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FM LUANDA 260940Z AUG 81

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 349 OF 26 AUG

INFO IMMEDIATE CAPETOWN UKMIS NEW YORK WASHINGTON
PRIORITY LUSAKA MAPUTO GABORONE DAR ES SALAAM SALISBURY KINSHASA
LAGOS BONN OTTAWA PARIS

ANGOLA/SOUTH AFRICAN INCURSION.

1. ANGOLAN MINISTRY OF DEFENCE ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE ON EVENING OF
25 AUGUST RECALLING ALL MILITARY PERSONNEL ON LEAVE INSIDE AND
OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTRY TO BARRACKS WITHIN 48 HOURS. THOSE INSIDE
COUNTRY SHOULD REPORT TO NEAREST ANGOLAN MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.
THOSE OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY SHOULD REPORT TO NEAREST ANGOLAN EMBASSY.

2. ALL COMMERCIAL FLIGHTS BETWEEN LUANDA AND LUBANGO HAVE BEEN

SUSPENDED.

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FM LUANDA 261135Z AUG 81
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 350 OF 26 AUGUST
INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON PARIS BONN CAPETOWN UKMIS NEW YORK
INFO PRIORITY LUSAKA MAPUTO GABORONE DAR ES SALAAM SALISBURY
KINSHASA LAGOS NAIROBI

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Prime Minister 2
These are the reports from
Luanda, Cape Town, &
Washington on Angola.
Also attached is the FCO's
statement of the UK position

LN
26/8

MS

ANGOLA: SOUTH AFRICAN INCURSION

1. MORAIS (MINISTER FOR PETROLEUM) DISCUSSED WITH ME AT HIS INVITATION SITUATION IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA.
2. MINISTER SAID THAT VERY HEAVY FIGHTING HAD TAKEN PLACE YESTERDAY BETWEEN CAHAMA AND CHIBEMBA. HE WAS AWAITING DETAILS FROM MINISTER FOR DEFENCE BUT EXPECTED F A P L A CASUALTIES TO BE HEAVY.
3. ANGOLAN AIR-FORCE HAD NOT BEEN ENGAGED. THEY WERE NOT GOING TO BE USED IN PRESENT ACTION BECAUSE ANGOLAN PILOTS WERE NOT YET READY FOR COMBAT.
4. ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT HAD INSTRUCTED THAT CUBAN UNITS SHOULD NOT INTERVENE IN PRESENT ENGAGEMENT.
5. MOBILISATION CARRIED OUT YESTERDAY MEANT CALL-UP OF ANGOLAN MILITIA AS WELL AS REGULAR F A P L A UNITS. SO FAR AS MORAIS KNEW THERE WERE NO MAJOR S W A P O CAMPS IN AREA OF PRESENT ACTION. HE THOUGHT SOUTH AFRICAN INTENTION MUST BE, IN PART, POLITICAL.
6. PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS HAD RECEIVED TELEGRAM FROM PRESIDENT SHAGARI OFFERING ASSISTANCE OF NIGERIAN TROOPS. MORAIS THOUGHT THAT DOS SANTOS WOULD ACCEPT THIS OFFER.
7. MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS HAD NOT YET SUMMONED REPRESENTATIVES OF THREE OR DIPLOMATIC CORPS AS A WHOLE FOR SITUATION BRIEFING BUT DA MOURA WOULD BE DOING SO.
8. MEANWHILE DOS SANTOS HAS SENT MESSAGES TO MOI AND CASTRO IN CAPACITIES AS PRESIDENTS OF O A U AND N A M OUTLINING EVENTS IN MY TELNO 347 (NOT TO ALL) AND ASKING THEIR EFFORTS TO HALT CURRENT AGGRESSION AND QUOTE THE IMMINENT MAJOR INVASION UNQUOTE. DA MOURA HAS ALSO SENT MESSAGE TO WALDHEIM OUTLINING EVENTS IN MY TELNO 347 STATING QUOTE THE ANGOLAN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE WILL FORMULATE THE PRESENTATION OF THE COMPLAINT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL UNQUOTE. HE ASKS WALDHEIM TO CIRCULATE THIS AS OFFICIAL DOCUMENT.
9. COMMENT FOLLOWS.

