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MINUTES OF THE MEETING BETWEEN THE RSA AND ANGOLA  
AT ILHA DO SAL ON 5 JUNE 1980

Angolan Delegation

Mr Alexandre Rodrigues, Vice-Minister of Home Affairs  
Mr Antonio Franca, Member of General Staff (FAPLA)  
Mr Venancio de Moura, Vice-Minister of External Relations  
Mr Jose Maria, Member of General Staff (FAPLA)  
Mrs Bibiana D'Almeida, Interpreter.

South African Delegation

Mr B.G. Fourie, Director-General, Foreign Affairs and Inf.  
Gen. M. Malan, Director-General, Defence  
Gen. P.W. van der Westhuizen, Chief of Staff, Intelligence  
Mr C.C. Prins, Prime Minister's Office, Branch Security Planning  
Mr D.W. Auret, Foreign Affairs and Information  
Mr E.A. Broekhuysen, Foreign Affairs and Information

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After welcoming the South African delegation and expressing regret that the meeting had to take place so far away, MR RODRIGUES introduced the members of his delegation and proposed an agenda consisting of

1. Border issues, including border incidents and the question of a demilitarised zone and reasons for
2. Economic co-operation, consisting of the Cunene Project, Calueque and Ruacana dams and other matters.

Delegation in South West Africa. In such

MR FOURIE thanked Mr Rodrigues for his words of welcome and expressed the hope that the time would soon come when the two countries could discuss their problems in closer proximity to one another. After introducing the members of his delegation, he indicated that there was no objection to the proposed agenda and said that a very important issue which affected day-to-day relations between the two countries was the activities of SWAPO.

Mr RODRIGUES said that at the last meeting there had been signs of development but that since then things had developed in a way which was undesirable, due mainly to increased military tension on the border. Angola was aware that the military situation was due in part to the activities of SWAPO, as well as those of UNITA. However, Angola was now ready to work to diminish this tension. Angola was not afraid of having relations with South Africa as long as the political issues related to the military situation could be resolved. Furthermore, Angola as a sovereign country was not influenced by Cuba or the Soviet Union, but by the will to resolve problems and was prepared to resolve them in a direct manner. The situation on the border was critical and Angola wished to resolve this situation by dialogue rather than violence.

MR FOURIE then indicated that the major reason for the increase in tension on the border was the activities of SWAPO, with or without the aid of the MPLA. If this issue could be resolved then the other items on the agenda could be pursued profitably. After a brief outline of the latest developments at the United Nations, MR FOURIE referred to Angola's previously stated reasons for not preventing SWAPO from operating on Angolan soil and said that SWAPO's actions were preponderantly aimed at the local population in South West Africa. In such a situation

it was necessary for the groups most intimately affected to start discussing the problem and accordingly he wondered whether Angola would be interested in encouraging SWAPO to start discussing these matters with the groups and parties in South West Africa. After stressing that South Africa was firmly committed to dialogue in order to arrive at solutions to problems, MR FOURIE enquired how the Front Line States saw the situation.

MR RODRIGUES recalled that Angola had at previous meetings proposed direct talks between South Africa and SWAPO. At that time little had been said about the internal situation in South West Africa and SWAPO had not been ready to talk. However, now SWAPO was ready to talk, not only with South Africa but also with the internal parties. Angola felt that it was necessary for South Africa to be involved in such talks since South Africa was the authority in South West Africa. Furthermore, Angola was ready to help in facilitating such a meeting. He indicated that the final position of the Front Line States in this matter was not yet known but that he had received the information in Lusaka that SWAPO was ready for dialogue. Referring to the demilitarised zone proposal, MR RODRIGUES said that Angola had initially been ready to assist South Africa in establishing such a zone, but in the light of recent developments Angola was also in favour of establishing the zone under the auspices of the United Nations.

Referring to the demilitarised zone proposal, MR FOURIE pointed out that the initial reason was to avoid the escalation of incidents between the Angolan and South African forces, as well as to control the movement of SWAPO and thus reduce tension on the border. These were

still the objectives today, as General Malan would affirm at a later stage. Regarding SWAPO Mr Fourie thought that one should play open cards otherwise it would lead to confusion and misunderstanding. Nuances played an important role and one of the bedevilling issues was that the United Nations General Assembly regarded SWAPO as the sole representative of the people of South West Africa. South Africa had never accepted that, nor had the majority of the people of South West Africa, so if South Africa had spoken to SWAPO, it would have caused serious internal problems in South West Africa. South Africa was on record as saying that South West Africa would become independent and that this was a matter for all the inhabitants. He did not want to take a firm position on Mr Rodrigues' proposal that South Africa participate in any discussions between SWAPO and the internal groups, but he undertook to submit the proposal as soon as possible to the South African Government and the internal groups in South West Africa for further consideration and exploration.

