THE WHITE HOUSE

July 12, 1975

For Jerry Bremer

From Bud McFarlane

Per our conversation.

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

I. SUMMARY

The forces of Agostinho Neto appear strong enough to seize the Angolan capital and surrounding area.

Mobutu is exhausted economically and can no longer support Holden Roberto who lacks a countrywide political following. Savimbi is weak militarily but has political strength.

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WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

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II. BACKGROUND

- A. The military balance among the three contending nationalist groups in Angola has recently shifted in favor of Agostinho Neto's Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), thanks to an influx of arms from the USSR via Congo.
- B. Neto is strong among urban dwellers and among the Kimbundu tribes which surround Luanda. He has exploited his newly found weapons superiority to press his military advantage around the capital. He is pushing Roberto's forces back into their tribal lands and is strong enough militarily to defeat, if he chose, the Savimbi forces around Luanda who are relatively unarmed.
- C. The lightly armed forces of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) led by Holden Roberto do not seem able to cope with the better armed MPLA. The FNLA has serious leadership weaknesses at the middle level and, depending as it does largely on the Bakongo tribes of northern Angola, faces difficulty in building a following throughout Angola.
- D. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) led by Jonas Savimbi is based on the

numerically large Ovimbundu tribes. UNITA enjoys a large following in eastern and southern Angola. Its leadership appears dynamic. Savimbi is recruiting new forces but does not now have sufficient arms for the men he has in training.

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IV. OBJECTIVES AND PROSPECTS

A. Our primary objective is to prevent a Neto takeover and the establishment of an MPLA-controlled state

with close Communist ties.

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B. We also share the interest of Savimbi and Roberto in avoiding a protracted civil war in Angola, even if it means that the MPLA remains the third party of a three-party government. Up to now, together Savimbi and Roberto enjoy support not only from Mobutu and Kaunda but other of the non-radical leaders of Africa as well. Savimbi also appeals to some elements in the new Portuguese regime. Neither Savimbi nor Roberto can afford to alienate these other leaders. They need not only their political and financial support, but also in the case of Mobutu and

Kaunda the right to transship supplies through Zaire and Zambia. A protracted civil war in Angola would reduce chances for the peaceful solution of the Rhodesian and South-West Africa issues.

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