

THE WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA

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March 26, 1993

Christine Root
729 Sunset Ln
E Lansing, MI 48823

Dear Chris,

The situation in Angola is dire. Having lost the September 1992 elections, Jonas Savimbi and his UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) forces plunged the country back into full-scale war. As a result of UNITA's latest round of attacks, over 16,000 people have been killed, thousands have fled UNITA-held areas, and over 1.4 million people--one-tenth of the population--are facing starvation.

Recently the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution (see enclosed) on Angola which soundly condemns UNITA for its actions. This important resolution received only passing mention in the news media, but as in Somalia, this deadly legacy of the Cold War imperils millions of people. The policy climate has changed in Washington with the new administration. **But inertia and the press of other crises makes it likely that Washington's reaction will again be too little and too late.**

Here at the Washington Office on Africa (WOA) we have received numerous inquiries from groups in Africa and Europe asking:

Why hasn't the Clinton administration recognized the Republic of Angola and established full diplomatic relations?

Part of the answer is that many of the same people are still making policy. **They are reluctant to admit that past U.S. mistakes are partly responsible for the present crises, and they are still hesitant to mount serious pressures on former Cold War allies.**

(continued on next page)



Another reason is that many **current crises are indeed intractable**. Earlier U.S. backing for Savimbi has contributed to his staying power, and confronting him now minimally requires coordinated economic pressures. With many other better publicized issues to deal with, it should be no surprise that the Clinton administration is not anxious to take a high-profile lead in this case.

Even those within the administration who might take stronger positions on these issues require evidence that there is some concern in Congress and among American groups and individuals. That is why we at WOA have been working with other groups to stimulate expressions of congressional concern in particular.

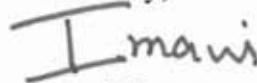
We have been encouraged recently by the strong stands and initiatives taken a number of Members of Congress, including Senate Africa Subcommittee Chairman Senator Paul Simon (D-IL) and House Africa Subcommittee Chairman Harry Johnston (D-FL), both of whom have urged quick U.S. recognition of Angola. In fact Mr. Johnston is the principle sponsor of House Concurrent Resolution #75, a sense of the Congress resolution which calls for the unconditional recognition of Angola.

The long-term effectiveness of such lobbying depends on expanding the number of Members of Congress and their staff who will take the time for African issues. There is much work to do.

We very much appreciate contributions you have made in the past to support our efforts. But as you are aware, WOA is still a small organization with demands that far exceed the resources we have available. And the urgency of work on African issues will not diminish any time soon.

That is why I am asking you to consider if you can consider another contribution at this time. We thank you, in advance, for your generous support.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Imani". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly stylized font.

Imani Countess
Executive Director

P.S. I've also enclosed an urgent action on Angola. Please take a moment to send a brief handwritten note to your congressional Representative stating your support for House Concurrent Resolution #75, the Johnston Resolution. Thank you.

Enclosures: Text of Security Council resolution
 Washington Office on Africa *Urgent Action*

The following is an excerpt from Press Release SC/5567 of 12 March 1993 containing text of resolution 811 of the Security Council adopted unanimously.

"The Security Council,

"Reaffirming its resolutions 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991, 747 (1992) of 24 March 1992, 785 (1992) of 30 October 1992, 793 (1992) of 30 November 1992 and 804 (1993) of 29 January 1993,

"Gravely disturbed by the recent outbreak of heavy fighting in many parts of Angola, the large number of casualties and massive losses of human lives which have ensued and the further deterioration of the already dangerous political and military situation, bringing the country to the verge of the resumption of civil war,

"Gravely concerned at the persistent violation by UNITA of the major provisions of the 'Acordos de Paz para Angola',

"Further concerned at reports that military support and equipment continue to flow in contravention of the 'Acordos de Paz',

"Noting with particular concern that a humanitarian tragedy of grave proportions is developing in Angola and the need, therefore, for increased international humanitarian assistance,

"Deeply regretting that the second meeting between the delegations of the Government of Angola and UNITA, which had been scheduled to be held on 26 February 1993 in Addis Ababa under the auspices of the United Nations, did not take place because of the failure by UNITA to fulfil its commitment to send a delegation to Addis Ababa,

"Noting with satisfaction the readiness displayed by the Government of Angola to participate in the Addis Ababa meeting,

"Reaffirming its commitment to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

"Welcoming and supporting the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative aimed at resolving the present crisis through negotiations,

"1. Strongly condemns the persistent violations by UNITA of the major provisions of the 'Acordos de Paz', in particular the continued rejection by UNITA of the results of the elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992 which the Special Representative of the Secretary-General determined as generally free and fair, its failure to take part in the political institutions established on the basis of those elections, its failure to engage in meaningful negotiations with the Government of Angola, its withdrawal from the new Angolan armed forces, its seizure by force of provincial capitals and municipalities and the resumption of hostilities;

