

An Update on U.S. Involvement

1. April, 1974. Portuguese coup; Portuguese begin decolonization.
2. January, 1975. Unified Provisional government coalition in Angola established, Independence date set for November 11, 1975; U.S.A. administration escalates secret military aid to FNLA.
3. April, 1975. U.S.S.R. escalates military aid to Popular Movement (MPLA).
4. August, 1975. Provisional government coalition breaks down, fighting begins; South African troops invade Angola to "protect" dam in UNITA area.
5. October/November, 1975. General Escalation Begins.
  - massive South African troop invasion
  - emergence of military axis: FNLA-UNITA-South Africa-U.S.A.-Zaire
  - small Cuban troop arrivals with later increased numbers
6. November 11, 1975. MPLA establishes government and is recognized by some 40 nations in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe. (no nations recognize FNLA or UNITA)
7. December, 1975. U.S. administration publicly admits recent covert CIA-led involvement in Angola: mercenaries, pilots, advisors, military materiel to the tune of at least \$33 million.
  - 17th... Congressional Black Caucus denounces U.S. involvement in Angola and pledges strong opposition to any additional financing
  - 19th... U.S. Senate votes 54-22 in favor of Tunney amendment to cut off all aid to Angola in fiscal '76 military appropriations only
  - 19th... Ford expresses anger over Senate vote and vetoes Labor and HEW appropriations bill as inflationary.
  - 23rd... Kissinger publicly admits administration fearful of U.S. public anti-war sentiments.
  - 23rd... Kissinger announces continuation of U.S. involvement and the spending of additional \$9 million in Angola in spite of overwhelming Senate anti-war vote and sentiment.

January Outlook: The American People must again let Congress and the White House know there is still a PEACE majority in this land.

- Rep. Carr and Sen. Hart are both against further aid. They need letters of support.
- Sen. Griffin led the now-defeated move to keep the U.S. in Angola. Write him to express your disapproval.
- Rep. Broomfield, Diggs, and Riegle (all members of the International Relations Committee) must be told that their Michigan constituents want an END to ALL aid to the Angolan war.

Write to:

Sen. \_\_\_\_\_ Rep. \_\_\_\_\_  
Senate Office Bldg. House Office Bldg.  
Wash., D.C. 20510. Wash., D.C. 20515.

Send copies to Pres. Ford,  
Secy. of State Kissinger,  
and the Peace Center.

For literature you can distribute and petitions you can circulate, contact the East Lansing Peace Education Center, 1118 S. Harrison Road, East Lansing, MI. 48823. (phone: 332-0861).

## CIA INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA

The people of Angola successfully terminated 500 years of Portuguese rule on November 11, but a major war is still waging. The presence of three movements divided on political, geographic, and ethnic lines has prevented a simple transition from colony to independence. These divisions, together with Angola's wealth in natural resources, have invited intervention in the decolonization process by external powers. The United States has been prominent among these outside forces.

The CIA has been buying arms for two liberation movements, FNLA and UNITA, in an effort to offset the military and political successes of the third movement, MPLA. The CIA operations have been approved by President Ford and are being carried out with the knowledge of several congressional committees, including the Senate and House Armed Forces and Appropriations Committees, and the Senate Foreign Relations and House Internal Relations Committees.

CIA support for FNLA has a long history: in 1962, the Agency and President Kennedy "activated" FNLA leader Holden Roberto as the "future leader in Angola," since Portugal could not be expected to retain Angola indefinitely. The CIA interest in UNITA is more recent. Jonas Savimbi, who heads UNITA, is avowedly "anti-communist" and anti-MPLA--two reasons for the CIA's interest in him.

U.S. aid to the two movements is being disbursed largely through President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire. Indeed, it is impossible to discuss U.S. intervention in Angola without examining Zaire's relationship with both Angola and the United States. Zaire shares a long border with Angola; the BaKongo people, who comprise the bulk of FNLA's supporters, straddle this border. Holden Roberto of FNLA is Mobutu's brother-in-law (he has spent only four years of his life in Angola).

