

FLOOR STATEMENT BY SENATOR PAUL E. TSONGAS

MARCH 6, 1979

MR. PRESIDENT: IN 1975 THE COLD WARRIORS OF OUR COUNTRY SALLIED FORTH TO DO BATTLE IN ANGOLA. STUNG BY THEIR DISASTER IN VIETNAM, THESE ARDENT ADVENTURISTS WERE BENT ON REASSERTING AMERICAN WILL. THEY DREAMED OF WINNING ANGOLA FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEFEATING THE SOVIETS IN THE THIRD WORLD. JUST THE OPPOSITE HAPPENED.

AS FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES GO, OUR ANGOLA ADVENTURE RANKS AS ONE OF OUR MOST DRAMATIC FAILURES. WE MISINTERPRETED THE SITUATION, WE OVER-REACTED, WE MADE MATTERS WORSE.

NOW, ALMOST THREE YEARS LATER, ANGOLA BARELY RESEMBLES THE WAR-RAVAGED COUNTRY OF 1975. BUT AMERICAN POLICY REMAINS ROOTED IN THE PAST. MR. PRESIDENT, WE STILL REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE ANGOLA. THIS IS A GRAVE MISCALCULATION.

AT A TIME WHEN ANGOLA IS DESPERATELY SEEKING WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND CAPITAL, WE REFUSE TO OPEN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. AT A TIME WHEN ANGOLA'S COOPERATION IS CRUCIAL TO OUR PEACE INITIATIVE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, WE OBSTRUCT COMMUNICATION. AT A TIME WHEN AMERICA COULD EXPAND HER INFLUENCE IN ANGOLA, WE INSIST ON GIVING THE RUSSIANS A FREE HAND. OUR POLICY SHOULD ADVANCE OUR INTERESTS, NOT CUBA'S OR THE SOVIET UNION'S.

PAGE 2
ANGOLA SPEECH

6 MARCH 1979

THE TIME FOR CHANGING OUR POLICY IS NOW. THE UNITED STATES SHOULD RECOGNIZE ANGOLA IMMEDIATELY AND ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. ANGOLANS HAVE ASKED US FOR RECOGNITION, BUT WE REFUSE. IN ALL THE WORLD ONLY ONE OTHER COUNTRY HAS NOT RECOGNIZED ANGOLA.....THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. PERHAPS THE REST OF THE WORLD HAS A MORE RATIONAL POLICY TOWARD A COUNTRY RICH IN OIL, COFFEE, DIAMONDS, MANGANESE, IRON, SILVER, COPPER, AND PHOSPHATES.

NON-RECOGNITION OF ANY COUNTRY CARRIES WITH IT CONSIDERABLE COSTS. IN THE CASE OF ANGOLA, THESE COSTS HAVE BECOME VERY HIGH.

REGULAR AND RELIABLE COMMUNICATION WITH THIS IMPORTANT AFRICAN STATE IS ONE SERIOUS CASUALTY OF OUR POLICY. SOUTHERN AFRICA IS A CAULDRON OF RACIAL TENSION AND GUERILLA WARS. ANGOLA IS INVOLVED IN THE TWO MAJOR CRISES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA - NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. SO FAR, PRESIDENT NETO OF ANGOLA HAS BEEN VERY HELPFUL TO OUR PEACE INITIATIVE IN NAMIBIA. BUT THAT INITIATIVE IS ONCE AGAIN IMPERILED. WE WILL NEED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT IN THE MONTHS TO COME.

PAGE 3
ANGOLA SPEECH

MARCH 6, 1979

THE SAME APPLIES TO RHODESIA WHERE THE WAR IS EXPANDING RAPIDLY. RECENTLY RHODESIAN PLANES FLEW TO ANGOLA AND BOMBED GUERILLA TRAINING CAMPS. THIS PROVOCATIVE ACT WILL FORCE MR. NETO TO MAKE IMPORTANT DECISIONS CONCERNING THE DEFENSE OF HIS COUNTRY. UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE UNITED STATES ENJOY THE FULLEST MEASURE OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT.

