

THE WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA

110 MARYLAND AVENUE, N.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002
PHONE (202) 546-7961
FAX (202) 546-1545

February 10, 1993

Dear Friend,

The situation in Angola is dire. Having lost the September 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 currently face starvation. For almost two weeks now, UNITA has cut off the water supply to Luanda, the capital.

On 31 January 1993, the United Nations extended its mandate in Angola until April. However, the UN is considering a scale-down of its already modest force to below 100, which would leave Angolans at the mercy of UNITA forces currently poised to take military control over the country. UNITA has already seized 75 percent of the country, including much of the northern oil and diamond rich areas which has placed a stranglehold on the Angolan economy.

As indicated in the enclosed articles, UNITA's current military offensive is being heavily assisted by South Africans and Zairians as well as white mercenaries. The Frontline States called an emergency meeting in December to protest South African destabilization tactics, and Namibian authorities recently seized three South African planes attempting to ferry supplies to UNITA from the northern Namibian town of Rundu.

The Clinton administration has failed to recognize and shore up the newly-elected multiparty government. During his confirmation hearings, the new Secretary of State Warren Christopher agreed to take a cautious "wait and see" attitude towards diplomatic recognition of the elected government.

In an effort to respond to the current crisis in Angola, we urge you to write the new Secretary of State Warren Christopher requesting the Clinton administration to:

* immediately recognize the recently elected Angolan government and establish full diplomatic relations,

(continued on next page)

February 10, 1993

Page two

- * isolate Savimbi and UNITA until there is a definitive renunciation of violence and a commitment to peaceful political competition,
- * support funding for a continued and expanded United Nations presence in Angola, adequate to facilitate full implementation of the peace process and runoff elections,
- * investigate South African and Zairian intervention, and
- * appropriate aid to the Angolan government for economic reconstruction.

You should address your letter to:

Warren Christopher
Secretary of State
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

and please send WOA a blind copy of your letter.

We also suggest that you call the Department of State comment line to register your recommendations. The phone number is: (202) 647-6575.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Imani Countess". The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial "I" and "C".

Imani Countess
Executive Director

Enclosures: "The Angolan Imperative", Guardian: 21 January 1993
"Angolan Appeals to U.S.", Washington Post: 26 January 1993
"Rebels Sow Path of Terror and Despair Across Angola", Guardian:
2 February 1993
"Time, at Last, to Recognize Angola", Washington Post: 10 February 1993

As war returns to the southern African state,
Victoria Brittain puts the case for UN action

The Guardian

21 January 1993

The Angolan imperative

IN THE last week, under the impotent gaze of a UN monitoring force, Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement, aided by white mercenaries and elements of the South African and Zairean armies, has seized the keys to Angola's economy — diamonds and oil — and taken the strategic airport of Cuito Cuanavale.

For Angolans it is a sickening repeat of the history which launched the country into a war which has devastated every province, brought hundreds of thousands of deaths, more amputees and mass flights of a destitute population. For President Clinton it is yet another foreign policy crisis looming under a deadline next week for the UN to admit defeat and quit, or renew its now hopeless mandate.

Nearly 20 years ago thousands of South African and Zairean soldiers, aided by a group of British and American mercenaries, fought their way across Angola on behalf of two CIA-backed movements, Unita and FNLA, in an attempt to prevent the MPLA taking power at independence from Portugal.

Today Unita is strong enough to do most of its own fighting thanks to two decades of US, Israeli, Moroccan and South African military training and equipment. But some of the movement's old patrons in South Africa are providing logistical support and supplies with trucks coming in from Namibia's Caprivi Strip, and dozens of flights have been made illegally into Unita's control areas since Savimbi's decision to reject the September election.

Confusion surrounds the Zaireans now fighting, as the Zaire army is itself split in the country's power-struggle between Savimbi's old ally President Mobutu Sese Seko and the emerging new institutions of democracy, and it is unclear whose payroll supports those now fighting in Angola.

Meanwhile the dying days of the Bush administration have provided Unita with a shameful level of moral support, including the withholding of diplomatic recognition from the elected multi-party government in Luanda. This US policy, which is largely responsible for the wholesale destruction wreaked by Unita in recent weeks, has its roots in George Bush's job as director of the CIA in 1976 when the US covert action against Angola was at a crucial stage.

An undeclared war began in Angola within days of the UN's declaration that the September election, won by the MPLA, was free and fair. Unita's generals pulled out of the new national army and went on the radio threatening to reduce the country to rubble and to turn it into another Somalia. Immediately thereafter the creeping takeover of towns and municipalities began.