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FM LUANDA 261320Z AUG 81

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 351 OF 26 AUGUST

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON UKMIS NEW YORK PARIS BONN CAPETOWN
PRIORITY LUSAKA MAPUTO DAR ES SALAAM GABORONE SALISBURY KINSHASA
LAGOS

M I P T: ANGOLA/SOUTH AFRICAN INCURSION

1. MORAIS AGAIN REPEATED THAT IT HAD BEEN ANGOLA'S INTENTION TO RUN DOWN THE CUBAN PRESENCE AS CIRCUMSTANCES PERMITTED. THERE HAD ALREADY BEEN SOME REDUCTION AND HE THOUGHT THAT THERE WERE NOW LESS THAN 18,000 (EIGHTEEN THOUSAND) CUBAN TROOPS IN THE COUNTRY. THIS INTENTION COULD OBVIOUSLY BE FRUSTRATED BY THE KIND OF SA MILITARY INTERVENTION NOW TAKING PLACE.
2. ALTHOUGH THE ANGOLANS ARE CLEARLY DRAMATISING THE SITUATION THE SOUTH AFRICAN ATTACK COULD HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES BOTH FOR PROSPECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON CUBAN WITHDRAWAL AND FOR THE NEXT ROUND OF NAMIBIA NEGOTIATIONS. THIS MAY BE PART OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INTENTION.
3. WHILST THE ACTION TAKEN BY THE US SECRETARY OF STATE YESTERDAY (WASHINGTON TELNO 2506) IS HELPFUL, THE US WOULD GREATLY IMPROVE THEIR OWN POSITION VIS A VIS THE ANGOLANS IF THEY COULD ALSO GIVE SOME PUBLIC INDICATION THAT THEY DEPLORE THE RAID. IN OUR OPINION THEY DO VERY MUCH NEED TO IMPROVE THAT POSITION. A FORTHRIGHT PUBLIC STATEMENT WOULD ALSO HELP TO PRESERVE THE FIVE AGAINST THE INCREASING CENTRIFUGAL PRESSURES.
4. IF NIGERIAN OR OTHER ADDITIONAL FOREIGN TROOPS WERE TO ARRIVE IN ANGOLA THE ABILITY OF THE US TO CONTAIN THE SITUATION AND TO ACHIEVE THEIR STATED NEGOTIATING OBJECTIVES WOULD BE WEAKENED.
5. I HOPE THAT WE CAN SIMILARLY DEPLORE THE RAID IN STRONG TERMS. THIS WOULD ASSIST OUR POSITION HERE AND IN THE UN IN ADVANCE OF THE SPECIAL DEBATE. BEST OF ALL WOULD BE A STRONG AND UNEQUIVOCAL JOINT DECLARATION BY THE FIVE. WHILST THE ANGOLANS BELIEVE THAT THEIR EFFORTS IN RECENT WEEKS TO ALERT

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INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION TO THE SCALE OF THE THREAT WHICH THEY FACE FROM SOUTH AFRICA HAVE MET WITH SOME SUCCESS THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THAT THEY ARE DISSATISFIED WITH THE RESPONSE OF THE FIVE AS A WHOLE AND THE US IN PARTICULAR, ALTHOUGH THE HELPFULNESS OF THE LORD PRIVY SEAL'S STATEMENT OF 7 AUGUST HAS BEEN RECOGNISED.