MR RODRIGUES accepted this position and said that, although Angola could not impose on, or talk in the name of SWAPO, it was prepared to guarantee that it was ready to persuade SWAPO to participate in such talks and once again stressed that, in its view, South African participation was essential. Turning again to the issue of a demilitarised zone, Mr Rodrigues referred to UNITA and said that this organisation was a puppet organisation. Angola was a sovereign government with a seat in the United Nations and the resolution of Angola's internal problems was not influenced by the presence of Cuba or the Soviet Union. He pointed out that Angola's internal problems were being resolved and Cuba's presence had only been felt after the invasion by South Africa. Furthermore, the MPLA

was present in all the major areas of Angola and doubted the presence of UNITA in these areas before the South African invasion. Accordingly the issues of SWAPO and UNITA could not be equated. On the other hand Angola could resolve problems with South Africa as a country and pointed to the evacuation of refugees, saying that Angola was ready to discuss this matter again. UNITA was an internal problem of Angola, which would not exist without large support from South Africa.

MR FOURIE replied that with regard to the events in Angola in 1976/76, the Angolan and South African views on cause and effect did not agree and still do not do so today, but that it was not necessary to agree on this before tackling other problems. He said that South Africa was prepared to discuss the refugee question again and then said that the Angolan-SWAPO relationship was not the same as the alleged relationship between UNITA and South Africa. UNITA was not allowed to operate from South West African soil and he denied that South Africa had the relationship with UNITA that Angola feared. After asking whether Angola was certain that UNITA was not receiving substantial support from other countries, MR FOURIE added that if the SWAPO issue could be resolved, the other problems would disappear.

After MR RODRIGUES had said that South Africa's latest reply to the Secretary-General on the demilitarised zone had surprised Angola and had asked for more information on this subject, MR FOURIE gave a detailed exposition of South Africa's views on the monitoring of SWAPO and South African forces as well as the provision of military bases in the demilitarised zone, and the negotiations which had been conducted with the United Nations regarding UNTAG and the implementation of the settlement plan.

After thanking Mr Fourie for the clarification, MR RODRIGUES pointed out that while Angola knew South Africa was afraid of communist expansion, Luanda was filling up with Western embassies and that Angola enjoyed good relations with these Western countries. He then reiterated that Angola was now in a position to control SWAPO once agreement had been reached. Furthermore, while Angola had said before that UNTAG forces would not be allowed in the country, Angola had agreed at the last meeting with General Chand and Mr Urquhart that it would allow greater control of SWAPO bases by UNTAG under Angolan control. In response to a request for further clarity by GENERAL MALAN, MR RODRIGUES said that a physical presence in Angola by UNTAG would not be permitted, but that control would be effected in combination with Angolan forces and that certain facilities such as airports, contact with Angolan positions, logistic support and access into Angola in order to control SWAPO bases had already been extended by Angola.

GENERAL MALAN stated that this was one of the critical points in solving the problems. Since he was responsible for the security of the South West African people, he had to consider their feelings about their own security. There was great distrust between SWAPO and the South West Africa population and in any discussion of the demilitarised zone, he had to give an assurance that SWAPO could not cross the zone. Since the inhabitants of South West Africa were critical as to how UNTAG would be deployed in Angola, they were doubtful about accepting the situation on the Angolan side. It was therefore essential that SWAPO and the local organisations talked to each other in order to eliminate the distrust between them.

The meeting then adjourned for lunch.

When the meeting reconvened, GENERAL MALAN affirmed that there was a lot of tension on the border, which could be solved by talks between SWAPO and the local population, but that such a process would take time. As Angola could refer to a lot of border violations by South African forces, so he could refer to many violations by SWAPO. However, in this situation, the South African forces had been given orders never to attack MPLA or FAPLA. The ultimate objective was SWAPO, not Angola.

