

Tiger to Ride, hasty note to be checked carefully on writing 12/20/75

I think the head (Thaw Vanishes as Castro Blasts U.S.) and the theme of the day-late story on Castro's speech to the national congress miss the real import.

The emphasis, aside from attack on U.S., is what is implied in his omission of mention of China: that he has become anti-Chinese.

I think the point of his speech in these aspects has to have broader meaning.

I also think that it may be the signalling of a new effort to prevent U.S. intrusion into the affairs of newly-emerged or emerging states, specifically Angola. The CIA, which he really went after, is the instrument of these intrusions since the period of Marines ended. He attack on the CIA would not ordinarily be of such length were it only for the purpose of complaining that it tried to kill him, not news in Cuba or elsewhere. It would have been enough for this purpose merely to repeat what is fact: that the Senate had confirmed his charges.

Particularly do I think this marks a new beginning because he has troops in Angola. There from other accounts, whether or not accurate, the majority faction is less revolutionary than pretended in the U.S. much less so than the Maoist faction, and the U.S. supported segment is a minority long on the CIA teat and holding less of the country than the Castro-USSR supported group.

Were there no other considerations, China cannot help the opposition to the U.S. faction with effectiveness. USSR can. Were there no other consideration, Castro, who could send men to one as well as the other non-US faction, would naturally opt to help the one he considers has the best chance.

With this simplification, one purpose of the length of his attack on the US could be to tell the Chinese that he is not opposed to them and to make this clear elsewhere. Whether or not so, his lack of reference to China could be for this reason as well as the presence of Mikhail Suslov.

If there was one central purpose it was, I think, to tell the US as well as the rest of the world that this marks the beginning of the end of tolerance of US interventions. The story this may be deceptive in attributing what Suslov said to interest in preserving "detente." There is no one-way detente. What Suslov said is "the most crucial problem of our age is the problem of preventing a new world war." Inherent in this is preventing what could start a new world war. What the US has been doing and continues doing in Angola is one such cause.

From what little has been reported it seems likely that the combination of the Castro and Suslov speeches is this clear signal to the US, where there is support for the position: your interventions must end. This is the first time there has been significant political support for ending interventions in the US. It coincides with the radically changed world situation, especially the ability of the Arabs to bring the western economies to a virtual halt. In this sense it really puts the question of war or peace squarely on US policy and is such a warning.

Selecting Angola for this warning was made much easier because most of the rest of the world and a majority of African nations that have taken public positions have been turned against the US on this because its faction is also that supported by racist South Africa.

Whether or not DumDum Ford can be made to see this, State and CIA if not also military analysts will consider these possibilities in their analyses.

Ford Assails Cuba, Russia Over Angola

12/21/75

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Ford declared yesterday that Cuban intervention in Angola had wrecked any chances of improved U.S.-Cuban relations.

He also said that the Soviet Union's action in sending military aid to a favored faction in the war-torn African nation had damaged detente policies and may have cooled the prospects for successful arms limitation talks.

"The action by the Cuban government in sending combat forces to Angola destroys any opportunity for improvement in relations with the United States," Mr. Ford told a hastily called news conference yesterday. "They've made a choice which, in effect, and I mean it very literally, has precluded any improvement in relations with Cuba."

The President made his statement a day after the Senate, by a 54 to 22 vote, blocked any further funds for Central Intelligence Agency aid to U.S.-supported factions in Angola.

Mr. Ford denounced this Senate action Friday as a "deep tragedy for all nations whose security depends on the United States," and he repeated this concern yesterday in his informal news conference in the White House press office. Other countries, he said, "can't help but have misgivings" about future assistance.

"The action of the Senate has seriously handicapped any effort that we could make to achieve a negotiated settlement so that the people of Angola could have a free and independent government," Mr. Ford said.

When the President was asked subsequently whether the Soviet role in Angola had damaged prospects for U.S.-Soviet arms limitation talks, he replied:

"The persistence of the Soviet Union in Angola with

\$100 million or more worth of military aid certainly does not help the continuation of detente."

In recent months there had been some indications of improved U.S.-Cuban relations and widespread predictions that the two countries would ultimately

See ANGOLA, A16, Col.1

ANGOLA, From A1

restore the normal relations that were severed after Fidel Castro came to power.

But the Angola issue had dampened these prospects even before Mr. Ford spoke yesterday.

Recently, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger had vetoed a proposal for Cuban sports teams to visit the United States, indicating that it was a reaction to the Angolan situation.

The White House estimates that there are 4,000 to 6,000 Cuban troops in Angola fighting on the side of the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

Mr. Ford readily acknowledged that the United States had been providing military assistance to other

Angolan factions. He called the U.S. aid a "legitimate covert operation" and declined to give details on its cost.

The President repeated an earlier statement that no U.S. military troops are being used in Angola nor are any contemplated.

He said the Senate action Friday "tied the hands" of the U.S. government and made it difficult to pursue a diplomatic solution.

But he did indicate that the United States was supportive of an African summit meeting called for Addis Ababa Jan. 10-12 in an effort to end the Angolan war.

It will be the first emergency session held by the Organization of African Unity since its founding 12 years ago and there is skepticism, both

in Africa and the United States, that it can persuade the three Angolan factions to stop fighting.

Mr. Ford declined to say in any specific fashion what he intends to do next about Angola now that the Senate has cut off further military aid.

But he did express a hope that the House would reverse the action. The Senate

amendment prohibiting aid to Angola was added to a \$112.3 billion defense appropriations bill that will not be acted upon until next year.

This will give the White

House time to try to enlist House support to scrap the amendment. But it also means there will be no military aid for Angola once \$5 million that is now "in the pipeline" and another \$3.2 million in a special emergency fund are expended.

Thaw Vanishes as Castro Blasts U.S.

12/20/78

Report to Congress Attacks CIA, Praises Soviets, Ignores Chinese

By Joanne Omang

Washington Post Foreign Service

HAVANA, Dec. 19—The United States has emerged again as Cuba's chief enemy, problem and target in what appears to be a definite end to any thaw in relations between the two countries.

Instead, the theme of the first national congress of the Cuban Communist Party this week is a love song between Cuba and the Soviet Union aimed at listeners in the rest of Latin America.

Absent from Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro's 10-hour opening "report to the nation" Wednesday and Thursday was any reference to China, with which he has occasionally flirted. Also absent were any traces of the detente with the United States that seemed to be evident last spring.

Instead, Castro hammered again and again at the theme that exploitative North Americans bled Cuba mercilessly before the triumph of his revolution on Jan. 1, 1959, and had launched recurrent attempts to destroy it since. With the help of the Soviet Union, he said repeatedly, Cuba had achieved on every front progress unequalled anywhere in Latin America.

"Without the decided, firm

and generous help of the Soviet people," he said, "our country would not have been able to survive the confrontation with imperialism."

"In the solidarity offered to Cuba . . . the immortal (Soviet) revolution of October projected itself with invincible force onto the destiny of this continent," Castro said.

Foreign diplomatic sources have estimated that Cuba now receives an estimated \$1.5 million per day in aid from the Soviet Union.

Among the 82 foreign delegations observing the party congress is one from the Soviet Union, headed by Mikhail Suslov, considered the U.S.S.R.'s top political theologian. In contrast to Castro's address, Suslov's speech to the 3,000 delegates in the Karl Marx Auditorium did not once mention the United States by name. Instead, Suslov called repeatedly on other Latin American nations to look closely at Cuba's example.

Suslov said that the "international significance" of the Cuban revolution was that it showed that "the correlation of forces in the world" has changed in favor of socialism, and "the people even of a small, semicolonial country can achieve full national liberation, carry out radical social change, overcome economic backwardness and achieve impressive progress

in all areas of life. "All this has been possible," he continued, "only because Cuba opted for the socialist way," and pursued it "in spite of imperialist aggression, blockade, diversionary tactics and blackmail."

Following the official Soviet policy favoring detente, Suslov also avoided attacking the United States in referring to "the most crucial problem of our age: the problem of stopping a new world war."

Besides achieving an effective limit to the arms race, he said, "it is necessary to be extremely vigilant against machination of the enemies of peace and of international collaboration in both the East and the West." This appeared to be a reference to China as well as to the United States.

The anti-United States theme in Castro's speech reached a peak in his bitter denunciation of Central Intelligence Agency plots against the lives of several Cuban leaders, including his own. He said the plots involved "poisons capable of killing entire cities, pistols with silencers, and microscopic poisoned bullets that practically leave no wound on the skin, pens with small holes, usable without the victim knowing about it to inoculate toxic products of delayed effect, that kill and are untraceable after death."

"Never in the history of international relations," Castro said, "have such practices been systematized . . . against the lives of leaders of another country. Nevertheless, not one voice in the concert of the Organization of American States was raised to denounce such criminal practices, and this was the infamous institution that, for finding Marxism-Leninism in-

compatible with the system, expelled us from its rolls and, invoking subversion, subjoined us to the brutal measures of an economic blockade and political isolation."

Referring only indirectly to Angola, where an estimated 4,000 Cuban

troops are aiding an embattled Communist-oriented government, Castro said Cuba would "continue to offer all the solidarity that may be necessary" to consolidate the new government's position.

The congress went into closed committee sessions today to debate provisions of the new national constitution that will be put to a nationwide referendum Feb. 16. The congress continues through Tuesday, when a massive public demonstration is scheduled to express popular support for the document.