NON-RECOGNITION OF ANGOLA CRIPPLES OUR STRONGEST SUIT IN THE THIRD WORLD - THE EXPORT OF OUR TECHNOLOGY, CAPITAL, AND DEVELOPMENTAL EXPERTISE. ANGOLA'S SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES ARE NOT AS RIGID AS SOME MAY PRESUME. EVEN WITHOUT DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, ANGOLA HAS SOUGHT THE ASSISTANCE OF AMERICAN FIRMS IN ITS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS. BOEING, MOBIL, GULF, AND ARTHUR D. LITTLE ARE WORKING WITH THE ANGOLANS NOW. THE POTENTIAL FOR FUTURE AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IS ENORMOUS. BUT NON-RECOGNITION RESTRAINS THIS POTENTIAL AT EVERY STEP. AMERICAN COMPANIES MUST DO WITHOUT THE SECURITY OF DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION. THEY CANNOT OBTAIN U.S. GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR THEIR INITIATIVES. AND FOR EVERY AMERICAN FIRM THAT CANNOT PURSUE AN OPPORTUNITY IN ANGOLA, THERE IS A CUBAN OR SOVIET OFFICIAL READY WITH AN ALTERNATIVE.

MARCH 6, 1979

WITH THE COSTS OF NON-RECOGNITION SO HIGH, WHY DOES THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION SUPPORT THIS POLICY? THE ADMINISTRATION CAN PROVIDE ONLY TWO LAME JUSTIFICATIONS.

THE FIRST JUSTIFICATION IS THE LACK OF "EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY". THE ADMINISTRATION QUESTIONS WHETHER THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT HAS EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS. A GUERRILLA GROUP, UNITA, HAS LONG BEEN ACTIVE THERE.

FIRST, IT NEEDS TO BE SAID THAT THIS "EFFECTIVE CONTROL" QUESTION IS QUITE ARBITRARY. WE HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH MANY GOVERNMENTS WHOSE EFFECTIVE CONTROL GOES NO FARTHER THAN THE STREETS OF THE CAPITAL AND THE ARMY BARRACKS ON THE OUTSIDE OF TOWN. AS FOR NEW GOVERNMENTS, WE RECOGNIZE SOME WHOSE CONTROL IS TENUOUS AT BEST. A RECENT EXAMPLE IS IRAN. AS YOU KNOW, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS RECOGNIZED THE KHOMENI GOVERNMENT, BUT IF THE AYATOLLAH IS IN "EFFECTIVE CONTROL" OF IRAN, THEN PRESIDENT NETO GOVERNS THE GARDEN OF EDEN.

IN ANY EVENT, THE SECURITY SITUATION IN ANGOLA HAS CHANGED DRAMATICALLY SINCE 1975 WHEN HENRY KISSINGER INVOKED THE PRINCIPLE OF EFFECTIVE CONTROL. A RESPECTED EXPERT ON

MARCH 6, 1979

ANGOLAN AFFAIRS HAS JUST RETURNED FROM A TOUR OF THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS OF ANGOLA WHERE UNITA HAS HAD STRONG SUPPORT IN THE PAST. HE REPORTS THAT THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT ADMINISTERS THE AREA EFFECTIVELY. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF FARMERS IN THE REGION HAVE LEFT THE RURAL AREAS AND SETTLED NEAR TOWNS AND VILLAGES CONTROLLED BY THE GOVERNMENT. THEY RECEIVE DROUGHT RELIEF AND AGRICULTURAL ASSISTANCE. THESE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS HAVE HELPED REDUCE THE UNITA PRESENCE IN THE AREA TO HIT AND RUN TACTICS. THREE MONTHS AGO, PRESIDENT NETO AND PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA VISITED THE HIGHLANDS AND SPOKE BEFORE SOME 100,000 PEOPLE. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT BY ANY REASONABLE STANDARD THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT "EFFECTIVELY CONTROLS" ANGOLA.