6. IN CONSIDERING THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE ANGOLANS MAY EXAGGERATE AND DRAMATISE THE SCALE OF SOUTH AFRICAN ATTACKS IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED THAT THEY OPERATE WITHOUT AN ADEQUATE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM AND PROBABLY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO ASSESS ACCURATELY AND QUICKLY SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY OBJECTIVES. MY GUESS IS THAT THEY KNOW THAT THE PRESENT OPERATION, THOUGH ON A MAJOR SCALE, IS STILL LIMITED IN ITS OBJECTIVES BUT THAT THEY ARE GENUINELY DISTURBED AT THE SA MILITARY BUILD-UP ON THE ANGOLA/NAMIBIA BORDER.
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FM LUANDA 261500Z AUG 81
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 352 OF 26 AUGUST
INFO IMMEDIATE CAPETOWN WASHINGTON PARIS

IMMEDIATE
ADVANCE COPY

CAPETOWN TELNO 148 AND WASHINGTON TELNO 2506:

SOUTH AFRICA / ANGOLA

1. MY FRENCH COLLEAGUE UNDERSTANDS FROM THEIR MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT ALTHOUGH SOUTH AFRICAN GROUND FORCES HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN HEAVY FIGHTING AND HAVE TAKEN CASUALTIES THE MAIN OBJECTIVE OF PRESENT OPERATION HAS BEEN TO KNOCK OUT RADAR STATIONS BY AERIAL BOMBARDMENT. HOWEVER, CARE HAS BEEN TAKEN NOT TO ATTACK SOME SITES AROUND LUBANGO WHICH SOUTH AFRICANS BELIEVE ARE MANNED BY CUBANS. THIS SEEMS TO US A MORE CONVINCING EXPLANATION THAN THAT WHICH AMERICANS CLAIM PIK BOTHA OFFERED TO MR HAIG.

2. THERE APPEARS TO BE SOME CONFUSION ABOUT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ANGOLAN QUOTE MOBILISATION UNQUOTE. THIS IS NOT THE TOTAL MOBILISATION OF ALL RESERVES AS IN EUROPEAN SENSE. EVEN MORALS, TO WHOM I REFERRED THIS MORNING WAS NOT CLEAR ON THIS POINT.

MOBILISATION OF ALL RESERVES AS IN EUROPEAN SENSE. EVEN MORAIS,
TO WHOM I SPOKE THIS MORNING WAS NOT CLEAR ON THE POINT. WHEN I
ASKED HIM HOW MANY ADDITIONAL MEN WOULD BE CALLED TO ARMS AS A
RESULT OF MOBILISING MILITIA HE SAID THAT HE DID NOT KNOW BUT
THOUGHT THAT IT MIGHT BE QUOTE ABOUT 100,000 UNQUOTE.