In parallel came the assassination of MPLA officials ranging from well-known white intellectuals such as Fernando Marcelino and David Bernar-

dino, to policemen, local administrators and, this week, army officers gunned down in two separate incidents on the streets of the capital.

A Unita military force of tens of thousands has been unleashed. Far from having been demobilised under the watchful eye of the UN over the months ahead of the election, Unita retained its full capacity and, as its own most senior military dissidents warned publicly last February when they broke with Savimbi, in addition trained a 20,000-man secret army in Zaire.

The UN was blind to these military preparations which allowed the current catastrophe, and Western ambassadors in Luanda denied every report of the army in waiting over the border, though it is inconceivable that US satellite monitoring did not detect them.

In the last few weeks Unita has seized most of Angola's northern diamond mining areas, and yesterday, in a serious psychological blow to the government, took the oil town of Soyo, although the government units regrouped and fighting is still going on.

Oil accounts for 90 per cent of Angola's revenue, with one third of it coming from Soyo. Dozens of foreigners linked to three big oil companies — Texaco Elf and Fina — were evacuated to boats and offshore oil platforms in the last few days and 17 were captured by Unita. The economic and political damage is immense.

MEANWHILE a 10,000-man Unita army is on the outskirts of the Central Highlands town of Huambo where the government last week succeeded in ousting Savimbi from his headquarters known as The White House. Unita has brought up to Huambo units from the coastal towns of Benguela and Lobito where there was house-to-house fighting before Unita's attacks were repulsed, and is blasting the city with tanks and heavy artillery. Even the city's hospital has been abandoned and the population has fled.

Faced with a war on this scale, which the Secretary General's special representative, Margaret Anstee, failed to predict and is now too discredited to diffuse, the UN is in a very awkward position. Miss Anstee has said that for the UN monitoring mission mandate to be renewed at the end of the month the two sides must have begun peace talks. This now seems impossible as the fighting escalates.

But a pull-out by the UN will mark Boutros Boutros Ghali with a stamp of unforgettable failure and will have serious repercussions for the UN role in South Africa's transformation.

The case for a major UN peace-keeping mission for Angola has not been made by any of the Western powers, though given the direct responsibility they bear, with the UN, for the daily death and horror in Angola today, it should be.

Angolan Appeals To U.S.

President Requests Full Diplomatic Ties

By Paul Taylor
Washington Post Foreign Service

PRETORIA, South Africa, Jan. 25—Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has called on the United States to normalize relations with his war-torn country and asked that the United Nations brand the UNITA rebel movement a terrorist organization.

In a letter last week intended for President Bill Clinton, dos Santos said he believed the failure of the Bush administration to grant full diplomatic recognition to his government following Angola's national election last September may have emboldened the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) to restart the civil war.

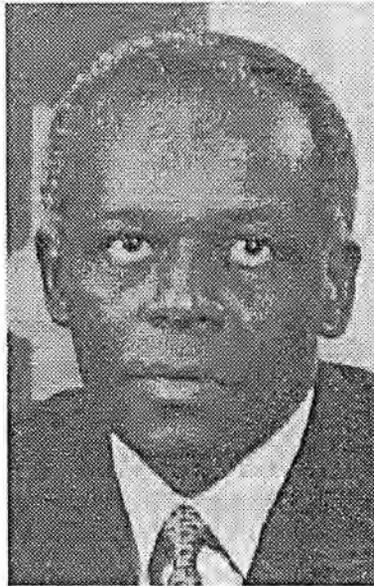
"To maintain a position which does not recognize Angola means to favor UNITA," dos Santos told the Christian Science Monitor in an interview published today.

The appeal, part of the formerly Marxist government's effort to isolate UNITA diplomatically, comes at a time when the rebel movement has been gaining ground militarily. UNITA now controls 70 percent of the Angola countryside, more than it did at any stage of the civil war, which raged from 1975 through 1991. The rebels have cut off the water supply to Luanda, the Angolan capital; seized the oil-producing city of Soyo; and stood its ground against government bombing attacks aimed at expelling it from Huambo, the county's second most populous city.

State Department officials in Washington confirmed the letter was relayed to them by Angola's diplomatic mission in the U.S. capital, but they declined comment on its contents.

"The military actions of UNITA have acquired a terrorist nature," dos Santos told the Christian Science Monitor. "Terrorism is condemned by the international community and by the U.N. It's a crime against humanity. Why don't they declare the radical military wing [of UNITA] as a terrorist organization?"

