

# CONFIDENTIAL

RECORD OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE FOREIGN  
MINISTER OF ANGOLA AT 1445 HOURS ON FRIDAY 11 NOVEMBER 1983

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Present: Prime Minister  
Mr. Kennedy  
Mr. Coles

Mr. Jorge  
HE Mr. Luis De Almeida

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Mr. Jorge said that he had just come from a very cordial lunch with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary with whom he had had a most interesting exchange of views. The Prime Minister enquired after the health of the President of Angola. She was grateful to Mr. Dos Santos for receiving Mr. Kennedy recently.

At this point Mr. Jorge handed over a message from the President of Angola about the situation in Southern Africa. The Prime Minister read the message and stated that we were doing our best to encourage a negotiated settlement in Namibia.

Mr. Jorge said that he attached particular importance to his first visit to the United Kingdom. He wanted to see how the bilateral relationship with Britain could be improved. The Angolan Government believed that the United Kingdom could play an important role in its efforts for national re-construction, particularly in the fields of industry, agriculture, energy and fish. He hoped that a general agreement could be drawn up on co-operation between the two governments and providing for a Mixed Commission. He had already had very fruitful meetings with British Ministers. Discussions had concentrated on the situation in Southern Africa, especially Namibia. The Angolan people were suffering from the continuous aggression committed by the Pretorian regime. Many Angolan lives had been lost. The effect of this situation on the economy was very serious. He had raised with other Ministers the possibility of the United Kingdom, as a gesture of solidarity, giving emergency aid to the Angolan

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Government following a recent attack on a major dam which had provided electricity for three provinces. The generators and transformers had been completely destroyed.

Reverting to Namibia, Angola's position was based on United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 435. But new elements had been introduced by the United States, especially the American insistence on linking a Namibian settlement with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Alone among the five-power Contact Group, the United States was insisting on this linkage.

The Prime Minister said that she believed that South Africa, in addition to the United States, was insisting on such a link. Mr. Jorge replied to the effect that South Africa had told the Angolans that the presence of Cuban troops was a matter for the United States and not for them. Angola had stated very clearly that once a cease-fire had been established in Namibia and the process of Namibian independence was moving forward, they would consider laying down a new programme for the withdrawal of Cuban forces. The Angolan President had said publicly that it was not the intention that Cubans should remain for ever. Angola would fulfil its undertakings but it could not do so until it had assurances that it would not be attacked by South Africa.

The Prime Minister said that she understood the Foreign Minister to be saying that the Cubans were in Angola solely to protect the country against external attack. Thus, if Angola could be certain that there would be no such attacks, then the Cubans would withdraw. Mr. Jorge confirmed that this was the Angolan position. The United States should allow Angola, as a sovereign country, to take its own decisions on the question of the Cuban presence. But he could give an assurance that Cuban withdrawal would take place in due course.

The Prime Minister asked what the role of the Cuban troops was. Mr. Jorge replied that the Cubans were training the Angolan army. If South Africa embarked on new aggressive moves, the Cubans would fight alongside the Angolans. He found it

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curious that many people worried about the Cuban presence in Angola but said nothing about the South African occupation of part of Angola.

The Prime Minister said that we were playing our role within the Contact Group. Progress was slower than she had expected. At the time of the last Commonwealth Conference in Melbourne there was an expectation of a settlement within a year. Mr. Kennedy explained that the formal negotiations were largely completed. The main outstanding item was South African agreement to a date for a cease-fire. Mr. Jorge said that two alternatives had been put forward for a voting system. Both were acceptable to SWAPO. It was the American position that was blocking progress on the general issue.

Mr. Kennedy said that the Americans were pressing Angola to lay down now a detailed timetable for Cuban withdrawal. The Angolan position was that it would institute a timetable when there was concrete evidence of withdrawal. Mr. Jorge said that the Angolans could not accept the American demand. It was necessary to remember who the aggressor was. More than 10,000 Angolans had been killed. This was a high price to pay for the problem of Namibia which was not an Angolan matter but a problem for the international community. He could not understand how the independence of Namibia could be subordinated to the presence of Cubans in Angola. What moral basis was there for this American argument when the United States had troops all over the world? Why did the United States not show concern about the presence of French troops in various independent African countries?

The Prime Minister said that she was glad to have this first hand account of the Angolan position. She appreciated the strength of Angolan feeling. We should continue to be energetic members of the Contact Group. She would be interested to hear an account of the economic situation in Angola.

Mr. Jorge said that the situation was very serious. Angola's basic exports were oil, diamonds and coffee - but the world

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prices of all three were down and production costs, particularly of diamonds, were high. Angola was rich in natural resources and was interested in securing United Kingdom participation in their exploitation. Investment and the inflow of modern technology were deterred by the current political and military situation in Angola.