"2. Demands that UNITA accept unreservedly the results of the democratic elections of 1992 and abide fully by the 'Acordos de Paz' and further demands that the two parties, particularly UNITA, produce early evidence, not later than 30 March 1993 that real progress has been made towards the implementation of the 'Acordos de Paz';

"3. Strongly demands an immediate cease-fire throughout the country and further demands the resumption without delay and without preconditions of a continued and meaningful dialogue under United Nations auspices so that a clear time-table for the completion of the implementation of the 'Acordos de Paz' may be established;

"4. Reaffirms that it will hold responsible any party which refuses to take part in such a dialogue, thereby jeopardizing the entire process, and will consider all appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations to advance the implementation of the 'Acordos de Paz';

"5. Strongly condemns verbal and physical attacks against the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and UNAVEM II personnel in Angola, and demands that these attacks cease forthwith and that the Government of Angola and UNITA take all necessary measures to ensure their safety and security;

"6. Condemns the kidnapping of a UNAVEM II military observer in Cabinda on 23 February 1993 and demands that he be released unharmed and unconditionally and without further delay;

"7. Supports fully the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in their continuing efforts to restore the peace process and to carry out the mandate of UNAVEM II under extremely difficult conditions;

"8. Invites the Secretary-General to seek to organize a meeting between the Government of Angola and UNITA at the highest possible level with a view to securing the full implementation of the 'Acordos de Paz', this meeting to take place in good time before 30 April 1993 and to consider also the future role of the United Nations in Angola, and encourages the parties to respond positively;

"9. Requests the Secretary-General, pending the submission of the report referred to in paragraph 16 of resolution 804 (1993), to present as soon as possible a progress report on the efforts for the resumption of the talks between the two parties in Angola at all appropriate levels;

"10. Calls on all Member States, the United Nations agencies and the non-governmental organizations to accord or increase the humanitarian relief assistance to Angola and encourages the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, with the resources at her disposal, to coordinate the provision of humanitarian assistance to the civilian population in need;

"11. Strongly appeals to both parties strictly to abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law, including unimpeded access for humanitarian assistance to civilian population in need;

"12. Appeals once again to all Member States to render economic, material and technical assistance to the Government of Angola for the reconstruction and development of the country;

"13. Looks forward to the report of the Secretary-General referred to in paragraph 16 of resolution 804 (1993) on the situation in Angola together with his recommendations for the further role of the United Nations in the peace process;

"14. Decides to remain seized of the matter."

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Wall Street Journal

Monday, March 22, 1993

U.S. Policy Toward Angola Languishes As Appointee Waits for Confirmation

WASHINGTON INSIGHT

By ROBERT S. GREENBERGER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — U.S. policy toward Angola offers a textbook example of what happens when a new administration fails to put its own appointees in place quickly: It can't adapt to changing circumstances.

President Clinton announced Jan. 24 that he would nominate George Moose, a foreign service officer, to be assistant secretary of state for African affairs. But because of paperwork paralysis, Mr. Moose's name still hasn't been forwarded to the Senate for confirmation. So U.S. policy is being managed by Herman Cohen, who held the job during the Bush administration.

The changeover has been delayed so long that the Africa bureau already has held Mr. Cohen's going-away party. "We had picked the date, naively thinking the confirmation process would be over," says an official.

No one is claiming that Mr. Cohen and his team have hijacked U.S. policy. But because they are holdover officials, there is a natural inclination toward inertia. It's a tendency Secretary of State Warren Christopher and other top officials can't overcome because they are preoccupied with crises in Russia and Bosnia.

Meanwhile, renewed civil war in Angola claims thousands of lives, and congressional Democrats are complaining. "I don't think [the new administration] is devoting the attention to this they should," says Rep. Harry Johnston of Florida, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa. Mr. Johnston and his Senate counterpart, Paul Simon of Illinois, are expected this week to offer a congressional resolution calling for policy changes.

Commercial Opportunities

Why should the U.S. care about far-away Angola? One reason is that Angola is groping toward democracy, and the Clinton administration says supporting democracy is one of its major foreign policy goals. Angola, which has shucked its Marxist past, also offers the U.S. considerable commercial opportunities. It has an estimated 2.1 billion barrels of proven oil reserves, large diamond deposits and vast timber resources.

To exploit the potential democratic opening in Angola, the U.S. would have to take a fresh look at its ties to Jonas Savimbi, whose Angolan rebel group, Unita, fought Angola's former, Marxist government. The Bush and Reagan administrations made Angola a battleground of the Cold War by lavishing aid and arms on Mr. Savimbi, but he now has become the biggest impediment to democracy there.

Last September, Mr. Savimbi narrowly lost the first round of an election to his onetime Marxist foe, Jose Eduardo dos Santos. The United Nations and U.S. observers deemed the voting to be free and fair. Yet Mr. Savimbi refuses to participate in a runoff election and has been largely responsible for the renewed violence. Recently, Mr. Savimbi threatened Angolan oil facilities, some of which are operated by U.S. companies.

Diplomatic Recognition

The focus of the current policy debate is whether to extend diplomatic recognition to Angola. Last year, the U.S. promised such a move once Angola held a fair election. Now, ironically, the administration is holding back on that commitment because Mr. Savimbi, Washington's erstwhile ally, has disrupted the election process. Mr. Cohen and his colleague claim there isn't yet a government to recognize. U.S. officials also claim that holding off on recognition allows them to maintain leverage with Mr. Savimbi.

Rep. Johnston disagrees. "The best way to get Savimbi's attention is to recognize the government of Angola," he says. He says he isn't certain what the Clinton administration's view is because Mr. Moose declines to discuss policy issues until after he is confirmed.

The congressional resolution that Mr. Johnston is co-sponsoring is expected to recommend that the U.S. consider recognizing Angola, appoint a special U.S. envoy to work with the U.N. and consider imposing sanctions on any party that doesn't comply with the earlier agreement to hold elections.

Angolan officials say there is a new government to recognize; they note that a new legislature was formed as part of last year's election process. Alfredo Salvaterra, an Angolan observer at the Organization of American States in Washington, says his government has written to President Clinton, Mr. Christopher and other top officials to make their case. "They say the policy is under review and they are considering our point of view," he says.

But meanwhile, Mr. Salvaterra suspects that the U.S. still sides with Mr. Savimbi. "They're trying to protect Unita," he says. "It's the same policy they used during the Cold War. But the Cold War is over."



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Washington Post

Tuesday, March 23, 1993

Confused on Angola

THE NEW American administration is caught in some of the same hesitation on Angola that marked the old. In elections given full marks by international observers, the ruling MPLA won the parliament; Jose Eduardo dos Santos fell just short of the 50 percent required to be seated as president. Challenger Jonas Savimbi responded by boycotting a presidential second round and renewing the war. Mr. dos Santos turned to Washington for recognition. After all, he had sacked the Cubans, cut off the Kremlin, abandoned Marxism, turned West, set up a multiparty system and conducted respectable elections. But the Bush administration declined to recognize him, and the Clinton administration still has the question "under review."

The trouble is not conspiracy but confusion. Angola, which spent a decade and a half being ground up in the Cold War, is again a battlefield. The right-thinking idea of arranging a package settlement including recognition of the MPLA regime tugs at diplomats in Washington. Holding off on recognition, it is suggested, keeps a useful line open to Mr. Savimbi.

Meanwhile, unfortunately, Mr. Savimbi happens to be doing well in the war. The government, playing on his past ties to South Africa and

the CIA, has tried to paint his progress as the product of foreign connections. In fact, Western intelligence indicates that most of his weapons were stockpiled or are captured. It is the government with its oil money that buys arms abroad. Three white South Africans who were located in a hospital in Namibia turned out to be the hired gunmen not of Mr. Savimbi but of an oil company.

What's most important, however, is that Mr. dos Santos in the latest phase played fair. An American administration that professes to support new democracies looks awfully odd (and lonely) withholding recognition. No one charges that the United States, or South Africa, is still secretly channeling aid to Jonas Savimbi. But Washington is slow to get the message it sends by standing off. It tempts Mr. Savimbi to think he can get away with challenging democratic process. It encourages ethnic strains: Losers in Third World elections invariably play the ethnic or tribal card. Worse, it could put the idea of ignoring a fair but disappointing electoral result in the heads of others headed for the polls in the new southern Africa—Mozambique for one, South Africa for another. Policy should be to recognize Mr. dos Santos, and get Mr. Savimbi back to the table.

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URGENT ACTION

Congressman Harry Johnston (D-FL), chair of the House Subcommittee on Africa, with Representatives Payne (D-NJ), Gejdensen (D-CT), Edwards (D-CA) and McKinney (D-GA) introduced a sense of the Congress resolution recommending that the Clinton administration:

- accord diplomatic recognition of the Government of Angola.
- appoint a Special Envoy to Angola to underscore United States interest in a political settlement and to assist both sides in the negotiations of a cease-fire.
- take immediate steps in the international community, including sanctions or other necessary actions, to pressure any nation or party to the conflict determined to obstruct peace in Angola.
- consider dispatching a team to assess the humanitarian crisis and make recommendations for a U.S. response to the crisis.

Please call or write your Member of Congress today, urge them to become a co-sponsor. Call: (202) 225-3121.

Write:

Your Member's name here
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515