



Congress to Act Soon on Angola: Urgent Lobbying Needed

May 5, 1989

Despite the U.S.-mediated agreement of December 1988 among Angola, South Africa, and Cuba supposedly aimed at reducing hostilities in Angola and Namibia, debate is already underway in Washington, D.C. about increasing U.S. covert military aid to UNITA. The Congress is likely to take action on this issue on two occasions during the next several weeks. Very little lobbying has occurred in opposition to this aid, and immediate work is needed.

Bush Administration Policy toward UNITA

Even before President Bush took office, one of his first foreign policy commitments was a promise to continue "all appropriate and effective assistance to UNITA," contained in a personal letter to UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi dated January 6. The Administration has made a request to Congress for continued CIA support to UNITA, reportedly in excess of the \$30 million level of last year. The Bush Administration has also stated that it will not recognize the MPLA-led Angolan government, continuing the Reagan Administration policy.

Upcoming Congressional Actions

A vote in the Congress on appropriating an additional \$100 million for the U.S. contribution to the U.N. peacekeeping forces in Namibia is being used by allies of UNITA as an opportunity to boost Congressional support for their cause. Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-Arizona), chair of the pro-UNITA Congressional Angola Task Force, has drafted a resolution which would release U.S. funds for the peacekeeping force only upon verification of Cuban withdrawal from Angola according to the schedule contained in the December Angolan/Cuban agreement. Even more damaging is language in his resolution stating the support of the Congress for continued aid to UNITA, and even increased aid to UNITA and economic sanctions against the Angolan government if the government initiates a military offensive against UNITA. The resolution also calls for a "no" vote by the U.S. on Angolan membership in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and opposes recognition of or foreign assistance to Angola.

The House of Representatives has already adopted language terminating U.S. payments for U.N. forces in Namibia if the Cuban troops are not withdrawn as stipulated. This language, adopted as an amendment to the State Department Authorization Act (HR 1487) on April 12, was the result of considerable negotiation. It generally parallels the provisions of the tripartite agreement, so Congressional observers consider it to be not too harmful. But Senate adoption of the DeConcini resolution stating explicit support for UNITA would be more damaging. This language might be amended to the U.N. peacekeeping appropriation or be offered as a separate non-binding resolution at about the same time.

The Congress is also beginning to consider authorization of new aid to UNITA for fiscal year 1989 already reportedly requested by the Administration. Administration spokespeople have said that the level of U.S. aid to UNITA is being reviewed in light of the negotiated ending of South African military assistance. UNITA has requested \$80 million from the U.S., supposedly to compensate for the loss of South African military aid. But this rationale is disingenuous. Savimbi himself admits that, before the tripartite agreement went into effect, South Africa gave UNITA enough arms, military equipment, and spare parts to last two years, until the scheduled completion of the Cuban troop withdrawal.

The Conservative Caucus and other U.S. conservative allies of UNITA are mounting a lobbying campaign addressed to the Congress, along with a publicity campaign aimed at the media, to ensure continued aid to UNITA as well as to block a SWAPO victory in Namibia. Thus far, the pro-UNITA forces both inside and outside the Congress have been much more active than those who oppose U.S. aid to UNITA.

Lobbying Focus in the Congress

Lobbying against aid to UNITA needs to focus on members of the Senate and House Intelligence Committees who will recommend -- probably in mid-May -- whether or not to accept the Administration's covert aid request. On the Senate Committee, key members on this issue include Sam Nunn (D-GA), Bill Bradley (D-NJ), ranking minority member William Cohen (R-ME) Arlen Specter (R-PA), and John Danforth (R-MO). On the House Committee, key members are Tony Beilenson (D-CA, chair), Dan Glickman (D-KAS), and Matthew McHugh (D-NY), who last year supported "modest assistance to UNITA as long as serious negotiations are underway," despite his previous leadership to reinstate a "Clark Amendment" prohibiting covert aid.

Lobbying of other members of the Senate also is needed, because it is here that support for UNITA has been strongest and leadership against aid to UNITA has been lacking. Several Senate liberals need to be lobbied to take a forthright stance against aid to UNITA and to take leadership on this issue -- for example, Christopher Dodd (D-CT) and Bill Bradley (D-NJ). Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell of Maine should be another focus; he voted for repeal of the Clark Amendment in 1985 and for a trade boycott of Angola in 1987. Several newly-elected Senators who have not previously held national policy-making positions should be a priority for lobbying, since they have not yet committed themselves on UNITA, as far as we know. Among these are Joseph Lieberman (D-CT), Charles Robb (D-VA), and Herbert Kohl (D-WI).

