

Angola Stymies Africans

Pullout Notice Denied

FA-76
By Murrey Marder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Ford administration officials said yesterday that all foreign forces should withdraw from Angola "the sooner the better," but they denied receiving notice that South Africa is pulling out its troops "within 48 hours."

The United States wanted South Africa to announce before the opening of the 46-nation Organization of African Unity conference in Addis Ababa yesterday that it is prepared to remove its forces from Angola.

The presence of Pretoria's troops there, reinforcing American-supported-Angolan anti-communist factions, has put the United States on the spot and has undercut U.S. demands for withdrawal of Soviet advisers and 5,000 to 7,500 Cuban troops supporting the other side.

U.S. sources said it is unlikely, although not impossible, that South Africa would precipitously pull all its troops out of Angola without bargaining for something in return. At the most, these sources said, they were hoping for an announcement of intention to withdraw rather than an actual pullout.

Authoritative U.S. sources said late yesterday that South Africa has made clear that it plans at a minimum to keep in place its troops who are just over the Angolan border to guard the Cunene hydroelectric project, until the safety of that plant is assured. Other South African troops are deeper in Angola.

A spokesman at the South African embassy in Washington reaffirmed that position yesterday. The Cunene plant, about 15 miles

See DIPLOMACY A6, Col.6

Session Defers Issue

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Foreign Service

ADDIS ABABA, Jan. 8—African foreign ministers met here today to begin preparations for a summit meeting on Angola and almost immediately ended their meeting in what observers saw as an admission that the issues is too hot for them to handle.

After meeting for less than three hours, the ministers announced that they had agreed on an agenda for the summit session scheduled to begin Saturday—"the problem of Angola"—and were turning the matter over to their chiefs of state to debate and take action on.

Observers here could recall no precedent for such an abrupt action and said it showed that the Angola issue is too explosive and divisive for the foreign ministers themselves to deal with, despite the growing expectation here that the Cuban- and Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola will be recognized by the Organization of African Unity as Angola's sole legitimate government.

Keynote speeches at the ministers' session made it clear that South Africa—which with the United States is backing the Popular Movement's two rivals—will be the main target for attack and condemnation and probably the main rallying point for African unity at a meeting otherwise deeply split over how to resolve the Angolan crisis.

To date, 21 of the OAU's 46 member states have recognized the Popular Movement, while none has yet recognized the Western-backed alliance of the Popular Movement's opponents, the National Front for the

See SUMMIT, A6, Col.1

U. S. Denies Knowledge Of Pullout by S. Africa

DIPLOMACY, From A1 inside Angola's border, supplies power to neighboring Southwest Africa (Namibia). Pretoria's control of Namibia is violently condemned by African nations.

There are an estimated 1,000 to 1,500 South African troops in Angola, supporting the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (NFLA). The United States is supplying weapons and money to UNITA and the National Front in their fight against the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

South Africa has specifically acknowledged only that it has forces protecting the Cunene project. On Wednesday night the National Broadcasting Co. said in a television report that the United States "has received word the South Africans will be out of Angola within 48 hours." Other news agencies subsequently reported variations of that account.

White House press secretary Ron Nessen said

yesterday, "We have received no official word that South Africa is withdrawing troops" from the Angolan civil war. Many listeners interpreted Nessen's language as an official hedge, for the United States insists it is "not cooperating" with South Africa, but is engaged only in an "exchange of intelligence."

But other sources said the United States has no information on an actual troop withdrawal, although these sources have said that South African troops in Angola recently have become "less active."

South Africa prevented its own newspapers yesterday from publishing the NBC report. In Cape Town, a Defense Ministry spokesman, when asked if the report was accurate, said, "To the best of my knowledge—no."

South African Defense Minister Pieter Botha yesterday avoided the specific subject. He said in a statement that appeared timed to the OAU meeting in Addis Ababa:

"On many occasions in the past we have emphasized that

South Africa has no claim in Angola and that we would like to see Angola as a free and independent country—free from interference on the part of outside forces."

Ford administration, South Africa and many other anti-Communist governments in Europe and in Africa are trying to head off an OAU condemnation of South Africa that does not also reproach the Soviet Union and Cuba.

State Department spokesman Robert L. Funseth reiterated yesterday, "We want all foreign forces out of Angola, and the sooner the better."

The spokesman rejected as "completely unwarranted" Nigeria's attack Tuesday on President Ford's private letter to Nigeria and other African governments. The letter said the United States would not "stand idly by" if Soviet and Cuban intervention in Angola continues.

Nigeria's government-controlled newspapers said Mr. Ford's letter to head of state Brig. Gen. Murtala Muhammet insulted African intelligence and "the dignity of the black man."

S. Africa Pullout Report

Cheers West on Angola

By Bernard D. Nossiter

Washington Post Foreign Service

LISBON, Jan. 8—Western diplomats were quietly cheering today over reports that South Africa will pull its troops out of Angola by the weekend. Britain and other European nations have been urging precisely this course, asserting that it is the vital precondition for preventing the spread of Soviet influence in Africa.

There are no differences between the United States and its allies over stemming Soviet gains, but there has been a sharp, if hidden, disagreement over tactics—particularly those involving South Africa.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs William Schaufele reportedly argued in London earlier this week that any pullback by South Africans should be matched by the Soviets and their Cuban proxies in Angola.

But the Britons and other Europeans think this is too mechanical a formula and argue in favor of a unilateral South African withdrawal.

As long as South African troops are fighting with one side in the Angolan civil war, the Europeans believe, black African states have no choice but to condemn them and ignore the Soviet backing for the other side. In black African eyes, South Africa is the racist upholder of white supremacy and no other evil is comparable.

If South Africa withdraws before the Organization of African Unity meets on Saturday, the Africans will be free to condemn foreign interference generally in the civil war. The Soviet Union, in

that case, will be the target for some of the attacks that might otherwise have been reserved exclusively for South Africa and the United States.

A South African departure would enable black African states to consider Moscow as an unwanted, imperialist intruder, a role that will hardly strengthen Soviet influence.

Less abstractly, a South African pullout should lessen the dependence of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Angola on its Soviet supplier of arms and men. European specialists are convinced that the Popular Movement is as much African as it is Marxist and chafes under its growing burden of debt to Moscow. The longer South Africa stays, the argument goes, the heavier and more sophisticated the weaponry will become on both sides and the faster the political debt to the Soviets will mount.

Finally, the European diplomats see a South African withdrawal as halting the stampede of African states to recognize the Popular Movement as the sole government in Angola. Twenty of the 47 African states have already done so and South Africa's presence is said to be tilting others in the same direction. A pullout, however, enables the fence sitters to hold their place and strengthens those who favor a tripartite government of Popular Movement, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

The European diplomats do not expect a complete withdrawal but they do look for a pullback of the South African column that has been fighting deep in southern Angola.

It is expected that South African troops will continue to patrol across the border from Namibia where Johannesburg fears Angolan guerrillas aiding any independence movement in Namibia and insists on protecting a dam that is a vital source of power for the South African dependency.

A striking feature of discussion with diplomats in Europe is the surprising number of career U.S.

Foreign Service men who openly express their disagreement with Washington. They say that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's policy boils down to a belief that the United States must be heavily involved in Angola because Moscow is there. They think this is a remarkably oversimplified position with overtones of a dubious domino theory for Africa.

One official said he had been told by a Washington colleague that more than half the members of the State Department's African Bureau were out of sympathy with the policy. The colleague, who supports it, dismissed the majority view as an "emotional" concern over Washington lining up with South Africa.

Angola Issue Stymies OAU

SUMMIT. From At Liberation of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

Although the African organization's current chairman, Uganda's President Idi Amin, called from Kampala for a cease-fire timed to the summit meeting and urged a three-way coalition government of national unity in Angola, there was increasing doubt here that the OAU can reconcile the three warring parties at this late date.

Keynote speakers warned that the issue poses the most serious crisis in the OAU's 13 years of existence, and Ghana's Foreign Minister R. J.A. Felli said that Angola could be the death-knell of the organization if no African solution is found.

Foreshadowing the direction that speeches here are expected to take, Gen. Teferi Bante, chairman of Ethiopia's provisional military government, today said, "The struggle in Angola is for the soul and body of Africa," adding:

"For the first time, in a sustained and determined manner, (South Africa) has taken the offensive against the onward march of in-

dependence in southern Africa. This offensive will have to be stopped in its tracks or it will reel back the frontiers of freedom."

Ghana's Felli called pursuit of an Angolan government of national unity "futile" at this point, and came out strongly in support of the Popular Movement as Angola's human and material interference in Angola" and the adoption by the African organization of a pure "African solution."

But he, like half a dozen other arriving foreign ministers interviewed, gave little indication of what the basis for such a solution might be.

It increasingly appears that the major divisive issue at the summit may well be that of whether to extend formal diplomatic recognition to the Popular Movement—and thereby risk splitting the African body into two hostile blocs and eliminating any possibility for a reconciliation among the three Angolan parties.

Supporters of UNITA and the National Front, and those still hoping for a national unity government, will probably try to prevent the OAU from taking a decision on the issue.

One likely tactic is to argue that the OAU has no right to deal with the problem.

The foreign ministers of



United Press International

A captured South African soldiers being presented to reporters at Luanda's Ministry of Information in December, according to an Angolan newspaper.

Gabon, Morocco, Central African Republic and Senegal all concurred in airport arrival statements today that "Recognition is a question that concerns individual states, not the Organization of African Unity."

Another likely strategy is to get recognition considered "an important matter" requiring a two-thirds vote.

The other major object of attention and speculation here

today was the arrival of a four-man Cuban delegation led by Ricardo Alarcon, Cuba's permanent representative at the United Nations. Osman Cienfuegos, a member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and secretary of the Council of Ministers, is also expected here.

It is not known yet what status the Cuban delegation will have at the conference, but it likely will be admitted as an observer.

A similar status may also be granted to Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.), a leading member of the Black Caucus, who arrived here yesterday calling for the United States to respect whatever decisions the OAU adopts.

was reported to be under pressure from the State Department not to pay Angola \$130 million in oil revenues but rather to put the money in escrow until the Angolan situation clarifies.

Cabinda's Oil Wells Said in Production

Reuter

BELGRADE, Jan. 8—Angolan workers have partly resumed oil production in Cabinda, Angola's northern enclave, the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug reported from Luanda today.

Quoting reports from Cabinda, which is controlled by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, Tanjug said Angolans and workers of other nationalities who refused to leave for Zaire with American experts had reopened some of Cabinda's wells.

Last month Gulf Oil stopped its operations in Cabinda and withdrew experts from the area. At the same time, Gulf