SO MUCH FOR THE QUESTION OF "EFFECTIVE CONTROL". A MORE PROVOCATIVE CONSIDERATION IS THE PRESENCE OF 20,000 CUBAN TROOPS ON ANGOLAN SOIL. TWO AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIONS HAVE DECLARED THAT THE CUBAN TROOPS BLOCK ANY POSSIBILITY OF RECOGNITION. HENRY KISSINGER ARGUED THAT THE CUBANS "IMPOSED" THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IN POWER. TODAY, THE ADMINISTRATION OBJECTS TO THE CUBAN ROLE AS ADVISORS AND AUXILLIARIES TO THE ANGOLAN ARMY. PRESIDENT CARTER FEELS THAT THE CUBANS HAVE PARTICIPATED IN ATTACKS ON ZAIRE'S SHABA PROVINCE.

MARCH 6, 1979

NO ONE CAN OR SHOULD DENY THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA. THEY ARE A MAJOR COMPONENT OF ANGOLA'S MILITARY CAPABILITY. BUT MOST ANALYSTS NOW AGREE THAT THE CUBANS DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE SECOND SHABA INVASION. I ACCEPT THAT CONCLUSION.

I DO NOT, HOWEVER, ACCEPT OR SUPPORT THE CUBANS IN AFRICA. THEIR SOCIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL IMPACT IS, I THINK, DESTRUCTIVE OVER THE LONG TERM. THEY DO NOT SERVE AMERICAN INTERESTS. THEY DO NOT SERVE TRUE AFRICAN INTERESTS. I WOULD LIKE TO SEE THEM LEAVE AFRICA.

ON THE OTHER HAND, I FIND IT GROSSLY INCONSISTENT THAT WE HAVE PROTESTED CUBANS IN ANGOLA AND AT THE SAME TIME TRANSPORTED FRENCH AND BELGIAN TROOPS TO ZAIRE. WE CERTAINLY DON'T OBJECT TO THOUSANDS OF FRENCH GROOPS STATIONED ALL OVER WEST AFRICA. THE SAD FACT IS THAT MANY AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS ARE MILITARILY WEAK AND REQUIRE OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE, OR IN THE WORDS OF ONE SCHOLAR, AFRICAN STATES FREQUENTLY MUST "BORROW POWER ON A SHORT TERM BASIS". CHAD HAS NEEDED UP TO 2000 FRENCH TROOPS TO PROTECT THE PRESIDENT AND THE EXPATRIATE COMMUNITY. THE FRENCH HAVE

MARCH 6, 1979

4500 TROOPS AND SOME 12,000 CIVILIANS PROPPING UP THE REGIME OF DJIBOUTI IN THE HORN OF AFRICA. 1500 FRENCH SOLDIERS AND A SQUADRON OF JET FIGHTERS ARE STATIONED IN SENEGAL. GABON AND IVORY COAST EACH HAVE A 500 MAN CONTINGENT.

ANGOLA BELONGS IN THIS SAME CATEGORY OF POWER BORROWERS. THE ONE DISTINCTION TO MAKE IS THAT ANGOLA IS FAR MORE THREATENED THAN THESE OTHER STATES. THE UNITA INSURGENCY IS NOT THE MAIN THREAT. PRESIDENT NETO FEARS SOUTH AFRICA FAR MORE THAN UNITA, AND WELL HE SHOULD. SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY STRENGTH TOWERS OVER AFRICAN STATES. DURING THE CIVIL WAR, SOUTH AFRICA ACTUALLY INVADED ANGOLA. THEY DEFEATED THE CUBAN AND ANGOLAN FORCES AGAIN AND AGAIN. THE SOUTH AFRICAN THREAT CONTINUES TO THIS DAY. LAST MAY, SOUTH AFRICA INVADED ANGOLA AGAIN, THIS TIME TO STRIKE AT GUERRILLA BASES DEEP IN ANGOLAN TERRITORY. SOUTH AFRICAN WAR PLANES VIOLATE ANGOLAN AIR SPACE REGULARLY. CLEARLY PRESIDENT NETO'S APPREHENSIONS ARE JUSTIFIED. HE NEEDS TO "BORROW POWER" ON THE SHORT TERM. HIS CHOICE IS THE CUBANS. ✓
WE OBJECT TO HIS CHOICE.