During the recent hearings on the CIA alleged assassinations, Senate intelligence committee members received pressure from the Ford Administration to stop their investigation of the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. During the Congo (Zaire) crisis of the early 1960's, Lumumba was a popular nationalist leader. Mobutu came to power a few years after Lumumba's assassination and investigations of the past events in the Congo were considered by the Ford Administration to be too sensitive for current events in Angola. The Senate Intelligence Committee report on the CIA and Patrice Lumumba states:

"The chain of events revealed by the documents and testimony is strong enough to permit a reasonable inference that the plot to assassinate Lumumba was authorized by President Eisenhower. Nevertheless, there is enough countervailing testimony by Eisenhower Administration officials and enough ambiguity and lack of clarity in the records of high-level policy meetings to preclude the Committee from making a finding that the President intended an assassination effort against Lumumba."

Since General Mobutu seized power in 1965, maintaining the stability of his staunchly pro-western rule in Zaire has been a cornerstone of U.S. policy in Africa. The CIA has had a principal Africa station in Zaire during his regime.

The rationale for the more recent CIA support of FNLA and UNITA is that MPLA is receiving arms from the Soviet Union. It could be argued that a "Soviet-engineered takeover" of the Angolan government is no more desirable than a similar CIA effort. However, as events in Indochina and Chile revealed, any Soviet presence in a particular country is often exaggerated and used as justification for significant American subversion of the internal political process.

Furthermore, warnings of dangerous Soviet intervention from American officials should hardly be taken at face value, when accompanied by pious denials of U.S. interference. In a major Africa policy statement on September 23, Secretary Kissinger stated, "We are most alarmed at the interference of extracontinental powers who do not wish Angola well, and whose involvement is inconsistent with the promise of true independence."

The evidence that MPLA is completely under the Soviet thumb is unconvincing. Leaders of MPLA deny that they would exchange 500 years of Portuguese rule for Soviet domination. Senator Dick Clark, Chairperson of the Africa Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who visited Angola and met with the presidents of all three movements in August, came away firmly convinced that nothing in the situation justified U.S. intervention.

Yet in recent weeks, a column of CIA-supported FNLA and UNITA forces, led by white South African troops and Portuguese mercenaries, advanced 250 miles north to capture Novo Redondo...using American C-130 planes and French armored cars from a South African army-air force base in Grootfontein, Namibia. Strange that on the occasion of a triple-veto in the UN by Britain, France, and USA last June, the three stated that there was "no threat to international peace and security" in the continuing South African occupation of Namibia.

U.S. intervention in Angola may prove as tragic and costly as in Indochina. It will add thousands more to the killed and wounded, and entangle the U.S. in an escalating conflict in southern Africa for years to come. By making common cause with South African forces, the U.S. is alienating the developing world and deepening its complicity with South Africa's racist. Any Angolan government which comes to power beholden to South Africa for support will discourage the fight for freedom in Namibia and South Africa.

Further, an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1974 stipulated that no funds could be spent by or on behalf of the CIA for covert operations "unless and until the President finds that each such operation is important to the national security of the United States."

The Ford Administration is trying to aid FNLA and UNITA further by siphoning a \$82 million aid package to Mobutu's Zaire, of which \$23 million is for "security supporting assistance" and \$19 million in military credit sales (up from \$3.5 million last year). The items slated to be sold on credit include 12 armored cars and 400 jeeps and trucks--precisely the kind of "Zairean" army equipment now being used in Angola. The magnitude of this aid package is many times the level of previous years.

The Administration has conceded that the Angolan strife is among the reasons for the quantum leap in aid to Zaire. Secretary Kissinger said on November 6, that the railways through Angola are important outlets for Zaire and Zambia, and in this situation, "we do believe it is important to make clear to Zaire that we are prepared to be of assistance." He neglected to mention that the railways are heavily used by U.S. corporations extracting Zaire's rich mineral resources.

