



Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

*If you see him, there is a chance (no more) that we shall be able to persuade Angola to release the British mercenaries.*

London SW1A 2AH

*If you do not, the chances will be much reduced.*

10 February, 1983

*John, would you see him for 30 minutes on Friday?*

A.S.C.  $\frac{10}{2}$ .

K-a

*[Signature]*  $\frac{14}{2}$

Visit by Paulo Jorge, Angolan Foreign Minister

The Prime Minister agreed, following my letter of 4 February, to send a message to President dos Santos of Angola to reinforce HM Ambassador's approach to the President over clemency for the British prisoners in Luanda. HM Ambassador was able to deliver the message to the President yesterday afternoon.

The President informed HM Ambassador that he would send a reply to the Prime Minister by hand of his Foreign Minister, Sr Paulo Jorge (who arrived this morning). As he left Luanda Sr Jorge said that he would be grateful if the Prime Minister could receive him briefly so that he can personally hand over the message.

In Mr Pym's view, there are two reasons in particular for acceding to Jorge's request:-

(i) The imprisonment of the seven British mercenaries is the most pressing problem we have in our relations with the Angolans. There is, as you know, considerable Parliamentary interest in them. Unlike the Americans, who managed to arrange for the release of two US prisoners in November last year in an exchange arrangement, we have not so far been successful in our efforts to persuade the Angolans to exercise clemency. The best chance we have is by following up the message which Mr Kennedy has delivered. We do not know the contents of the President's reply, and there is of course no way of being sure that Dos Santos is about to change his mind. But he is the man who will have to take the decision, whether now or later; and it will be important that we maintain access to him and seek to influence him. If Paulo Jorge's request to deliver the message personally is turned down, this will be very much more difficult and the prospects of persuading the Angolans to let the UK prisoners out will be reduced.

(ii) There is another important reason for maintaining good access to President dos Santos. Mr Kennedy has so far been able to act as a valuable means of contact with the Angolans for the Americans as well as ourselves in the wider context of the negotiations about Namibia; and we know that this is very much appreciated in Washington.



For both of these reasons Mr Pym believes there is a strong case in favour of the Prime Minister making a gesture to President dos Santos by offering Paulo Jorge a short call, and we should be very grateful to know whether this would be possible at some time tomorrow (he leaves London on 12 February).

/ I enclose a background note on the British prisoners, and on the Namibian issue, with our suggestions for a line to take on both.

*You are*  
*R B Bone*

(R B Bone)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street

Angela: Gehend 5th

JORGE, PAULO TEIXEIRA

Member of MPLA Central Committee and Peoples Assembly (November 1980). Minister of External Relations.

Born 1930.

Mulatto. Catholic.

Comes from a long established Portuguese/Angolan family from Benguela. Educated in Angola and Paris where he graduated in Chemistry and Engineering. Reputedly impressed a French chemical manufacturer in whose factory he had a temporary job to such an extent that he was offered the succession as Managing Director, but he declined.

By 1966 was already playing a leading part in the MPLA, then based in Brazzaville. Spent time as an MPLA representative also in Cairo, Algiers and Cuba. Subsequently MPLA Director of Information and Propaganda. Played a part in attempts to work out a form of unity between MPLA and FNLA under OAU auspices and signed agreement with FNLA Kinshasa in 1972.

1972-74 Fought in the bush war – Eastern Front. Associated increasingly with Agostinho Neto and became his Political Counsellor and later part of a four-man Presidential 'cabinet' at Independence.

November 1976 Appointed Minister of External Relations.

December 1977 Appointed Supplementary member of MPLA Central Committee.

December 1978 – MPLA Secretary for Cooperation (ie Overseas Assistance).

March 1981

September 1979 Appointed full member of MPLA Central Committee.

Speaks fluent French, Spanish, English and good Russian and some German.

Recreations include table tennis at which he is a skilled player.

