

PS (6)
PS/MR ONSLOW
PS/PUS
SIR J LEAHY
~~SIR J ALLISON~~ MR SQUIRE
MR ADAMS
MR GILLMORE
HD/SAFD
HD/CAFD
HD/UND
HD/DEF D
HD/NEWS D
MR FREELAND LAGAL ADV. Rm.K200A

DR FORD
MR ~~CONRAD~~ DOT
MR A J S GOODALL
CABINET OFFICE

PS/No.10 DOWNING STREET

IMMEDIATE

RESIDENT CLERK

CONFIDENTIAL
FM LUANDA 051200Z FEB 83
DECKBY 070230Z
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 82 OF 5 FEBRUARY

PAULO JORGE VISIT

1. PAULO JORGE WILL BE HOPING TO OBTAIN AN AFFIRMATION OF BRITISH SUPPORT FOR ANGOLAN SOVEREIGNTY AND A CONDEMNATION OF THE AGGRESSION AND ATTEMPTED SUBVERSION OF WHICH SHE IS THE VICTIM. HE IS LIKELY TO DEPLORE U S DEMANDS FOR CUBAN WITHDRAWAL AND TO SEEK A MORE EXPLICIT FORMULATION OF THE BRITISH POSITION ON LINKAGE THAN WE HAVE SO FAR GIVEN. HE MAY APPEAL FOR A MORE INDEPENDENT AND POSITIVE BRITISH POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND REGRET WHAT ANGOLA PERCEIVES AS A READINESS ON BRITAIN'S PART TO FOLLOW PASSIVELY IN THE WAKE OF THE U S.
2. YOU MAY WISH TO CONSIDER MAKING THE FOLLOWING POINTS TO PAULO JORGE IN THE COURSE OF YOUR DISCUSSIONS (AS WELL AS PRESSING HOME THE CASE OF THE PRISONERS):-
 - (1) THE FIRST VISIT TO BRITAIN BY AN ANGOLAN MINISTER OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS IS A LANDMARK IN OUR RELATIONS
 - (2) EXCEPT FOR THE SPECIFIC CASE OF THE BRITISH EX-MERCENARIES THERE ARE NO SERIOUS DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS
 - (3) BRITAIN UNEQUIVOCALLY RECOGNIZES THE LEGITIMACY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RPA. WE DEPLORE THE EXTERNAL AGGRESSION WHICH ANGOLA HAS SUFFERED IN RECENT YEARS AND REGARD THE CONTINUED OCCUPATION OF A PORTION OF ANGOLAN TERRITORY BY THE ARMED FORCES OF ANOTHER COUNTRY AS ILLEGAL AND UNJUSTIFIED. WE BELIEVE THAT THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF ANGOLA ARE MATTERS FOR ANGOLANS ALONE TO DECIDE AND WE DEPLORE THE INVOLVEMENT BY ANY FOREIGN POWERS IN ACTS OF SABOTAGE AND SUBVERSION AGAINST ANGOLA
 - (4) BRITAIN'S SUPPORT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA IS POSITIVE AND UNQUALIFIED. WITHIN THE CONTACT GROUP AND IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA WE HAVE PURSUED WITH ENERGY AND CONSISTENCY THE GOAL OF EARLY IMPLEMENTATION OF SCR 435
 - (5) SINCE "LINKAGE" HAS BECOME SOMETHING OF A TEST WORD IN CURRENT POLITICAL VOCABULARY WE WISH TO MAKE OUR POSITION ON IT CLEAR AND BEYOND DOUBT. IT IS BRITAIN'S WISH TO SEE NAMIBIA INDEPENDENT AND ANGOLA SECURE AND AT PEACE WITH HER NEIGHBOURS. BRITAIN DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE SHOULD BE MADE CONDITIONAL UPON THE WITHDRAWAL OF CUBAN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA OR UPON ANY OTHER EXTERNAL FACTOR. BUT THAT INDEPENDENCE CANNOT BE SECURED WITHOUT THE COOPERATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RSA. IT IS OUR ASSESSMENT THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA IS SERIOUS IN INSISTING UPON AN AGREEMENT ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF CUBAN FORCES BEFORE IT IS WILLING TO IMPLEMENT SCR 435. WE HAVE NEVER CONDONED THAT POSITION BUT WE BELIEVE THAT EXISTS. IF THE SOUTH AFRICANS ABANDON OR MODIFY THIS DEMAND AND PROCEED TO IMPLEMENTATION OF SCR 435 WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY OR CONDITION WE WOULD BE DELIGHTED
 - (6) BRITAIN REGARDED THE JOINT ANGOLA/CUDA COMMUNIQUE OF FEBRUARY 4 1982 AS AN IMPORTANT AND CONSTRUCTIVE STATEMENT. BRITAIN DOES NOT DOUBT THE SINCERITY OF ANGOLA'S ASSURANCE THAT CUBAN TROOPS WILL REMAIN IN ANGOLA ONLY SO LONG AS THE EXTERNAL THREAT TO HER SECURITY REQUIRES THEIR PRESENCE. WE WELCOME THAT ASSURANCE.
 - (7) BRITAIN HAS WELCOMED ALSO THE RESUMPTION OF HIGH-LEVEL DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RPA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RSA. WE HOPE THAT THE TALKS LEAD TO EARLY AGREEMENT UPON MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AND PAVE THE WAY FOR A RAPID IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UN PLAN FOR NAMIBIA

MENT OF THE RGA. WE HOPE THAT THE TALKS LEAD TO EARLY AGREEMENT UPON MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AND PAVE THE WAY FOR A RAPID IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UN PLAN FOR NAMIBIA.

(8) HMG HAS A HIGH REGARD FOR THE STATESMANSHIP AND COURAGE OF PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS AND HOPE THAT PAULO JORGE WILL CARRY MESSAGE TO HIM. IF THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA BELIEVES THAT THERE ARE SPECIFIC WAYS IN WHICH BRITAIN COULD HELP TO ACCELERATE THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS ON NAMIBIA AND ON REGIONAL PEACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WE HOPE THAT MR PAULO JORGE WILL SAY SO.

(9) BRITAIN IS AN ALLY AND FRIEND OF THE UNITED STATES BUT ANGOLA WOULD BE QUITE WRONG TO THINK THAT IN THE FORMULATION OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY EITHER IN SOUTHERN AFRICA OR ELSEWHERE BRITAIN FOLLOWS PASSIVELY THE LEAD OF THE U.S. WE HAVE WORKED TO MAINTAIN THE COHESION AND PURPOSE OF THE CONTACT GROUP. WE HAVE CONSTANTLY ENDEAVOURED TO BRING HOME TO THE U.S. THE REALITIES OF ANGOLA'S POLITICAL SITUATION. IN THE ABSENCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES WHEN THIS ROLE HAS BEEN IMPORTANT.

(10) HMG AS A MAJOR MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WELCOMES ANGOLA'S DECISION TO PARTICIPATE IN NEGOTIATIONS FOR LOME III AND REGARDS THIS AS AN IMPORTANT ADDITIONAL STRAND TO UK/ANGOLA RELATIONS.

(11) HMG APPRECIATED ANGOLA'S CAREFUL STANCE WHICH SHE ADOPTED DURING THE FALKLANDS CONFLICT, NOTWITHSTANDING HER CLOSE TIES WITH CUBA AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE NAM.

(12) HMG WOULD WELCOME THE EARLY ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ANGOLAN EMBASSY IN LONDON.

3. YOU WILL WISH TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION AND THAT WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE PROMISED VISIT BY MINISTER DO NASCIMENTO.

4. YOU WILL RECALL THAT PAULO JORGE INVITED YOUR PREDECESSOR TO VISIT ANGOLA BEFORE HE WAS INVITED TO LONDON. YOU MAY WISH TO THANK HIM FOR THIS QUOTE WAIVER OF PROTOCOL UNQUOTE. PAULO JORGE WILL PROBABLY RENEW THE INVITATION AND I HOPE THAT YOU WILL FEEL ABLE TO ACCEPT IN PRINCIPLE. ANGOLA HAS RECEIVED THE IMPRESSION THAT BRITAIN IS LESS INTERESTED IN HER THAN OUR EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURS ARE. IN CONTRAST TO THE HIGH LEVEL AND CONTINUING CONTACTS WITH THE FRENCH THERE HAS BEEN NO BRITISH MINISTER IN ANGOLA SINCE JUNE 1991 EVEN THOUGH SEVERAL MINISTERS HAVE VISITED NEIGHBOURING ZIMBABWE. A VISIT BY YOU WOULD REMOVE THESE MISAPPREHENSIONS.

5. PAULO JORGE MAY RAISE QUESTION OF DEFENCE SALES TO ANGOLA (SEE MY RECENT TELEGRAMS).

6. THE QUESTION OF UNITA MAY BE RAISED. THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE HAVE EXPRESSED UNEASE OVER UNITA'S 'ACTIVITIES' IN LONDON. WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT THIS MEANS. WE ASSUME THAT THERE IS NO THREAT TO PAULO JORGE'S PERSONAL SECURITY BUT SPECIAL BRANCH MAY WISH TO CHECK THAT POINT. WE HOPE THAT ANY ATTEMPTS BY PRO-SAVIMBI MEMBERS OF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY CAN BE DISCOURAGED FROM SOURING THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE VISIT OR FROM GETTING ACROSS A DISTORTED VIEW OF THE ANGOLAN POLITICAL SITUATION TO THE BRITISH MEDIA.

KENNEDY

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