BUT THERE IS REALLY NO ALTERNATIVE FOR MR. NETO. OBVIOUSLY HE CANNOT EXPECT THE UNITED STATES TO PROVIDE HIS SECURITY NEEDS. WE REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE HIS GOVERNMENT. AND THE LONGER

PAGE 8
ANGOLAN SPEECH

MARCH 6, 1979

WE CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE HIS GOVERNMENT, THE MORE WEDDED MR. NETO BECOMES TO THE CUBAN PRESENCE. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, I THINK WE ARE HYPOCRITICAL AND UNREASONABLE TO ASK THAT HE GET RID OF THE CUBANS. FOR US TO CONDITION OUR RECOGNITION TO THE BANISHMENT OF THE CUBANS STRIKES ME AS FUTILE AND POINTLESS.

THE "EFFECTIVE CONTROL" ISSUE AND THE "CUBAN MENACE" ARGUMENT ARE TRANSPARENT ENOUGH. THE QUESTION IS, WHAT LIES BEHIND THAT THIN FACADE? ONE CAN EASILY DETECT THE BASIC PROPOSITION FROM WHICH ALL THE FLIMSY RATIONALIZATIONS FLOW. I REFER TO THE INTELLECTUAL ARMAMENT OF THE COLD WARRIOR - THE EAST-WEST STRUGGLE AND ANTI-COMMUNISM. WE CAN LEARN SOME IMPORTANT LESSONS IF WE SIMPLY LOOK AT THE RESULTS OUR COLD WAR TACTICS HAVE PRODUCED IN ANGOLA.

IN 1975 WE FUNDAMENTALLY MISINTERPRETED THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA. WE ASSUMED THAT EACH AFRICAN GUERRILLA GROUP WAS THE IDEOLOGICAL CLONE OF AN EXTERNAL SPONSOR AND SUBSERVIENT TO EXTERNAL CONTROL. THEREFORE, WE IDENTIFIED UNITA AS "PRO CHINESE"; WE CONSIDERED THE MPLA "PRO SOVIET"; AND THE FNLA, OUR CHOICE FOR COVERT SUPPORT, WE LABELED "PRO WEST". HISTORY

PAGE 9
ANGOLAN SPEECH

MARCH 6, 1979

IS CRUEL TO SUCH NAIVE ASSUMPTIONS. SUBSEQUENTLY, UNITA BROKE WITH THE CHINESE AND ACCEPTED MAJOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM WHITE SUPREMACIST SOUTH AFRICA. THE FNLA WOUND UP RECEIVING BOTH AMERICAN AND CHINESE AID, AND THEN DISAPPEARED AFTER ITS DEFEAT. THE MPLA, THE ULTIMATE VICTOR, ENTERED A SEVERE IDEOLOGICAL CRISIS IN 1977. AN ULTRALEFT GROUP SUPPORTED BY THE SOVIETS FAVORED AN ANTI-WHITE POLICY. PRESIDENT NETO'S FACTION SUPPORTED A MORE OPEN RACIAL POLICY AND BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE WEST. WITH SOME CUBAN HELP, NETO PUT DOWN AN ATTEMPTED COUP.