A final lobbying priority is elected representatives from Florida, where the influence of the Cuban exile community has led otherwise liberal politicians to take a lead in supporting UNITA. Two members of the House Florida delegation are especially important: Dante Fascell, chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and Claude Pepper, chair of the influential Rules Committee.

For more information, contact Christine Root, ACAS Political Action Co-Chair, 729 Sunset Lane, East Lansing, Michigan 48823 (517) 332-0333, or the Washington Office on Africa (202) 546-7961.



ASSOCIATION OF CONCERNED AFRICA SCHOLARS

The Case against Aid to UNITA

There is a strong case to be made for cutting off CIA aid to UNITA. Here are some points that can be emphasized in lobbying members of Congress.

There is a growing record of atrocities committed by the UNITA leadership within its own ranks. New reports have recently surfaced of torture and murder of dissidents and those threatening Savimbi's leadership. In March 1989 charges were made by former UNITA members now in Europe that Pedro "Tito" Chingunji, UNITA's Washington-based foreign secretary until last year, had been tortured and detained, and that seven other members of his family have already been murdered over the years. Several other one-time UNITA officials have been murdered, including former UNITA foreign secretary Jorge Sangumba, former chief of staff Waldemar Pires Chindondo, and Antonio Vakulukuta, leader of the Kwanyama ethnic group within UNITA. UNITA has burned to death at least 12 people it has accused of witchcraft, according to reports made to Amnesty International. Even Fred Bridgland, a key Western friend of Savimbi who wrote a laudatory biography of Savimbi and numerous pro-UNITA articles, told the British television show "The World This Week" in March, "having heard the allegations of (UNITA dissidents), and having followed it up from my own independent sources, I am pretty certain in my own mind that what they are saying is at least 80 to 90% correct." Savimbi's image as a responsible leader has been severely tarnished by these reports.

UNITA has a history of indiscriminate attacks on the civilian Angolan population, with which the U.S. is identified by its CIA assistance. UNITA has planted large numbers of landmines in roads and fields, giving Angola the highest proportion of limbless people of any country in the world, according to the International Committee of the Red Cross. The joint South African/UNITA offensive has so disrupted the lives and livelihood of the people that Angola (along with Mozambique) has the highest child death rate in the world, according to UNICEF.

Conservative allies of UNITA are organizing a campaign accusing the Angolan government and Cuba of using chemical weapons against UNITA, but evidence of the charge is very weak. Belgian toxicologist A. Heyndrickx, who is a long-time supporter of UNITA, has submitted to the United Nations medical reports of eight UNITA victims of chemical weapons. Reports also claim that MPLA and Cuban prisoners were carrying gas masks, but this hardly proves that chemical weapons are being used, or by which side. The State Department has no solid evidence of Angolan use of chemical weapons. Alleging chemical warfare by Angola appears to be a recently orchestrated campaign; the last three years' official UNITA communiquees make no mention of it, according to *Southscan*. The U.S. Conservative Caucus and

Senator Jesse Helms are trying to give high visibility to this charge of alleged MPLA atrocities, particularly to counter the recent charges of UNITA's murder and torture of dissidents.

The long-standing argument that UNITA is backed by South Africa, with whom the U.S. should not be allied in Southern Africa, remains true. Despite the negotiated end to South African military aid for UNITA, UNITA still regards South Africa as an ally. Savimbi told the *Washington Post* that UNITA retains "friendly" relations with South Africa, which continues to provide "humanitarian assistance" and transit facilities to foreign visitors.

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has a long history of political opportunism which makes him ill-fit for national leadership. During the anti-colonial struggle against the Portuguese, UNITA collaborated with the Portuguese secret police against the MPLA. Documented evidence of this collaboration -- which clearly challenges the nationalist credentials for which Savimbi is lauded by his U.S. allies -- has long been available in Portuguese, and has now been made available in English translation in *Operation Timber: Pages from the Savimbi Dossier*, edited by William Minter in 1988. Savimbi's chameleon-like profession of loyalty to Maoism, black nationalism, and capitalism during the 1970s, depending on the audience from which he was seeking support at the time, helps to explain his current willingness to ally himself with the apartheid government of South Africa.

The U.S. has no right to intervene in the internal affairs of a sovereign state, particularly given Angola's need to defend itself during many years against the invading and occupying army of South Africa. Every other country in the world has recognized the Angolan government, with the exception of South Africa. Given the Angolan government's willingness to negotiate with the U.S. and South Africa concerning foreign troops in Angola and to assist in the hoped-for resolution of the Namibian conflict, the U.S. should cease trying to undermine that government and should instead grant it diplomatic recognition.

For more information, contact Christine Root, ACAS Political Action Co-chair, 729 Sunset Lane, East Lansing, Michigan 48823 (517) 332-0333, or the Washington Office on Africa (202) 546-7961.