Energetic, liked and respected by his staff (which remains tiny relative to the work-load), an able Minister by any standard. His cast of thought is Marxist and dialectic; his actual political position less easily defined. He has played a significant part in widening Angola's international contacts. But his views often appeared more radical than those of President Neto. Sessions with him can be tough, but invariably urbane and businesslike. He has been heard to regret his almost white colour. Undoubtedly this tells against advancement to the top of the Party which his ability could otherwise earn for him: it may also explain some of his more radical statements. He seems to have regular access to dos Santos, but his Ministry seems to be playing a less prominent role under the new President.

His wife is a Cuban, trained as an architect. They have two children.

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CALL BY ANGOLAN MINISTER OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS ON THE PRIME  
MINISTER: 11 FEBRUARY

BRITISH PRISONERS IN ANGOLA

LINE TO TAKE

Main Arguments

- (i) Grateful that following my message, your President was able to receive HM Ambassador to discuss this case.
- (ii) Do not condone. But in prison nearly seven years.
- (iii) New situation created by release of Portuguese mercenaries (worse crimes) and Americans (some in same group as British).
- (iv) Imprisonment real obstacle to improvement of UK/  
Angolan relations: intense Parliamentary concern (as Senhor Paulo Jorge has heard during visit).
- (v) HMG deplore British citizens as mercenaries.

Other Arguments

- (vi) Fought for FNLA which now virtually defunct (not UNITA).
- (vii) Good behaviour in prison.
- (viii) Repeated high level appeals by HMG for act of clemency.

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CALL BY ANGOLAN MINISTER OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS ON THE PRIME MINISTER:  
11 FEBRUARY

BRITISH PRISONERS IN ANGOLA

ESSENTIAL FACTS

1. HM Ambassador, Mr Kennedy, was instructed to request an audience with President dos Santos at the end of last November to make further representations for clemency for the prisoners. The audience took place on Wednesday 9 February. Mr Kennedy delivered a message from the Prime Minister. Sr Jorge is to bring a reply from the President.

Background

2. Seven British and two American mercenaries, all of whom had fought for Holden Roberto's FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) in the north of Angola, were sentenced in Luanda on 28 June 1976 to different periods of imprisonment for 'the crime of being mercenaries'. A further three British mercenaries and an American were condemned to death and executed:

British

Constituent of:

Costas Georgiu	Executed	
Andrew McKenzie	Executed	
Derek Barker	Executed	
Kevin Marchant	30 years	Mr Cecil Parkinson
Michael Wiseman	30 years	Sir Derek Walker-Smith
John Lawlor	24 years	? Mr Julian Critchley
Colin Evans	24 years	Mr David Ginsburg
Cecil Fortuin	24 years	Mr W Homewood
John Nammock	16 years	Sir B Rhys Williams
Malcolm McIntyre	16 years	Mr Harvey Proctor /American

American

Daniel Gearhart	Executed
Gustabo Grillo	30 years
Gary Acker	16 years

3. Many high level representations have been made to the Angolan Government for the release of the British prisoners on humanitarian grounds, eg by Lord Carrington to Sr Paulo Jorge, the Angolan Foreign Minister, in November 1980 and by Mr Luce to President dos Santos in mid-June 1981.

4. Since May last year, our request for clemency for the prisoners has been buttressed by the fact that, following President Eanes' visit to Angola, three Portuguese prisoners were released. According to Mr Kennedy, they had been sentenced for more serious crimes than the British prisoners.

5. In November last year, as a result of long and complicated negotiations involving the USA, the Soviet Union, South Africa, Angola, UNITA and the International Committee of the Red Cross, a prisoner exchange took place in Lusaka. The two Americans, Grillo and Acker, were included in the exchange and are now back in America. Mr Kennedy was instructed to request an audience with President dos Santos and the Secretary of State sent a supporting message to Sr Jorge.

6. [Not for use]: The men were tried under the Angolan criminal code, based on Portuguese (Roman) law, and assuming guilt unless innocence can be established. HMG's conclusion at the time was

/ that

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- 3 -

that, in the sense in which we would understand the term, this was not a fair trial, given that there was no presumption of innocence and that much of the evidence was of a prejudicial nature; but it was in accordance with the Angolan system.

