



YOU HEARD ME,
MR. PRESIDENT,
I SAID THEY'VE
NAILED ME IN
A PHONE
BOOTH HERE ON
CAPITOL HILL.

CO-SPONSORS OF HOUSE RESOLUTION URGING NON-INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA

SENATE VOTE ON TUNNEY
AMENDMENT 12/19/75

Abzug (D-N.Y.)	Harkin (D-Iowa)	Mottl (D-Ohio)	FOR- 54	
Alexander (D-Ark.)	Harrington (D-Mass.)	Neal (D-N.C.)	Abourezk	Ribicoff
Allen (D-Tenn.)	Harris (D-Va.)	Nix (D-Pa.)	Allen	Roth
Anderson (D-Cal.)	Hawkins (D-Cal.)	Nolan (D-Minn.)	Biden	Schweiker
AuCoin (D-Oreg.)	Hayes (D-Ind.)	Nowak (D-N.Y.)	Brooke	W. Scott
Baucus (D-Mont.)	Hechler (D-W. Va.)	Oberstar (D-Minn.)	Bumpers	Stafford
Beard (D-R.I.)	Hefner (D-N.C.)	Ottinger (D-N.Y.)	Burdick	Stevens
Bedell (D-Iowa)	Holland (D-S.C.)	Patterson (D-Cal.)	R. Byrd	Symington
Blanchard (D-Mich.)	Howard (D-N.J.)	Pattison (D-N.Y.)	Case	Taft
Blouin (D-Iowa)	Howe (D-Utah)	Pike (D-N.Y.)	Clark	Tunney
Bonker (D-Wash.)	Hughes (D-N.J.)	Pressler (R-S.D.)	Cranston	Weicker
Brademas (D-Ind.)	Jacobs (D-Ind.)	Rangel (D-N.Y.)	Culver	Williams
Brodhead (D-Mich.)	Jeffords (R-Vt.)	Richmond (D-N.Y.)	Durkin	
G. Brown (D-Cal.)	Jenrette (D-S.C.)	Riegle (D-Mich.)	Ford	AGAINST- 22
Burke (D-Cal.)	Johnson (R-Colo.)	Rodino (D-N.J.)	Garn	Baker
J. Burton (D-Cal.)	Jordan (D-Tex.)	Roncalio (D-Wyo.)	Glenn	Bartlett
P. Burton (D-Cal.)	Kastenmeier (D-Wisc.)	Rose (D-N.C.)	Gravel	Beall
Carr (D-Mich.)	Keys (D-Kans.)	Russo (D-Ill.)	G. Hart	Bellmon
Chisholm (D-N.Y.)	Koch (D-N.Y.)	Sarbanes (D-Md.)	P. Hart	Buckley
Collins (D-Ill.)	Krebs (D-Cal.)	Scheuer (D-N.Y.)	Haskell	H. Byrd
Cornell (D-Wisc.)	LaFalce (D-N.Y.)	Schroeder (D-Colo.)	Hatfield	Curtis
Cotter (D-Conn.)	Lehman (D-Fla.)	Seiberling (D-Ohio)	Hathaway	Domenici
D'Amours (D-N.H.)	Levitas (D-Ga.)	Sharp (D-Ind.)	Helms	Griffin
Davis (D-S.C.)	Litton (R-Mo.)	Simon (D-Ill.)	Huddleston	Hansen
Dellums (D-Cal.)	Lloyd (D-Cal.)	Solarz (D-N.Y.)	Humphrey	Hruska
Diggs (D-Mich.)	C. Long (D-Md.)	Spellman (D-Md.)	Inouye	Long
Dodd (D-Conn.)	G. Long (D-La.)	Steed (D-Okla.)	Javits	McClellan
Downey (D-N.Y.)	Matsunaga (D-Ha.)	Stokes (D-Ohio)	Kennedy	McClure
Drinan (D-Mass.)	McCormack (D-Wash.)	Studds (D-Mass.)	Leahy	Morgan
Edgar (D-Pa.)	McHugh (D-N.Y.)	Thompson (D-N.J.)	Magnuson	Nunn
Edwards (D-Cal.)	McKinney (R-Conn.)	Traxler (D-Mich.)	Mansfield	H. Scott
Emery (R-Maine)	Madden (D-Ind.)	Tsongas (D-Mass.)	McGovern	Sparkman
D. Evans (D-Ind.)	Maguire (D-N.J.)	Udall (D-Ariz.)	McIntyre	Stennis
F. Evans (D-Colo.)	Mazzoli (D-Ky.)	VanDeerlin (D-Cal.)	Metcalf	Thurmond
Fascell (D-Fla.)	Meeds (D-Wash.)	Vander Veen (D-Mich.)	Mondale	Tower
Fithian (D-Ind.)	Metcalfe (D-Ill.)	Waxman (D-Cal.)	Moss	Young
Ford (D-Tenn.)	Meyner (D-N.J.)	Weaver (D-Oreg.)	Muskie	
Fraser (D-Minn.)	Mezvinsky (D-Iowa)	Whalen (R-Ohio)	Nelson	PAIRED FOR
Giaimo (D-Conn.)	Mikva (D-Ill.)	Wirth (D-Colo.)	Packwood	Jackson
Ginn (D-Ga.)	Miller (D-Cal.)	Wolff (D-N.Y.)	Pearson	
Goodling (R-Pa.)	Mineta (D-Cal.)	Yatron (D-Pa.)	Pell	PAIRED
Green (D-Pa.)	Mink (D-Ha.)	Young (D-Ga.)	Percy	AGAINST
Hall (D-Ill.)	Mitchell (D-Md.)	Zeferetti (D-N.Y.)	Proxmire	McGee
Hamilton (D-Ind.)	Moakley (D-Mass.)		Randolph	
Hanley (D-N.Y.)	Moffett (D-Conn.)			
Hannaford (D-Cal.)				