May, 1989

U.S. Senate Voting Record on Angola and Southern Africa

	Comm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		Comm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ALABAMA																					
Heflin (D-'90)		-							+	-											
Shelby (D)																					
ALASKA																					
Murkowski (R)	Intel/FRC	-	-	-	+																
Stevens (R-'90)	Appro-St	-			+				+												
ARIZONA																					
DeConcini (D)	Intel	-	-	-	-	-	-	+													
McCain (R)		(-)						(+)													
ARKANSAS																					
Bumpers (D)	Approp-St	+	-		+			+													
Pryor (D-'90)		+			+			+	+												
CALIFORNIA																					
Cranston (D)	Intel/FRC	+			+			+	+	0											
Wilson (R)		-			-			+													
COLORADO																					
Armstrong (R-'90)		-			-			-													
Wirth (D)		(+)			+			(+)													
CONNECTICUT																					
Dodd (D)	FRC	+			+			+	+	+											
Lieberman (D-F)																					
DELAWARE																					
Biden (D-'90)	FRC	+			+			+	0	0											
Roth (R)		-			+			+													
FLORIDA																					
Mack (R-F)	FRC	(-)						(-)													
Graham (D)	Appro-St		-	-	-	-															
GEORGIA																					
Fowler (D)		(-)			+			(+)													
Nunn (D-'90)	Intel	-			+			+													
HAWAII																					
Inouye (D)	Appro-St	+	-		+			+	+	+											
Matsunaga (D)		+			+			+	+	-											
IDAHO																					
McClure (R-'90)		-			-	-	-	-	-	-											
Symms (R)		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-											
ILLINOIS																					
Dixon (D)		-			-			+	+	-											
Simon (D-'90)	FRC	+			+			+	+	+											
INDIANA																					
Coyne (R)								+	+	+											
Lugar (R)	FRC	-			+			+	+	+											
IOWA																					
Grassley (R)		-	-	-	-	-		+													
Harkin (D-'90)		+			+			+													
KANSAS																					
Dole (R)		-			-	-		+													
Kassebaum (R-'90)	FRC	-			+			+	0	0											
KENTUCKY																					
Ford (D)		-	-		-			+													
McConnell (R-'90)	FRC	-			-			+													
LOUISIANA																					
Breaux (D)		(-)			+			(0)													
Johnston (D-'90)		-			+			+	+	-											
MAINE																					
Mitchell (D)	Maj.Leader	-			-			+													
Cohen (R-'90)	Intel	-			+			+													
MARYLAND																					
Mikulski (D)		(+)																	(+)	+	-
Sarbanes (D)	FRC	+																	+	+	-
MASSACHUSETTS																					
Kennedy (D)		+			+														+	0	0
Kerry (D-'90)	FRC	+			+														+	an	an
MICHIGAN																					
Levin (D-'90)		+			+														+	+	+
Riegle (D)		+			+														+	+	-
MINNESOTA																					
Boschwitz (R-'90)	FRC	-																	+	-	-
Durenberger (R)		-	-																+	-	-
MISSISSIPPI																					
Lott (R-F)		(-)																	(-)		
Cochran (R-'90)		-																	+	-	-
MISSOURI																					
Bond (R)																			+	-	-
Danforth (R)	Intel	0																	+	+	+
MONTANA																					
Baucus (D-'90)		+																	+	+	-
Burns (R-F)																					
NEBRASKA																					
Exon (D-'90)		-																	+	+	-
Kerrey (D-F)																					
NEVADA																					
Reid (D)		(+)																	(+)	-	-
Bryan (D-F)																					
NEW HAMPSHIRE																					
Humphrey (R-'90)	FRC	-																			
Rudman (R)	Appro-St	-	-																		0
NEW JERSEY																					
Bradley (D-'90)	Intel	+			+														+	+	+
Lautenberg (D)	Appro-St	+			+														+	+	+
NEW MEXICO																					
Bingaman (D)		+	-		+														+	-	-
Domenici (R-'90)		-																	+	0	0
NEW YORK																					
D'Amato (R)	Intel	-																	+	+	-
Moynihan (D)	FRC	+																	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA																					
Helms (R-'90)	FRC	-	-	-	-																
Sanford (D)	FRC																			+	-
NORTH DAKOTA																					
Burdick (D)		+																	+	-	-
Conrad (D)																			+	-	-
OHIO																					
Glenn (D)	Intel	+																	+	+	-
Metzenbaum (D)	Intel	+																	+	+	-
OKLAHOMA																					
Boren (D-'90)	Intel	-																	+	-	-
Nickles (R)		-	-																+	-	-
OREGON																					
Hatfield (R-'90)	Appro-St	+	-		+														+	-	-
Packwood (R)		0			+														+	-	-
PENNSYLVANIA																					
Heinz (R)		-																	+	-	-
Specter (R)	Intel	+																	+	-	-