Central African Department  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
10 February 1983

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CALL BY ANGOLAN MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL RELATIONS ON PRIME MINISTER:  
11 FEBRUARY

NAMIBIA

LINE TO TAKE

British Commitment

1. We remain committed to an early Namibia settlement and are concerned about the delay. Within the Five and with the South Africans and Americans we have energetically pursued this. Willing to put ideas to Americans.

Cuban Withdrawal

2. We do not regard agreement for the withdrawal of Cuban troops as a pre-condition for Namibia's independence, and recognise that this is purely a decision for your Government. But we accept the political reality that South Africa and the United States do require such an agreement before implementation of UN Plan.

Angolan Security Concerns

3. We understand the importance of meeting Angolan security concerns. So do Americans. If you were to put specific ideas to them, I believe they would respond flexibly.

Angolan/South African Dialogue

4. Dialogue begun at Cape Verde is encouraging: welcome any move towards ceasefire and South African withdrawal from Southern Angola. But in our view to be stable any ceasefire must lead on to a wider settlement and implementation of UN Plan.

CALL BY ANGOLAN MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL RELATIONS ON PRIME MINISTER:  
11 FEBRUARY

NAMIBIA

ESSENTIAL FACTS (NOT FOR USE)

US/Angola

1. So far no substantive change in the Angolan position on Cuban withdrawal. Before implementation of the UN Plan the US need agreement on a phased plan for Cuban withdrawal; the Angolans refuse to make any advance commitment or to agree to more than token withdrawal in last stages of UN Plan. Americans are unwilling to offer incentives until the Angolans start seriously negotiating on phased withdrawal.

Angola/South Africa

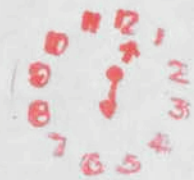
2. Bilateral discussion at Cape Verde last December dealt with South African proposals for a ceasefire followed by disengagement of South African and Cuban/SWAPO forces in Southern Angola. Both sides seem keen to continue, but date and place of next meeting not yet fixed.

3. Although we detect no give in the Angolan position on Cubans at present, a South African agreement to withdraw from Southern Angola could encourage Luanda to move on the Cuban issue.

4. A bilateral arrangement dealing with border issues and SWAPO as an interim alternative to, rather than a step towards, an early Namibia settlement might tempt both sides, (especially South Africa) but it would be unstable and unlikely to stick.

Southern African Department  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
10 February 1983

NOV 1983





HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE  
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Visit of  
His Excellency  
Senhor Paulo Teixeira Jorge  
Minister of External Relations  
of the People's Republic of Angola

10 to 13 FEBRUARY 1983

His Excellency Senhor Paulo Teixeira Jorge, Minister of External Relations of the People's Republic of Angola, will be accompanied by:

Ambassador Luis De Almeida,  
Ambassador of the People's Republic of Angola at Paris

Senhor Augusto Prata,  
Director of the Department of Western Countries, Ministry of  
External Relations

Senhor Florenico Almeida,  
Director of the Department of Western Countries in the Secretariat of  
State for Cooperation

Senhora Paula Rodrigues,  
Private Secretary

*In attendance:*

Group Captain Anthony O'Neill—*Government Hospitality*

*The visitors will stay at:*

The Sheraton Park Tower  
101 Knightsbridge, S.W.1

# Programme

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## THURSDAY, 10 FEBRUARY

- 0930 hrs Arrive London Heathrow Airport by Flight BA 303 from Paris  
*Hounslow Suite*
- Met by the Special Representative of the Secretary of State for  
Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,  
Sir John Stow
- 0945 Leave the Airport by car
- 1030 Arrive Sheraton Park Tower  
*101 Knightsbridge, S.W.1*
- 1130 Leave the hotel
- 1140 Arrive Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
*Ambassadors' Entrance*
- 1145 Call on the Minister of State for  
Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,  
Mr. Cranley Onslow, M.P.
- 1245 Leave Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- 1245 Luncheon given by Her Majesty's Government  
for  
1300 Host: Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,  
Mr. Cranley Onslow, M.P.  
*Lancaster House, St. James's, S.W.1*
- 1440 Leave Lancaster House  
(approx)
- 1500 Arrive House of Commons  
*Members' Entrance*
- Attend Prime Minister's Question Time
- 1515 Call on the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,  
The Rt. Hon. Cecil Parkinson, M.P.