At least two amendments will be offered to the International Security Assistance bill, presently before Congress, as follows: (1) that no assistance authorized by this act and no covert assistance may be furnished directly or indirectly to any political group in Angola, (2) that no defense material included in the Foreign Military Sales Act shall be sold to Zaire until the President reports that it has halted all military assistance to political groups in Angola and Congress has approved this report by concurrent resolution. Persons supporting African self-determination and those disturbed by recent revelations about the CIA might well express themselves in support of such amendments. For more information, consult the Southern Africa Liberation Committee at the Peace Education Center, 1118 S. Harrison Road(332-0861).

This article is submitted by the Southern Africa Liberation Committee, a task force of the Peace Center.

## ANGOLA: FIVE CENTURIES OF SERVITUDE

### Historical Background:

- 1480s Portuguese explorers begin penetration of northern coastal zone of present day Angola. Local king of the Bakongo people seeks to establish mutually beneficial ties with Portugal.
- 1500 Portuguese slave merchants raid Bakongo kingdom. Lisbon throne ignores Bakongo pleas for assistance and protection as reciprocal relations give way to wholesale exploitation. Beginning of decline of Bakongo kingdom.
- 1576 Luanda (capitol of modern Angola) emerges as a major slave port in southern Africa. Portuguese invasions and wars generated by the slave trade shatters societies throughout the area.
- 1845-60 End of 3 1/2 centuries of "official" slave trade. Portuguese now turn attention to military conquest of Angola's interior. Recruitment of forced labor to "develop" Angola to serve European economic interest.
- 1884-1914 Angola recognized by Europe as a colony of Portugal. Portuguese being to promote settlement by Europeans to secure the territory and keep African inhabitants in check. Educated Angolans begin to voice objections to colonial rule.
- 1920s Fascist rule in Lisbon revokes freedom of speech and press, at home and in colonies. Angolan protest driven underground.
- 1956-66 Formation of three major liberation groups. Beginning of armed struggle.

### Five Hundred Years of Portuguese Domination:

For nearly five centuries the people of Angola has labored under the burden of foreign exploitation and domination. Although the slave trade came to a halt in the mid 19th century, the Portuguese continued to make extensive use of forced labor to work plantations and extract mineral resources. In recent decades a system of taxation has replaced cruder forms of labor recruitment, but has had the same effect of coercing Africans into draining their country's resources into the pockets of overseas investors.



Map of Angola illustrating areas of liberation movement activity.

### Angolan Resistance:

The Angolans have never passively accepted Portuguese domination. Military resistance against the Portuguese invasion continued in the interior of the country into the present century. Resistance movements developing in cities spewed out mountains of anti-colonialist literature before coming under the heel of the ruthless PIDE (Portuguese "Gestapo").

In the late 1950s two movements were launched to rid the country of the colonial menace: MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and the UPA (Union of the Population of Angola). In 1961, Portuguese attempts at suppressing these movements and the violence of white settlers forced Angolans to take up arms. A third group (UNITA - National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) joined the struggle in the mid 1960s. Although hostilities have been temporarily suspended pending agreement with the new Portuguese government, the struggle continues.

### An African Treasure Trove:

Angola is by far the wealthiest of Portugal's African colonies, a fact which largely explains why many Portuguese are determined to maintain their hold after her other territories (Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique) have secured their independence. Given the retrograde condition of Portugal's industrial economy, extraction of Angola's vast mineral resources rests largely in the hands of firms based in more advanced industrial countries, including the United States.

### American Corporation Involvement - Gulf Oil:

The commercial involvement links the United States business interest directly to maintaining Angola as a Portuguese colony while lending economic support to Portugal's wars of colonial suppression. Gulf Oil, for example, operating in northwest Angola (Cabinda), is the largest single U.S. investor in "Portuguese" Africa. Gulf's payments of \$61 million into the Portuguese treasury for Angola operations in 1972 represented 60% of the colony's military budget for that year.

For further information:

Southern Africa Liberation Committee  
Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution  
1118 S. Harrison Road, East Lansing, MI. 48823  
(517) 332-0861

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