forces and administration officials alike rolled out the red carpet to treat Savimbi like visiting royalty rather than Pretoria's lackey. He was cordially received by President Reagan, Vice-President Bush, Secretary of State George Shultz, Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole, and other leading administration and congressional figures. In the wake of his visit, South Africa's allies on Capitol Hill are marshalling their supporters for a concerted drive to rush arms to UNITA within the next few weeks.

Last month, the administration formally notified the House and Senate Intelligence Committees that it had authorized roughly $13 million in covert assistance to UNITA, in spite of analyses from the CIA and the State Department which suggest that UNITA has no chance of defeating the Angolan government and little chance of forcing a coalition government. However, Reagan's covert aid package was sharply criticized by both committees, prompting the administration to seek some sign of support from Congress as "political cover" for the plan. Press reports have indicated that Senator Dole and Secretary Shultz have struck just such a deal. In a secret letter (dated 6 February) to Shultz, Dole offered to push a resolution of support through the Senate in return for White House and State Department assurances that U.S. covert aid will include anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons.

At a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing on Angola on 18 February, Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker confirmed that the administration's covert program is underway. In light of Crocker's remarks, Savimbi's backers on the committee now seem to have abandoned the Dole Resolution, apparently fearing that it would not win committee approval. Meanwhile, House Democratic leaders have voiced strong opposition to any form of UNITA aid, but they have yet to articulate a strategy for countering Rep. Pepper's dangerous new Resolution 284 and arresting the covert aid program.

Present Situation Demands Immediate Response

We must act quickly and diligently to show that AID TO UNITA IS AID TO SOUTH AFRICA and to block a U.S.-South African alliance in Angola. WCA urges you to:

**CONTACT** members of the Senate Foreign Relations committee and ask them to introduce legislation to stop U.S. aid to UNITA. Ask your Representative to co-sponsor HR 3690. Also, contact your Senators and Representative and demand that they vote against any pro-UNITA measures and that they publicly call upon Reagan to renounce his alliance with UNITA and apartheid. The congressional switchboard telephone number is: (202) 224-3121.

**VISIT** the home offices of your Representative and Senators and urge their opposition to U.S. funding for South Africa's war of destabilization in Angola. This action is particularly needed in States where a Senator sits on the Senate Foreign Relations or Intelligence Committees.

**PICKET** Federal Buildings to express publicly your opposition to UNITA aid. Using the slogan "CUT UNITA-AID, NOT MEDICAID!" let the administration know that we will not tolerate Gramm-Rudman cuts in education, health care, urban transportation and other social services while the government sends millions of your tax dollars to subsidize South Africa's war in Angola.

**URGE** your state, county and local officials to adopt resolutions in opposition to U.S. involvement in Angola at the expense of local services and to send a copy of their resolutions to the President and Congress. Also, encourage them to declare an "Anti-UNITA/Anti-Apartheid" day and plan activities to educate the public about the dangerous pro-UNITA legislation pending in the U.S. Congress.

**CALL** the White House Hotline (202/456-7639) to protest U.S. aid to UNITA. The administration must be made aware of grass-roots opposition to its racist policies.

14 February 1986