MR RODRIGUES replied that this was clear and although Angola had many issues to raise, he did not want to make use of this opportunity to make an exposition of the past, even though many targets of South African reprisals were Angolan, not SWAPO. The situation in the field was critical and although Angolan forces were under orders not to cross the border, the situation may get out of control. Therefore it was to be hoped that this meeting would have some positive results.

Turning to economic co-operation, MR RODRIGUES said that positive steps taken by Angola in the past had recently died. Angola felt that this was so because in the past they had first wanted to solve the peace and then co-operate, but now they felt that the situation was different. It appeared that independence for South West Africa was coming in spite of certain aspects which still had to be discussed and that the process appeared to be irreversible. Therefore it was time to turn to the socio-economic needs of the Angolan people. Angola felt that implementation of the Cunene project answered to these needs. Angola knew South Africa was utilizing

Ruacana dam because the sluices had been lowered without their authorisation. South Africa had requested that authorisation at the previous meeting, but Angola could not give a positive response at that time. Angola felt that South Africa could not continue utilising the dam without their authorisation, but that did not mean that Angola wanted to prevent such utilisation; they wanted to legalise the use of the dam in the global sense as initially conceived. Angola was aware that South Africa had always wanted to send a team of technicians to visit Gove dam. Angola felt such a visit was possible at this time. Angola was encouraged by the development of the political situation and hoped that the military situation would follow. Accordingly Angola felt that the total situation of the Cunene project should be resolved, but that Angola did not have all the data in this regard. Accordingly he proposed a meeting between experts to resolve this matter.

MR RODRIGUES said that although the resolution of peace was still the primary objective, Angola felt it had to do something about economic co-operation and had advanced the Cunene project, since this was the easiest to solve.

MR FOURIE responded by saying that the stage had been reached before where technicians would meet and referred to the visit of Mr Truebody to Geneva, which had come to naught. However, he felt confident that the South African authorities would be interested in meeting and undertook to take up the matter with them and report back. He pointed out, however, that this type of co-operation could only really flourish when the military situation had been resolved.



MR RODRIGUES replied that the visit of Mr Truebody had been unfruitful since Lubango had been bombarded and the situation had therefore not been proper. The situation right now was not too good either, but Angola felt that something had to be done. Angola would not prevent its experts from going to Namibia for discussions and would also facilitate the visit of the South African experts and technicians to Angola. He then enquired whether the South Africans could make the agreement with the Portuguese available to Angola.

MR FOURIE replied in the affirmative and then raised the question of further meetings and communications. Although South Africa appreciated the assistance of the Cape Verde government in arranging such meetings in absolute secrecy, he suggested that future meetings be held in countries like Botswana or Swaziland if the need for secrecy was not so paramount.

MR RODRIGUES responded by saying that he did not think the time was ripe for meetings in these countries. The next meeting should be held in Sal or in Geneva. Thereafter as the situation developed, more frequent meetings could be held closer to home. If Angola promised control over SWAPO and infiltration occurred there would obviously have to be a meeting and in such an event, Botswana or Mocambique might be suitable.

After it had been agreed that the existing telex link would be used for communication, while the diplomatic link through Paris, Salisbury or the United Nations in New York would be used for confidential messages, MR RODRIGUES enquired when Angola could expect a meeting of experts as proposed to take place.

MR FOURIE replied that he would send a telex in this connection within seven to ten days.

MR RODRIGUES then indicated that Angola wished to make some movements in the vicinity of Ruacana dam, in order to make their presence felt with a view to facilitating the development of the work. Such movements could however be arranged locally. In closing MR RODRIGUES said that previous meetings had always been cordial up to the exchange of the prisoners. South Africa had no reason to doubt Angola's seriousness on these meetings. However, they had the impression that South Africa had co-operated much better while Angola still had the prisoners. According<sup>ly</sup>, he hoped that this meeting would be different. He referred to the previous meeting at Ruacana, where the relations had been cordial and South Africa had even handed over a gift to their President. They had thought then that things would move positively, but for political reasons this had not happened. Now Angola hoped that it would not hear later that South Africa had refused to co-operate on the U.N. plan for South West Africa, or that it refused to meet with SWAPO.

MR FOURIE said that South Africa's desire to find solutions did not end with the return of the prisoners. On the contrary South Africa had wanted further co-operation, but that the real difficulty was SWAPO and its activities.

After cordial greetings had been exchanged, the meeting ended at 16h30.

6 June 1980

NOTE: The subject of Sapper van der Mescht was raised informally.