*Continued on next page*

THURSDAY, 10 FEBRUARY (Contd.)

1545 hrs Leave House of Commons

1555 Arrive Overseas Development Administration,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
*Eland House, Stag Place, S.W.1*

1600 Call on the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth  
Affairs and Minister for Overseas Development,  
The Rt. Hon. Timothy Raison, M.P.

Leave Overseas Development Administration

Arrive at the hotel

1745 Leave the hotel

1805 Arrive Admiralty House  
*Whitehall, S.W.1*

1800 Supper given by Her Majesty's Government  
for  
1815 Host: The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State  
for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,  
Mr. Malcolm Rifkind, M.P.  
*Dress: Lounge Suit*

1925 Leave Admiralty House

1930 Arrive New London Theatre  
*Parker Street, W.C.2*

1945 Attend a performance of "Cats"

2215 Leave New London Theatre  
(approx)

2230 Arrive at the hotel  
(approx)

FRIDAY, 11 FEBRUARY

0925 hrs Leave the hotel

0940 Arrive Department of Trade  
*1 Victoria Street, S.W.1*

0945 Call on the Minister of State for Trade and Minister  
for Consumer Affairs,  
Dr. Gerard Vaughan, M.P.

1030 Leave Department of Trade

1040 Arrive at the hotel

1140 Leave the hotel

1200 Arrive 1 Carlton Gardens

Talks with the Secretary of State for Foreign and  
Commonwealth Affairs,  
The Rt. Hon. Francis Pym, M.P.

1300 Luncheon given by Her Majesty's Government  
for  
1315 Host: The Secretary of State for Foreign and  
Commonwealth Affairs,  
The Rt. Hon. Francis Pym, M.P.  
*1 Carlton Gardens, S.W.1*

1430 Leave Carlton Gardens  
(approx)

1445 Arrive at the hotel  
(approx)

1500 Press Conference  
*Sheraton Park Tower*

1915 Leave the hotel

1930 Arrive Royal Horseguards' Hotel  
*Whitehall Court, S.W.1*

1930 Dinner given by the Tropical African Advisory Group  
for  
2000 Mr. Gordon Wilson  
*Dress: Lounge Suit*

**SATURDAY, 12 FEBRUARY**

- 1000 hrs The Permanent Angolan Representative to the International Coffee Organisation, Mr. J. R. de Sousa Webba, will call on His Excellency the Minister at the hotel
- 1115 Leave the hotel
- 1245 Arrive Balliol College  
*Porter's Lodge, Broad Street, Oxford*
- 1245 Luncheon  
for Host: The Master of Balliol College,  
1300 Dr. Anthony Kenny  
*Old Senior Common Room*
- 1430 Leave Balliol College  
(approx)
- 1600 Arrive at the hotel  
(approx)  
No official engagements

**SUNDAY, 13 FEBRUARY**

Departure details to be announced

The Special Representative of the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Sir Edwin Arrowsmith, will bid farewell



DIRECTORY

<i>Government Hospitality</i> 2 Carlton Gardens, S.W.1	01-214 8142
<i>Foreign and Commonwealth Office</i> Protocol and Conference Department	01-273 3585
Central African Department	01-233 5725
Ambassadors' Entrance	01-233 3160
<i>London Heathrow Airport</i> Hounslow Suite	01-759 4321 ext. 4337
<i>Sheraton Park Tower</i> 101 Knightsbridge, S.W.1	01-235 8050
<i>Lancaster House</i> St. James's, S.W.1	01-839 3488
<i>House of Commons</i>	01-219 3000
<i>Overseas Development Administration</i> Foreign and Commonwealth Office Eland House, Stag Place, S.W.1	01-213 3000
<i>New London Theatre</i> Parker Street, W.C.2	01-242 9802
<i>Admiralty House</i> Whitehall, S.W.1	01-218 3659
<i>Department of Trade</i> 1 Victoria Street, S.W.1	01-215 7877
<i>1 Carlton Gardens, S.W.1</i>	01-214 6352
<i>Royal Horseguards' Hotel</i> Whitehall Court, S.W.1	01-839 3400
<i>Balliol College</i> Broad Street, Oxford	0865-249 601