ISSUES INCLUDED IN VOTING RECORD

	Comm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
RHODE ISLAND										
Chafee (R)		-			+			+	+	-
Pell (D-'90)	FRC	+			+			+	+	-
SOUTH CAROLINA										
Hollings (D) Intel/Appro		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Thurmond (R-'90)		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
SOUTH DAKOTA										
Daschle (D)		(+)			+			(+)	-	-
Pressler (R)	FRC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TENNESSEE										
Gore (D-'90)		+	-		an			+	0	0
Sasser (D)	Appro-St	-			-			+	+	-
TEXAS										
Bentsen (D)		-			-			+	-	-
Gramm (R-'90)		-			-			-	-	-
UTAH										
Garn (R)		-			+			+	-	-
Hatch (R)	Intel	-			-			+	-	-
VERMONT										
Leahy (D)		+			+			+	-	-
Jeffords (R-F)		(+)						(+)		
VIRGINIA										
Robb (D-F)	FRC									
Warner (R-'90)	Intel	-			+			+	-	-
WASHINGTON										
Adams (D)	Appro-St				+				0	-
Gorton (R-F)		-						+		
WEST VIRGINIA										
Byrd (D)	Appro-St	-			-			+	+	-
Rockefeller (D-'90)		+			+			+	+	-
WISCONSIN										
Kasten (R)	Appro-St	-	-	-	-	-		+	-	-
Kohl (D-F)										
WYOMING										
Simpson (R-'90)		-			+	-		+	-	-
Wallop (R)		-			-			-	-	-

KEY

- + For ACAS position (see individual issue explanations)
- Against ACAS position (see individual issue explanations)
- 0 Not present to vote
- an Position announced; not present on floor to vote
- (+) or (-) Vote on identical bill in House of Representatives
- Underlined Member of Congressional Angola Task Force
- D Democrat
- R Republican
- '90 Term ends in 1990
- F Freshman (elected 1988)
- Com. Selected Committee assignments
- Intel Select Committee on Intelligence
- FRC Foreign Relations Committee
- Approp-St Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary

ANGOLA

1. Repeal of Clark Amendment that banned covert aid to UNITA. June 11, 1985. Adopted by vote of 63-34. "Yes" vote is "-".
(Parallel vote in House of Representatives on July 10, 1985. Adopted 236-185. "Yes" vote is "-".)
2. Cosponsor of S. Res. 174 introduced by Senator DeConcini, which requested the President to "block U.S. business transactions which conflict with U.S. security interests in Angola" and requested the Secretary of State to submit to Congress a report on Angola's human rights record and voting record at the United Nations. May 21, 1987. Text of the resolution was amended to the Supplemental Appropriations Bill on May 21, 1987 by vote of 94-0. Co-sponsorship (by 25 Senators) is "-".
3. Cosponsor of DeConcini Amendment to trade bill (S.1420) prohibiting trade with Angola. July 8, 1987. Cosponsorship (by 14 Senators) is "-".
4. DeConcini Amendment to trade bill prohibiting trade with Angola. July 9, 1987. Inouye motion to table (i.e. kill) this amendment was agreed to by vote of 61-38. "Yes" vote on motion is "+".
5. Cosponsor of DeConcini resolution S. Res. 476, which expressed the sense of the Senate that the U.S. should not decrease its aid to UNITA as long as Angola receives Soviet or Cuban military assistance and until UNITA and the MPLA have agreed to form a government of national reconciliation and have agreed to set a date for holding free and fair elections. September 20, 1988. Cosponsorship (by 14 Senators) is "-".
6. Letter to President Reagan co-ordinated by Senator DeConcini which contained language very similar to S. Res. 476 (item #5, above) and also called on the U.S. to include UNITA in the Angola/ Cuba/ South Africa negotiations. October 14, 1988. Signers (51 Senators) is "-".

SOUTH AFRICA

7. Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 which mandated limited sanctions against South Africa. August 15, 1986. Adopted 84-14. "Yes" vote is "+".
(Parallel vote in House of Representatives, on accepting the Senate version of the Anti-Apartheid Act, September 12, 1986. Adopted 308-77. "Yes" vote is "+".)

OTHER SOUTHERN AFRICA

8. Pressler Amendment to 1987 Supplemental Appropriations bill (HR 1827) to deny aid to countries in Southern Africa that have not denounced "necklacing" in South Africa. Inouye motion to table (i.e., kill) amendment, May 21, 1987, was rejected by vote of 35-58. "Yes" vote is "+".
9. Pressler Amendment on necklacing (see #8). Vote on amendment itself, May 21, 1987. Adopted 77-15. "Yes" vote is "-".