TO THE COLD WARRIOR, SUCH IDEOLOGICAL FLIP FLOPS MUST BE QUITE DISCONCERNING. TO ANYONE WHO KNOWS SOMETHING ABOUT AFRICAN POLITICS, IT IS ALL VERY FAMILIAR. THE MOTIVE FORCE, THE DRIVING IDEOLOGY OF AFRICAN POLITICS IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN PEKING, MOSCOW, OR WASHINGTON. IT WILL BE FOUND IN AFRICA WHERE AFRICANS HAVE CARRIED ON A CENTURY LONG STRUGGLE TO WIN THEIR FREEDOM FROM COLONIAL DOMINATION. THAT STRUGGLE CONTINUES TO THIS DAY ALL OVER THE CONTINENT IN MANY DIVERSE FORMS. FROM CAPITALIST NIGERIA TO SOCIALIST TANZANIA, AFRICANS RESPOND DEEPLY TO THE CHALLENGE OF NATIONHOOD. THEIR FIRST LOYALTY IS TO THE BUILDING OF THEIR YOUNG NATIONS, TO DEFINE FOR THEMSELVES

MARCH 6, 1979

HOW BEST TO DEVELOP THEIR ECONOMICS, TO EXPAND HEALTH CARE, TO EDUCATE AND TO FEED THEIR GROWING POPULATIONS. AFRICANS SEARCH WIDELY AND CRITICALLY FOR DEVELOPMENTAL BLUE PRINTS. THEY ARE SUSPICIOUS OF THE MONOLITHIC SYSTEM OF THE SOVIET UNION. THEY ARE ATTRACTED TO THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEALS OF THE UNITED STATES. WHAT THEY FINALLY SELECT IS MORE AN OUTGROWTH OF THEIR OWN CULTURE AND HISTORY THAN A PRODUCT OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE.

THESE AFRICAN REALITIES DO NOT ENTER THE THINKING OF THE COLD WARRIOR. HE IS DETERMINED TO SEE IN THE SOVIETS A SINISTER ALL-CONQUERING FORCE. HE IGNORES THE LONG STRING OF SOVIET SETBACKS IN AFRICA. HE TRANSFORMS SOVIET INEPTITUDE INTO A GRAND DESIGN.

IN THE COLD WARRIOR'S CONCEPTION OF THE GLOBE, THE ONLY STRUGGLE IS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THE THIRD WORLD IS NOTHING MORE THAN A PASSIVE BATTLEGROUND WHERE THE SUPER POWERS WAGE THEIR EAST-WEST STRUGGLE. AFRICANS MATTER ONLY SO MUCH AS THEY CAN BE IDENTIFIED AS "PRO WEST" OR "PRO SOVIET". THE IDEA THAT AFRICANS HAVE THEIR OWN VALID INTERESTS IS UNTHINKABLE TO THE COLD WARRIOR.

PAGE II
ANGOLAN SPEECH

MARCH 6, 1979

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS WARPED CONCEPTION GO BEYOND ITS SIMPLE INACCURACY - THE REALLY TRAGIC OUTCOME IS THAT WHEN WE WAGE COLD WAR IN AFRICA, WE NOT ONLY LOSE, WE ENHANCE THE VICTORY OF OUR OPPONENTS. OUR POLICY IN ANGOLA IS AN EXACT CASE IN POINT. AFRICAN LEADERS ALL OVER THE CONTINENT REGARD US AS HYPOCRITICAL AND RACIST. ANGOLANS FIND NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO DEPEND EVER MORE HEAVILY ON THEIR EASTERN SPONSORS. THE OPPORTUNITY FOR AMERICANS TO PLAY A MODERATING ROLE IN ANGOLA IS LOST. THE COLD WARRIOR IN THIS CASE HAS ACCOMPLISHED NOTHING MORE THAN TO ACCELERATE A PROCESS HE INITIALLY SET OUT TO DEFEAT. AT THE RISK OF CAUSING CONSIDERABLE DISMAY IN THE KREMLIN, I URGE THAT OUR FUTURE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD AVOID TRYING TO DO FOR THE SOVIETS WHAT THEY CANNOT DO FOR THEMSELVES. WE SHOULD ALLOW THE SOVIETS TO WALLOW IN THEIR OWN INEPTITUDE. WE SHOULD CEASE TRYING TO SNATCH DEFEAT FROM THE JAWS OF VICTORY. WE CAN BEGIN BY RECOGNIZING ANGOLA. THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT.