

FORB AD

Kissinger Believes Cuba 'Exports' Revolution Again

While Blaming Soviet Union in Public,
He Is Said to Believe That Havana
Acted on Own Initiative in Angola

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WASHINGTON, Feb. 4—Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger has concluded that Cuba is again in the business of "exporting revolution" on its own initiative, this time to Angola, to the Sahara and perhaps elsewhere outside the hemisphere, according to knowledgeable officials.

But Mr. Kissinger has reportedly decided not to say this in public for now, preferring instead to hold the Soviet Union primarily responsible for large-scale military intervention in Angola, including the presence of 11,000 Cuban troops there.

The officials said that his rationale was that the United States had virtually no leverage with respect to Cuba, while its détente relationship with the Soviet Union permitted application of considerable diplomatic leverage.

"I believe the Cubans went in there with flags flying," he told a questioner the other day with regard to the Cuban involvement in Angola.

Theory Is Rejected

Mr. Kissinger said that he had rejected the theory held until recently by most of the Administration's leading specialists on Cuba that Prime Minister Fidel Castro had been forced by Soviet pressure to send the troops.

But last Thursday, in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on African affairs, Mr. Kissinger continued to dwell on "the Soviet Union's massive and unprecedented intervention in the internal affairs of Africa." He spoke later of "Soviet-Cuban intervention." Yet he stressed that Cuba was acting merely as the "client state" of the Soviet Union.

He spoke also of "the application of Soviet power achieved in part through the expeditionary force of a client state."

One reason for the change in the American assessment of Cuba's motive, the Administration officials said, was the doubling of the number of Cuban troops in Angola over the last five weeks, from an estimated 5,500 in mid-December to about 11,000 now. Another reason offered was a sequence of remarks by Prime Minister Castro and one of his aides on the subject earlier in January.

First Acknowledgment

The first public statement by a Havana official on the role of the Cuban troops was made on Jan. 10 to two reporters of American publications by the Deputy Prime Minister, for Foreign Relations, Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodríguez.

The next was by Prime Minister Castro at a news conference on Jan. 15, in which he said Cuban combat units went into action last fall because, "on Oct. 23 the panzer columns of South Africa launched an invasion of Angola in a German blitzkrieg-style war."

Mr. Castro went on to say that Cuba supports revolutionaries everywhere, adding: "The United States was fighting in Vietnam against the revolutionaries against imperialism and foreign aggressors. Our presence there is a source of satisfaction and pride for us."

However, it was apparent that Mr. Castro still felt embarrassed about the size of the Cuban involvement because neither the remarks of Dr. Rodríguez nor the Castro news conference were carried in the Cuban press or on the Cuban radio.

Ordinary Cubans who expressed concern over the fate of relatives fighting in Angola to foreigners said they had to rely on foreign broadcasts for information about the African war at that time.

Heroes Are Hailed

Not until last week did Granma, the Cuban Communist Party newspaper, carry any mention of the Cuban soldiers. Granma, in an editorial about Angola, said: "Heroic Cuban fighters are providing their solidarity and aid to the patriots who are defending their land."

Two days later, according to American monitors, Mr. Castro permitted his own remarks defending the Cuban troop involvement to be broadcast on the Havana radio domestic service. The radio also carried additional statements he had made to a group of Canadian reporters accompanying Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau on an official visit.

As to the question of pressure on the Cubans by the Soviet Union, a Soviet official remarked last week: "We did not twist their arms. We didn't even have to twist their arms. The Cubans wanted to go in."

Another Soviet representative, with experience in Cuba, observed: "They are more radical than we are."

Both Russians said that Cuban military advisers had

gone to Angola last spring to train recruits of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. They said this was before Soviet advisers had appeared in Luanda, the Angolan capital. On Jan. 10, Dr. Rodríguez appeared to confirm this, saying that Cuba had sent 250 advisers to Angola in June, 1975.

In addition, substantial numbers of Cuban military advisers have been reported to be active in southern Yemen, Guinea, Congo, Syria and Algeria. There are unconfirmed press and intelligence reports that 300 Cubans are in Algeria to train and assist troops fighting against Morocco in the disputed Spanish Sahara.

United States military intelligence officials reported that a Cuban armored unit of 500 men arrived in Syria during the Middle East war of October 1973 and was deployed with equipment brought in from the Soviet Union. The officials said the Cubans apparently returned home about a year ago.

Israeli officials said this week they believed the unit had turned up in Angola, but American officials could not confirm this. "Maybe some of them went to Angola," one said.

Anxiety in Africa

According to Administration officials, the actions of the Cubans in Angola have caused "panic" in neighboring Zaire and Zambia. Other African countries have also expressed concern over possible Cuban intervention in other African disputes — especially in Southern Africa.

The Cuban role in Angola has also caused anxiety to 10 Latin-American countries, including five that have recently restored relations with Cuba, the Administration officials said.

Among countries that have diplomatic ties with Havana and that have expressed public concern about Cuba's actions is Venezuela, which in 1964 was subjected to guerrilla attacks emanating from Cuba. The others have confined their fears to diplomatic circles, American officials said.

The phrase "export of revolution" grew out of the 1964 action in Venezuela and was incorporated by the Organization of American states in a declaration of that year imposing a political and economic embargo against Cuba. The embargo was lifted last summer.

Mr. Castro has repeatedly denied that he favors "export of revolution"—again last week in a speech welcoming Prime Minister Trudeau. But Administration officials believe Mr. Castro enjoys the role his troops are playing in Angola and elsewhere.

Angola Divides Cubans

HAVANA, Feb. 4 (UPI)—Military intervention in Angola has caused more complaining against the Cuban Government than any issue in recent years, according to resident diplomats.

The Cuban people were only told officially in recent weeks that there were troops in Angola—by some estimates 12,000—but they have known of it all along. Prime Minister Castro himself says the first major troop shipment was in early November.

There is no public manifestation of opposition to Cuban troops fighting in Africa. But, according to diplomatic sources, complaints have been voiced at Communist Party meetings, and some militia reserves have balked at service in Angola.

A Generation Gap

Conversations with some 30 Cubans in downtown Havana indicated that there is a generation gap as far as Angolan intervention is concerned.

The young, educated since the 1959 revolution, favor intervention, while the older Cubans opposed it or have reservations.

"Last week two of our work companions decided to go," said one construction worker. "If one of them is killed, somebody else will stand up and say, 'I want to go and fight!'"

"Sure Cubans are dying in Angola," said a young black university student. "So are Russians, Chinese, South Africans and maybe American mercenaries. A bullet has no name."

'A Duty to Help'

"The small nations have a duty to help other small nations," said a young carpenter. "Some people are opposed to sending troops. Some people are always opposed to everything."

A retired seaman, leaning out the window of his ground-floor apartment, said he had lost a nephew in the Angolan fighting. Does everyone favor sending troops to Angola? "The dead aren't, nor are their relatives," he said.

"Half of Cuba has been sent to Angola," said a woman of about 60 who joined the conversation. "They've been shipping back the dead and wounded."

No public mention has been made of casualties. But one rumor mentioned by a diplomat said a ship docked in Havana in December carried 450 dead and wounded.