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TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT SEYMOUR M. HERSH FRONT PAGE BYLINER, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 14, NEW YORK TIMES, HEADLINED "ANGOLA-AID ISSUE OPENING RIFTS IN STATE DEPARTMENT: HEAD OF BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS SAID TO HAVE QUIT OVER KISSINGER REJECTION OF HIS BID FOR A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION".

2. A SHARP DISPUTE OVER COVERT OPERATIONS BY THE FORD ADMINISTRATION IN ANGOLA HAS BITTERLY DIVIDED THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND RESULTED IN THE RESIGNATION OF THE HEAD OF ITS BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS, ACCORDING TO WELL-INFORMED GOVERNMENT SOURCES.

3. THE SOURCES, IN A SERIES OF INTERVIEWS THIS WEEK, SAID THAT THE BUREAU HEAD, NATHANIEL DAVIS, RESIGNED IN AUGUST AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS AFTER SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER REJECTED HIS RECOMMENDATION THAT THE UNITED STATES SEEK A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION IN ANGOLA AND PLAY NO ACTIVE ROLE IN THE COUNTRY'S CIVIL WAR.

4. IN FACT, A NUMBER OF SOURCES SAID, MR. DAVIS RESIGNED A FEW WEEKS AFTER A HIGH ADMINISTRATION BODY, ACTING UPON THE STRONG RECOMMENDATIONS OF SECRETARY KISSINGER AND WILLIAM E. COLBY, DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE, AUTHORIZED THE COVERT SHIPMENT IN MID-JULY OF UP TO \$10 MILLION WORTH OF ARMS TO TWO FACTIONS IN ANGOLA.

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5. THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY HAS SINCE BEEN AUTHORIZED TO PROVIDE AT LEAST \$50 MILLION WORTH OF ARMS TO THE NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA AND THE NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA, WHICH HAVE JOINED FORCES TO OPPOSE THE SOVIET-BACKED POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA.
6. (IN LONDON, WHERE SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS CONFERRING WITH BRITISH OFFICIALS, REPORTERS WERE TOLD THAT HE WAS UNDERSTOOD TO FEEL THAT THE UNITED STATES ACTED SLOWLY IN ANGOLA LAST SUMMER BECAUSE OF THE REPERCUSSIONS FROM PAST REVELATIONS OF COVERT AMERICAN OPERATIONS. THE AMERICAN SUPPORT IN ANGOLA WAS TO COUNTER HEAVY SHIPMENTS OF ARMS TO THE POPULAR MOVEMENT BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PRESENCE OF CUBAN FIGHTING MEN ON THAT FACTION'S SIDE.)
7. THE SOURCES, WHO HAVE HAD ACCESS TO MANY COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN MR. DAVIS AND MR. KISSINGER, SAID THAT MR. DAVIS BEGAN EXPRESSING OPPOSITION TO THE ANGOLAN POLICY SHORTLY AFTER HIS APPOINTMENT AS AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY LAST APRIL.
8. "DAVIS RESIGNED," SAID AN OFFICIAL WHO IS CLOSELY INVOLVED, "BECAUSE HE BELIEVED THE POLICY WAS UTTERLY WRONG. THE DECISION HAD GONE AGAINST HIM AND HE WAS UNABLE TO CARRY OUT A POLICY HE WAS INIMICALLY OPPOSED TO."
9. STEVEN WAGENSEIL, A STATE DEPARTMENT PRESS OFFICER, SAID THAT THE DEPARTMENT WOULD HAVE "NO COMMENT" ON THE DISCLOSURE.
10. MR. DAVIS, A CAREER DIPLOMAT WHO HAS SINCE BEEN REASSIGNED AS AMBASSADOR TO SWITZERLAND, REFUSED TO COMMENT LATE YESTERDAY AFTER BEING TOLD THE GIST OF THE REPORT.
11. THE STATE DEPARTMENT DID NOT FORMALLY ANNOUNCE HIS RESIGNATION, OR THE REASONS BEHIND IT. BUT AN UNIDENTIFIED SPOKESMAN TOLD THE WASHINGTON POST LATE IN AUGUST THAT MR. DAVIS HAD LEFT HIS ASSISTANT SECRETARYSHIP POST BECAUSE OF OPPOSITION FROM AFRICAN LEADERS AND THE BLACK CAUCUS IN CONGRESS. THAT OPPOSITION WAS SAID TO HAVE STEMMED FROM THE FACT THAT MR. DAVIS WAS AMBASSADOR TO CHILE WHILE COVERT C.I.A. OPERATIONS WERE GOING ON THERE.
12. AT THE TIME, IT WAS SAID, OPPOSITION TO THE ANGOLA POLICY WAS WIDESPREAD THROUGHOUT THE BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS AND, AFTER A THOROUGH REVIEW OF THE ANGOLAN SITUATION IN LATE, SPRING, THE BUREAU RECOMMENDED THAT THE UNITED STATES STAY OUT OF THE CONFLICT.