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TO IMMEDIATE FCC

TELEGRAM NUMBER 353 OF 26 AUGUST

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON UKMIS NEW YORK CAPETOWN

PRIORITY LUSAKA MAPUTO DAR ES SALAAM GABORONE SALISBURY BONN PARIS

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ANGOLA/SOUTH AFRICA

1. THE VICE MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL RELATIONS, VENANCIO DA MOURA, SUMMONED THE AMBASSADORS OF THE THREE THIS AFTERNOON.
2. DA MOURA SAID THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WAS TO BRIEF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE THREE DIRECTLY AND EXPLICITLY ON THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA SO THAT WE COULD MAKE CLEAR TO OUR GOVERNMENT WHAT WAS HAPPENING. FOLLOWING EVENTS WHICH HAD BEEN DESCRIBED BY THE ANGOLAN MINISTRY OF DEFENCE COMMUNIQUE IN JUNE AND JULY HE HAD CONVENED A MEETING OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS TO EXPLAIN TO THEM THE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION. THERE HAD BEEN A DISPOSITION IN SOME SECTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS AND IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES EVEN AFTER THAT MEETING TO UNDER-ESTIMATE THE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION AND SOME TENDENCY TO BELIEVE SOUTH AFRICAN CLAIMS THAT THE REPORTS WERE QUOTE ANGOLAN PROPAGANDA UNQUOTE. THE EVENTS OF THE LAST THREE DAYS HAD DEMONSTRATED THE TRUTHFULNESS OF ANGOLA'S STATEMENTS.
3. ANGOLA HAD BEEN INVADDED BY THE ARMED FORCES OF SOUTH AFRICA. THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA VIEWED THIS ACT OF AGGRESSION COULD BE SEEN IN THE FACT THAT THE CHIEF OF STATE HAD FOUND IT NECESSARY TO SEND MESSAGES REQUESTING POLITICAL SUPPORT TO THE O A U, THE U N, AND OTHERS. HE WAS NOW ASKING US TO TRANSMIT A SIMILAR MESSAGE TO OUR GOVERNMENTS. HE WANTED US TO INFORM OUR GOVERNMENTS THAT ANGOLA WAS NOW GOING TO CALL FOR A MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO DEAL WITH THE INVASION OF SOUTHERN ANGOLA BY SOUTH AFRICA.
4. THERE HAD BEEN SPECULATION ON ANGOLA'S PREVIOUS REFERENCE TO POSSIBLE RECOURSE TO ARTICLE 51 OF THE U N CHARTER AND WHETHER THIS INDICATED AN INTENTION TO REQUEST INTERVENTION BY A QUOTE THIRD FORCE UNQUOTE. IT SHOULD NOW BE CLEAR THAT THE ONLY INTERVENTION HAD BEEN BY A SECOND FORCE, I.E. BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARMED FORCES ASSISTED BY REBELS AND MERCENARIES. NO OTHER FORCES WERE INVOLVED AND F A P L A ALONE WAS ENGAGING THE ENEMY IN ACTION. ANGOLA'S ONLY AIM WAS PEACE. SHE WANTED COOPERATION WITH ALL COUNTRIES INCLUDING THE FIVE BUT WITHOUT PEACE THAT COOPERATION WOULD BE COMPROMISED.
5. THE VICE MINISTER SAID THAT HE WOULD BE GLAD TO INVITE THE THREE AMBASSADORS TO VISIT THE SOUTHERN REGION AND TO ACCOMPANY THEM PERSONALLY IN ORDER THAT THEY COULD SEE FOR THEMSELVES THE REALITY AND EXTENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INVASION. THE ONLY PROBLEM WAS THE DIFFICULTY OF GUARANTEEING THE PERSONAL SAFETY OF THE VISITORS. THE MINISTER WENT ON TO SUMMARISE THE LATEST NEWS FROM THE FRONT.

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6. MORE THAN 10 (TEN) BATTALIONS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARMY WERE NOW IN THE PROVINCE OF CUNENE. ONDJIVA WAS SURROUNDED AND UNDER INTENSIVE AERIAL BOMBARDMENT. THE MUNICIPALITY OF XANGONGO HAD BEEN CAPTURED AND OCCUPIED BY SOUTH AFRICAN ARMY UNITS. DOZENS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TANKS AND ARMoured VEHICLES, SUPPORTED BY HELICOPTERS AND SOME TWO GROUPS OF HEAVY ARTILLERY WERE ADVANCING TOWARDS ONDJIVA.

7. CASUALTIES HAD BEEN SUFFERED BY BOTH SIDES IN THE EXTENSIVE FIGHTING WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE YESTERDAY BUT ACTUAL FIGURES HAD NOT YET BEEN RELEASED BY THE ANGOLAN MINISTRY OF DEFENCE.

8. IN HIS CONCLUDING WORDS OF THANKS, THE MINISTER SAID THAT HE HOPED THAT HE WAS CORRECT IN PRESUMING THAT FRANCE WAS STILL A MEMBER OF THE GROUP OF FIVE. MY COLLEAGUE ASSURED HIM THAT THIS WAS SO. THE MINISTER EXPRESSED HIS SATISFACTION AT THIS.

9. I ECHOED THE THANKS OF MY COLLEAGUES AND SAID THAT YOU WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR THIS FIRST-HAND INFORMATION. I REFERED TO THE STATEMENT WHICH SIR IAN GILMOUR HAD MADE ON 7 AUGUST AND ASSURED THE MINISTER THAT YOU WERE DEEPLY CONCERNED AT THE SITUATION. I HAD NOT AT THE TIME RECEIVED YOUR TELNO 81 TO CAPETOWN.) I HAVE THIS EVENING DELIVERED TO DA MOURA A COPY OF THE TEXT OF THE NEWS DEPARTMENT STATEMENT CONTAINED IN THAT TELEGRAM.

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