Because of the serious economic situation, the Angolan Government was unable to give the people the essentials which they needed. There would be a discussion next week in the Central Committee of an emergency plan to cope with food and other problems. There was a great need for training of skilled personnel and the Angolans attempted to insert a special provision covering this in all aid programmes with foreign countries.

The Prime Minister recalled that she had sent to the President of Angola a message about the seven British citizens detained in Angolan prisons. We did not condone their mercenary activities. But they had been in prison for seven years. Other mercenaries who had been sentenced at a similar time had since been released. There was much Parliamentary and public interest in this matter and she would certainly be pressed about a solution in Parliament next week. She would be grateful if the Foreign Minister would convey these views to the President of Angola and say that she had listened carefully to Mr. Jorge's exposition of Angola's economic problems and that we should do what we could to help.

Mr. Jorge said that he had discussed this matter with the President before he left. The Angolan Government recognised that the British Government was making a serious effort to solve the problem of the mercenaries. Furthermore, the Angolan Government was very sensitive to the importance of the issue and to the feelings of the relatives of the mercenaries. We should find an appropriate moment that would enable the Angolan Head of State to exercise his prerogative of mercy. The Angolan public also had an interest in this matter - the mercenaries had killed Angolans. It was therefore necessary to act cautiously. But he

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hoped that perhaps in the course of 1983 the right moment would occur. The position of the American mercenaries who had been released was different - they had been part of an exchange involving Angolans from South Africa. Mr. Kennedy pointed out that the Angolans had also released some Portuguese mercenaries, not as part of an exchange.

Mr. Jorge repeated that he was sensitive to the wishes of the British Government. It was possible that his report of his visit to the United Kingdom would lead to further discussion of this matter. The problem was to find the right time for the exercise of mercy. But he was optimistic that the time would come.

The discussion ended at 1545.

A. J. C.

11 February 1983

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Angola

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

11 February 1983

cc MASTER

Dear Roger,

Call by the Foreign Minister of Angola

The above called on the Prime Minister this afternoon. I enclose a copy of the record of the conversation and also of the message from the President of Angola to the Prime Minister which Mr. Jorge handed over in the course of the discussion.

Yours ever

Jh Wla.

Roger Bone, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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cc Master  
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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>183

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

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REPÚBLICA POPULAR DE ANGOLA

MINISTÉRIO DAS RELAÇÕES EXTERIORES  
GABINETE DO MINISTRO

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*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





PRIMEIRO MINISTRO'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL NO. T13183

REPÚBLICA POPULAR DE ANGOLA

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# *Presidente da República*

Luanda, aos 9 de Fevereiro de 1983

Excelência,

No quadro do desenvolvimento das relações bilaterais entre os nossos dois países e em que desejamos aprofundar os laços de amizade e cooperação entre os nossos Povos e Estados, visita o vosso País, o CAMARADA PAULO TEIXEIRA JORGE, Membro do Comité Central do MPLA - Partido do Trabalho e Ministro das Relações Exteriores do Governo da República Popular de Angola.

O Camarada Paulo Teixeira Jorge, além das questões bilaterais que tratará com as entidades competentes do Governo Britânico, aproveitará esta oportunidade para informar a Vossa Excelência sobre a grave situação que prevalece na África Austral, nomeadamente, a persistente ocupação de parte do território Angolano pelo exército do regime

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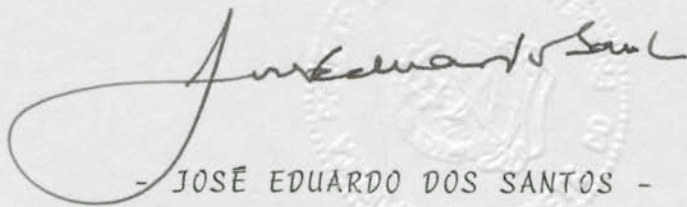
SUA EXCELÊNCIA MARGARET THATCHER

PRIMEIRO MINISTRO DO REINO UNIDO DA GRÃ-BRETANHA

L O N D R E S

racista da África do Sul, o impasse que verifica no processo de negociações para a implementação do Plano da ONU para a Independência da Namíbia e a política agressiva do regime de Pretória contra os países independentes da região.

Peço que acredite em tudo quanto lhe disser em meu nome e no do Governo da República Popular de Angola, particularmente quando, ao manifestar os sentimentos do Povo Angolano lhe exprimir os melhores votos de saúde e de bem estar pessoal e os protestos da minha mais Alta Consideração.-



- JOSÉ EDUARDO DOS SANTOS -

PRESIDENTE DO MPLA - PARTIDO DO TRABALHO  
PRESIDENTE DA REPÚBLICA POPULAR DE ANGOLA