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13. IN RECENT MONTHS, MANY SOURCES SAID, THERE HAS BEEN A SERIES OF PERSONNEL CHANGES IN THE BUREAU AND ORDERS HAVE BEEN ISSUED SEVERELY LIMITING TO ONLY A FEW OF ITS KEY OFFICIALS THE DISTRIBUTION OF CLASSIFIED CABLES AND OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO ANGOLA.

14. IN ADDITION, THE SOURCES SAID, A SIMILAR CUTOFF OF INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED FOR MANY OFFICIALS INVOLVED WITH AFRICAN AFFAIRS INSIDE THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH. THAT BUREAU ALSO EXPRESSED FORMAL DISAGREEMENT LAST SUMMER WITH THE DECISION TO BEGIN SUPPLYING ARMS AND OTHER AID TO ANTI-COMMUNIST FACTIONS IN ANGOLA.

15. ALL OF THE OFFICIALS INTERVIEWED WERE QUICK TO EXPRESS DISMAY AND ANGER AT THE SOVIET UNION FOR ITS DECISION EARLY THIS YEAR TO INCREASE MILITARY SHIPMENTS TO THE POPULAR MOVEMENT.

16. THE SOURCES SAID, HOWEVER, THAT MR. DAVIS AND OTHERS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT REPEATEDLY ARGUED THAT THE APPROPRIATE UNITED STATES RESPONSE SHOULD BE DIPLOMATIC.

17. "DAVIS ARGUED THAT WE MUST MOUNT A DIPLOMATIC EFFORT--A MULTINATIONAL EFFORT--TO GET A SETTLEMENT," ONE OFFICIAL SAID. "HE SAID WE MUST TRUMPET IT TO THE WORLD THAT THIS IS NOT THE RIGHT KIND OF ACTIVITY FOR ANY GREAT POWER."

18. THE QUESTION OF HOW TO RESPOND TO THE INITIAL SOVIET INCREASES IN MILITARY AID SHIPMENTS WAS DISCUSSED SOMETIME IN THE SPRING BY AN INTERDEPARTMENTAL GROUP IN THE FORD ADMINISTRATION, ANOTHER SOURCE SAID, AND THE

ONLY OFFICIAL WHO FAVORED DIRECT UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT WAS SECRETARY KISSINGER.

19. "KISSINGER IN EFFECT TOLD DAVIS," AN OFFICIAL SAID, "THAT HE WASN'T GIVING HIM THE RESULTS HE WANTED."

20. A NUMBER OF STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS AND OTHER SOURCES EXPRESSED ANGER AT MR. KISSINGER'S DECISION TO RECOMMEND DIRECT UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA. "HE WAS GIVEN THE BEST ADVICE THERE WAS AND IT DIDN'T FIT WHAT HE WANTED TO DO," ONE OFFICIAL SAID. "HE WANTED TO FACE OFF THE RUSSIANS RIGHT THERE--IN ANGOLA."

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21. OFFICIALS SAID THAT THE FIRST SIGNIFICANT DECISION ON ANGOLAN POLICY WAS MADE IN THE SPRING, WHEN THE ADMINISTRATION AUTHORIZED THE C.I.A. TO SUPPLY ABOUT \$300,000 IN MILITARY ARMS AND AID TO THE NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL LIBERATION OF ANGOLA, LED BY JONAS SAVIMBI. MR. SAVIMBI HAD BEEN RECEIVING SOME MILITARY AID FROM CHINA FOR YEARS BUT BY EARLY THIS YEAR, THE SOURCES SAID, HE WAS ACTIVELY SEEKING FUNDS FROM OTHER NATIONS IN AFRICA AS WELL AS FROM THE UNITED STATES.

22. THE FUNDS WERE AUTHORIZED AFTER THE C.I.A. FORMALLY BEGAN REPORTING THE INCREASES IN SOVIET MILITARY AID TO THE POPULAR MOVEMENT. THE AGENCY, IT WAS SAID, LED BY MR. COLBY AND JAMES POTT, THE C.I.A.'S DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS, URGED THE UNITED STATES TO RESPOND BY INCREASING ITS INVOLVEMENT. THE C.I.A. ALSO HAS BEEN AIDING THE NATIONAL FRONT, HEADED BY HOLDEN ROBERTO, SINCE THE EARLY 1960'S, MUCH OF THAT HELP BEING FUNNELED THROUGH NEIGHBORING ZAIRE, HEADED BY PRESIDENT MOBUTU SESE SEKO.

23. ONE OFFICIAL RECALLED THAT MR. DAVIS ARGUED IN THE SPRING THAT "ONCE YOU PUT SAVIMBI IN THE GAME AND ONCE YOU CONTINUE TO HELP ROBERTO THROUGH ZAIRE, THAT'S A SIGNAL TO THE RUSSIANS THAT WE'RE GOING TO FACE THEM OFF."

24. "A LITTLE BIT OF SOVIET STUFF HAD BEEN GOING IN ALL YEAR," SAID AN OFFICIAL WITH ACCESS TO INTELLIGENCE ABOUT AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA. LARGER SOVIET SHIPMENTS DID NOT BEGIN THIS OFFICIAL SAID, UNTIL AFTER THE UNITED STATES DECIDED TO HELP SUPPLY MR. SAVIMBI AND FURTHER DECIDED, AT A FORMAL MEETING OF "40 COMMITTEE" IN JULY, TO SHIP MILLIONS OF DOLLARS WORTH OF SUPPLIES TO ANGOLA.

25. THE "40 COMMITTEE" IS A FOUR-MAN SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR APPROVING ALL PROPOSALS FOR COVERT INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT BY THIS COUNTRY ABROAD. MR. KISSINGER IS THE COMMITTEE'S HEAD, AND THE OTHER MEMBERS ARE MR. COLBY, WILLIAM CLEMENT, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, AND GEN. GEORGE S. BROWN, CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF.

26. A NUMBER OF SOURCES NOTED THAT MR. DAVIS, IN A STEADY STREAM OF MEMORANDA SENT TO MR. KISSINGER AND OTHERS THIS SUMMER, CITED THREE MAIN ARGUMENTS AGAINST INCREASED UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA.

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27. "FIRST OF ALL," SAID AN OFFICIAL DIRECTLY INVOLVED, "DAVIS TOLD THEM IT WON'T WORK. NEITHER SAVIMBI OR ROBERTO ARE GOOD FIGHTERS--IN FACT, THEY COULDN'T FIGHT THEIR WAY OUT OF A PAPER BAG. IT'S THE WRONG GAME AND THE PLAYERS WE GOT ARE LOSERS."

28. SECONDLY, THE OFFICIAL QUOTED MR. DAVIS AS HAVING ARGUED FURTHER ARGUING THAT WHEN THE UNITED STATES' EFFORTS ENDED IN FAILURE, THAT FAILURE INEVITABLY WOULD BE EXTREMELY DAMAGING TO THE TWO LEADING AFRICAN MODERATES WHO ARE AMERICAN SUPPORTERS, PRESIDENTS MOBUTU OF ZAIRE AND KENNETH D. KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA.

29. FINALLY, THE OFFICIAL SAID, MR. DAVIS ARGUED REPEATEDLY THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD END UP WITH RACIST SOUTH AFRICA AS ITS ONLY AFRICAN ALLY.

30. "FOR YEARS," THE OFFICIAL ADDED, "SOUTH AFRICA HAS PUSHED THE LINE THAT THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WERE ARMS OF COMMUNISM. RESISTING THAT ARGUMENT WAS HAS (SIC) ALWAYS BEEN SENSIBLE AFRICAN POLICY" FOR THE UNITED STATES. "NOW, OF COURSE", HE SAID, "WE AND SOUTH AFRICA ARE ALLIES."

31. AS MANY AS 1,000 WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS NOW ARE RE- (SIC) AND FIGHTING AGAINST THE POPULAR MOVEMENT.
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