Communism and the War in Angola

By George M. Houser



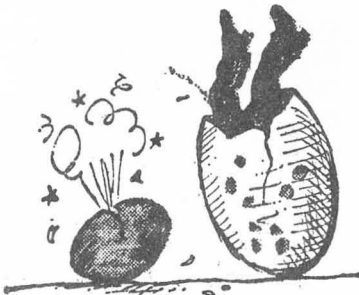
The conflict of opposing political movements for control of an independent Angola is rapidly escalating into an international confrontation reminiscent of Vietnam, and United States spokesmen are grossly

distorting the real issues involved.

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger has pointed an accusing finger at the Soviet Union and Cuba for intervening in Angola. Characteristically, United Nations Ambassador Daniel P. Moynihan went further when he said that Soviet involvement in Angola was a first step in the colonizing of the whole continent. But little is said about reported United States military aid sent to Angola.

American spokesmen are simplistically portraying the Angolan conflict as "Communism" versus "anti-Communism." The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A.), whose government at Luanda has been recognized by sixteen African states (33 countries in all), is constantly described as "Marxist," "Soviet-backed" or just "Communist." The National Front for the Liberation of Angola (F.N.L.A.) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) are called "anti-Communist."

Before any portion of the American people respond to any call for Vietnam veterans to join the fight against Communism in Angola, several important factors should be considered.



What about the Communism of the M.P.L.A.?

I have been in touch with the leaders of this movement for many years, most recently last March when I was in Angola, where I met with members of all three political movements. They make no secret of a basically socialist orientation in their design for Angola.

In a continent where there is little private accumulation of capital, social-

ism of one sort or another is an accepted norm. Capitalism is a reality in most of Africa only through the interests of foreign corporations and enterprises. So organizing a society along socialist lines is to be expected.

Such a form of social organization should not automatically end United States willingness to maintain friendly relations. And indeed the United States has recently agreed to diplomatic relations with Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, countries in which the political parties (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde and the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) have programs very similar to that of the M.P.L.A.

In fact, all three had been joined in an alliance against Portuguese colonialism for more than fifteen years. Why then does the United States treat the M.P.L.A. differently?

The issue is portrayed as Soviet influence and control in Angola. Soviet

support of the M.P.L.A. is not new. It goes back to the beginning of the armed conflict in Angola in 1961. Scandinavian countries gave support to the M.P.L.A., too. The M.P.L.A. would have been glad to take help from wherever it was offered—even from the United States.

Where was the United States during the years of struggle? It was firmly welded into an alliance with Portugal and had a policy of avoiding contacts with the liberation movements in Portuguese colonies.

The United States limited its "support" to high-sounding statements on the right to self-determination. The M.P.L.A. has little reason to be grateful to the United States. M.P.L.A. support from the Soviet Union does not mean Soviet control in Angola. It has not meant this in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, or Cape Verde.

Some Americans may find this difficult to understand in view of our widespread biases against the Soviet Union and Communism. But these political movements, after long years of combat against the Portuguese, will not easily accept domination by a new foreign power. It is a gross and demeaning distortion of reality to present the men and women of the M.P.L.A. as Soviet puppets. And certainly the Cubans are not taking over Angola.

There is a second distortion involved in official United States interpretation of events in Angola. Spokesmen have said virtually nothing about United States involvement in Angola. Covert United States support for the F.N.L.A. and UNITA was admitted in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Nov. 6 by William E. Colby, the Director of Central Intelligence, and Joseph J. Sisco, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.

The New York Times reported Friday that, according to a high-ranking Government official, the United States had sent \$25 million in arms and support funds to Angola over the last three months and planned to send \$25 million more in supplies. The official said that the first sum had been distributed by the Central Intelligence Agency.

This aid has gone principally through the Government of Zaire, which since 1962 has been the mainstay of the F.N.L.A., the most conservative of the Angolan parties.

Major publications here and abroad have reported that United States transports have been flying daily from Zaire into F.N.L.A. military centers in northern Angola, such as Ambriz, with guns, ammunition and gas.

For Mr. Kissinger and other United States leaders to point the finger at the Soviet Union and make no mention of United States involvement in

the conflict in Angola is hypocritical.

United States spokesmen have made no mention of South Africa's growing intervention in Angola. Presumably the involvement of this white-supremacist state is an embarrassment the United States would prefer to ignore. But this involvement is an important development in the Angolan conflict, with far-reaching repercussions. It was the incursion of South African troops that has led Nigeria's "moderate" Government—even in United States Government eyes—to recognize the M.P.L.A. government in Luanda.

There can be no doubt about the growing South African intervention. When I was in Zambia in early November, I was told by high Zambian officials that at that time South African troops and some dissident Portuguese mercenaries from Angola and Mozambique had already occupied a strip

fifty miles deep across southern Angola.

South African columns have penetrated hundreds of miles into the interior, with many casualties reported and at least one reconnaissance plane shot down.

An immediate objective of South Africa is to use the Angolan fighting as a smokescreen behind which it can eliminate the forces of S.W.A.P.O. (Southwest African People's Organization, the main liberation movement of Namibia) from northern Namibia and southern Angola.

Namibia—South Africa calls it South-West Africa—is the territory occupied by South Africa in defiance of United Nations decisions that even the United States has supported.

South Africa sees the Angolan conflict as the real beginning of the war for its own survival as a white-dominated state in southern Africa. For years South Africa has been attempting to build itself into the Western alliance on the back of the anti-Com-

munist cause. Now South Africa is calling for the Western alliance to stop a "take-over" in Angola.

The current United States position, supporting the most conservative internal Angolan elements, is directly abetting South African strategy. It is not helping the Angolans preserve their independence but making them victims of the most reactionary force in Africa. It would be a tragedy for the United States to repeat the errors of Vietnam because it looks upon the Angolan conflict as an occasion for another anti-Communist crusade.

George M. Houser is executive director of the American Committee on Africa, which describes itself as supporting which describes itself as "actively supporting the African people in their struggle for independence and majority rule."

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