In the interview, dos Santos defended his government's practice of distributing weapons to civilians, saying the resumption of armed hostilities had caught his army with-



PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS
... seeks normal relations with U.S.

out sufficient troop strength and cohesion to defend itself.

Meanwhile, the head of the U.S. Liaison Office in Angola, Edmund De Jarnette, flew to the oil-rich northern province of Cabinda over the weekend, where he reportedly warned UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi not to attack the oil fields, the largest of which is operated by the Cabinda Gulf Oil Co. Inc., a

U.S.-based company. "I come with instructions from Washington to say our message is clear: These are our people and hands off Cabinda, Dr. Savimbi," De Jarnette was quoted by Reuter.

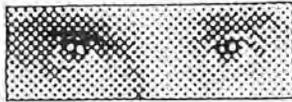
The United Nations is currently trying to arrange cease-fire talks in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Both sides have agreed in principle to a truce, but it has proven impossible in recent months to actually get them to the negotiating table.

Today in Pretoria, an Angolan envoy who was here to meet with South African officials released a two-page document that is reputed to be a two-month-old UNITA strategy memo. It spells out the military and diplomatic steps needed to create a new independent nation of Southern Angola, which would be made up largely of Ovimbundu, the tribe from which UNITA draws most of its support. The new nation would include the southern half of the country, plus a small piece of the northern province of Lunda North, where UNITA forces currently control the diamond mines.

A UNITA spokesman in Washington, Jardo Muekalia, said today he knows of no such document and that UNITA does not favor a partition arrangement.

The United States chose not to establish full diplomatic relations with Angola after it won its independence from Portugal in 1975 because the communist, anti-colonial party that seized power without holding a promised election—dos Santos's Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)—was backed by Soviet money and Cuban troops.

Rebels sow swath of terror and despair across Angola



Eyewitness

Chris McGreal
in southern Angola

ROSA BONIFACIO'S daughter never had a roof over her head. She lived with her mother in the corner of a lone rural shop gutted by war and rendered almost indistinguishable from many of the other concrete shells for miles around.

A roof might have saved Mimi, aged three, but there was nothing to stall the mortar that soared silently overhead and announced its presence as it stole the child's life.

Rosa Bonifacio lost her only daughter to Angola's Unita rebels. The attack served no purpose beyond terror and harassment, a single contribution to the renewed destruction of a region of Angola where there is little left to destroy.

The road from tiny Cacula, south to the Namibian border and north to embattled Huambo, is an almost unbroken chain of ruined buildings.

The destruction began as the South Africans smashed their way through Angola in the 1970s. It is being continued with a vengeance today by Unita.

Past the colonial homes and razed villages, clumps of people cling to their belongings. Some have just arrived, fleeing the renewed terror on the land to which they had braved the mines to return. Others stayed next to the road for years, finding a modicum of comfort in numbers.

Some in the international community still believe the rebel leadership favours peace and democracy, although the numbers are diminishing. Around Cacula, however, Angolans do not doubt the cost Unita is prepared to inflict in its blind pursuit of power.

Rosa Bonifacio's shop-turned-home is set a mile or so from

Cacula town. She does not know who owned it; she arrived at the abandoned building as a teenager one day in 1983, after walking for two days.

The war had driven her family from their land. Her father disappeared, her mother has since died. Brothers and sisters have dispersed to the cities, except for a young sister who shares the dwelling.

They had seen Unita rebels many times before, at war and in the 18 months of peace. But they thought they had seen the last of the fighting.

When it returned earlier this month, there was no warning.

"There weren't any soldiers here, some policemen, but the soldiers had all gone to Lubango," Rosa said. "I heard the explosions. I was outside collecting water and I put the water down carefully and went to look for Mimi. I didn't think

anything could have happened to her.

"The men that killed her walked into the room. I was covered in Mimi's blood. They didn't say anything. I was too scared to accuse them. Then they went away."

The attack was not a concerted effort to take the town. The rebels did not even enter it. Their killing was limited to a handful of innocents on the outskirts, easy targets with relatives and friends who will spread the word that Unita is still around and still to be feared.

Disease stalks Luanda as rebels cut water mains and threaten to hit power supply

Victoria Brittain

WITH a million people facing starvation as war bites deeper across the Angolan countryside, the 2.5 million inhabitants of the capital, Luanda, have started their second week without water, and now face a threat from Unita rebels to sabotage electricity supplies as well.

At least 16,000 people have been killed during the latest Unita attacks according to United Nations sources. Tens of thousands of people are in flight from towns taken over by Unita, which the government says is now being resupplied from South Africa and Zaire for the biggest offensive of its history.

Destruction of factories, hospitals and homes dwarfs the previous 16 years of South African and United States-aided war.

And the worst is yet to come according to a government general, Higinio Carneiro, who over the weekend warned Angolans "to prepared themselves for the worst". Speaking after the failure of the latest peace talks in Addis Ababa, Gen Carneiro said: "We came prepared to sign a ceasefire immediately, but the Unita delegation . . . didn't show the minimum interest in accepting peace."

Epidemics threaten Luanda, where people are increasingly using untreated water sold on the streets. Over the weekend residents were warned it would be another month before the sabotaged pumping station could be repaired. Twenty-mile queues of cars stretch from the outskirts of the capital to the nearest water treatment plant at Kicuchi.

The capital is swollen with refugees from the towns taken by Unita in the three-month

offensive which began after the rebels refused to accept the results of last September's elections. In towns mostly or completely taken over by Unita, such as Ndalatando and Caxito, reports of rapes, and of systematic killings of whites and people of mixed race, filter through with each new trickle of refugees.

To add to the misery of everyday life, prices rose sharply yesterday after a drastic devaluation which cut the kwanza to about one fourteenth of its value. The government announced the devaluation on Sunday, acknowledging the deep economic damage caused by Unita's seizure of first the diamond-producing regions and then, two weeks ago, by the capture of part of the oil fields. Rebel leaders have vowed to ruin the economy and reduce Angola, potentially one of the richest countries in Africa, to the level of Somalia.

Philippe Borel, head of the World Food Programme in Angola, said ruined infrastructure, danger and lack of permission to fly over Unita-controlled territory meant he was only delivering one-sixth of the aid distributed before fighting worsened last month.

"More than one million people — one-tenth of the population — now face malnutrition," he said.

Heavy fighting was reported yesterday from south, central and northern Angola, as Unita launched new bids for control of the towns of Menongue, Huambo and Saurimo.

Meanwhile, at the United Nations in New York, the foreign minister, Venacio de Moura, released documents giving the registration details of three South African planes seized by the Namibian authorities at the airport in Rundu, near the Angolan border. The three were among 14 planes which have been monitored participating in the illegal resupply of Unita, the minister said. Other documents released by the minister named 16 South Africans involved in the supply flights and gave details of 200

ean officers . . .

Time, at Last, to Recognize Angola

A U.S.-brokered agreement two years ago appeared to promise Angola the peace it deserves after decades of bloody bush war. Yet Washington has continued to shun diplomatic ties with the formerly Marxist regime in Luanda. It's time to end the anomaly.

Under the agreement, right-wing rebels led by Jonas Savimbi pledged to surrender their arms if the leftist Government submitted to free elections. Mr. Savimbi boasted that he could easily beat President José Eduardo dos Santos. But when ballots were counted last September in what foreign observers found to be a fair election, Mr. dos Santos led with 49.6 percent, and his ruling party with 58 percent in parliamentary voting.

Instead of competing in the required runoff when Mr. dos Santos fell short of a majority, Mr. Savimbi cried foul and resumed his rebellion. Since the first-round vote, an estimated 10,000 Angolans have been killed and a million made homeless.

Granted, there are no angels on these barricades. When Portugal abruptly freed Angola in 1975, Mr. dos Santos's party won a bloody scramble for power, and Mr. Savimbi — then an ardent Maoist — retreated to his ethnic base. A bad war became worse when Moscow and Havana armed Luanda while Washington joined hands with South Africa in getting weapons to Mr. Savimbi via Zaire.

Though both sides were brutal, Mr. Savimbi swore up and down that he was the good democrat. American conservatives naively took him at his word. So did the United Nations, which unwisely failed to disarm both sides before it conducted elections, a fact Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali now regrets.

But that does not exonerate Mr. Savimbi, who, scenting defeat, would rather kill Angolans than take his chances in a runoff. Nevertheless, even as rebels seize oil fields and sabotage Luanda's water supply, Mr. Boutros-Ghali would set an April 30 deadline for withdrawing all U.N. forces.

Only the Angolans themselves can finally settle this conflict, but Washington can help level the battlefield by recognizing Angola. Cold-war calculations aside, there never was much sense in denying an embassy to an oil-producing country whose major customer was America. Nor does it make sense for the U.N. to walk away from a mess it helped create.

If peace talks fail, as they probably will, the U.N. could reasonably post monitors along frontiers to check any arms-smuggling to Mr. Savimbi from South Africa. All these steps can be taken without enormous costs or major deployments. By supporting them, a new American Administration can make plain it has not forgotten Angola's ordeal.