VISIT OF HIS EXCELLENCY SENHOR PAULO TEIXERIA JORGE  
MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA  
10-13 February 1983

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS (amendment to the Programme)

The following appointment will take place in the House of Commons

1525 Talks with The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,  
The Rt Hon Cecil Parkinson MP

ARRIVAL

His Excellency Senhor Paulo Teixeira Jorge will arrive at 0930 hours on British Airways flight 303 at LHR (Hounslow Suite).

As soon as the aircraft has come to a standstill, a member of the British Airports Authority will escort the Greeting Party to the bottom of the aircraft steps. When the Minister has alighted the Special Representative of the Secretary of State, Sir John Stow, will greet the Minister and introduce the following in order:-

Senhor Herminio Escorcio, Chairman of the Angolan National Oil Company

Miss Maureen Lawrence, Deputy Secretary, Government Hospitality Fund

Group Captain O'Neill, Government Hospitality Fund Escort Officer.

The party will then proceed to the VIP Suite.

Transport

The car plan throughout the programme will be as follows:-

1. HE The Minister  
Ambassador De Almeida  
Mr Kennedy  
Special Branch Officer
2. Senhor Prata  
Senhor Almeida  
Senhora Rodrigues  
Group Captain O'Neill

The Official Suite will accompany the Minister throughout the programme.

8 February 1983

*Anne Hutchison*  
Miss Anne Hutchison  
Protocol and Conference Department

DISTRIBUTION

No 10 Downing Street

PS to the Prime Minister  
Press Office

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

PS  
PS/Mr Hurd  
PS/PUS  
Sir J Leahy  
Mr W Squire  
Mr Varcoe, SAfD  
Central African Department (7)  
News Department (2)  
Colonel Durrant (4)  
Miss D F Lothian  
Protocol and Conference Department (6)  
Resident Clerks  
Head of Consular Department

Government Hospitality Fund

Brigadier J A C Cowan  
Miss M Lawrence  
Mr J Watt (2)

ODA

Mrs J Laurence, CSAD

Department of Trade

Mr B Steiner, OT5

ECGD

Miss J West,  
Aldermanbury House  
London EC2

Civil Service Medical Advisory Service

Dr Semmence

cc Master  
Ops



REPÚBLICA POPULAR DE ANGOLA

MINISTÉRIO DAS RELAÇÕES EXTERIORES  
GABINETE DO MINISTRO

TRANSLATION

Luanda, 9 February 1983

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T13<sup>B</sup>/83

Your Excellency,

COMRADE PAULO TEIXEIRA JORGE, a Member of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party and Minister of External Relations of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, is visiting your country within the framework of the development of bilateral relations between our two countries and our desire to deepen the relations of friendship between our Peoples and States.

In addition to bilateral matters that Comrade Paulo Teixeira Jorge will discuss with the appropriate bodies of the British Government, he will take this opportunity to inform Your Excellency of the serious situation prevailing in Southern Africa, especially the persistent occupation of part of Angolan territory by the army of the racist South African regime, the impasse reached in the process of negotiations on the implementation of the UN Plan for Namibia's Independence and the Pretoria regime's aggressive policy against independent countries in the region.

HER EXCELLENCY MARGARET THATCHER

PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN

L O N D O N



REPÚBLICA POPULAR DE ANGOLA

MINISTÉRIO DAS RELAÇÕES EXTERIORES  
GABINETE DO MINISTRO

2.

*Please give full credence to everything he tells you in my name and that of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, particularly when, expressing the feelings of the Angolan People, I extend my sincere good wishes for your good health and personal well-being and the assurances of my Highest Consideration.*

- JOSÉ EDUARDO DOS SANTOS -

PRESIDENT OF THE MPLA - WORKERS' PARTY

PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA