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DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN MR SILVINO DA LUZ, MINISTER OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAPE VERDE, AND
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND INFORMATION : SAL ISLAND, 11 SEPTEMBER 1983

PRESENTCAPE VERDE:

Mr Silvino da Luz - Minister of Foreign Affairs
Mr Rosindo Pires Ferreira - Chief of Protocol

SOUTH AFRICA:

David Steward - Department of Foreign Affairs and
Johannes Stauch - Information

THE MINISTER mentioned that there were three reasons why
his President and he had wished to meet with a South
African representative at this time:

Firstly, they wished to establish where matters now stand
with regard to the negotiations between Angola and South
Africa.

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Secondly, he and his President had just returned from a visit to Angola and Mozambique with a stop-over in Zambia and wished to discuss some of their impressions with South Africa.

Thirdly, he and his President were about to depart for New York for the UN General Assembly session. While in the United States President Perreira would meet with other non-aligned Heads of State and Government on 27 and 29 September and would hold discussions with President Reagan, Vice-President Bush, Mr Schultz and Dr Crocker. He wished to be advised beforehand of South Africa's position relating to various problems in Southern Africa. During his visit President Perreira would, for the first time, also make contact with the large Cape Verdean community in the Massachussetts area.

THE MINISTER said that the Cape Verdean Government had taken note of the Secretary-General's recent visit to South Africa and South West Africa and his subsequent report. It appeared that all the obstacles to implementation of resolution 435 had now been resolved.

With regard to South Africa's dialogue with Angola he mentioned that he had received the impression while he was in Luanda that the Angolans would like to meet again with South Africa at any time. However, he felt that matters would be facilitated if both parties would move away from the strong rhetorical positions which they had adopted. He felt that it would be very helpful if South Africa could "make a gesture" - some small concession - in this regard. He referred to the continuing presence of South African

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forces in southern Angola and the problem which this created for the MPLA Government.

MR STEWARD, in response, conveyed the greetings of Foreign Minister R F Botha to his Cape Verdean colleague. He referred to the recent letter to the Cape Verde Government in which it had been confirmed that Minister Botha would very much like to meet Minister Silvino da Luz the next time he passed through Sal. However, there was no indication of when this would be. MR STEWARD stated that South Africa respects the Cape Verde Government and the efforts it is making to promote peace in Southern Africa. Cape Verde was playing a very responsible role in this regard.

In reply to the questions asked by Minister Silvino da Luz MR STEWARD mentioned that South Africa's position on dialogue with Angola was still the same as it had been in February 1983 and as had been expressed in its letter of 22 April 1983 to the Angolan Government. The two main points in this regard were the necessity for

- reciprocal military restraint on the part of Angola and SWAPO; and
- the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

The presence of Cuban Forces in Angola created a security problem for South Africa, South West Africa and the whole region. It was dangerous for the whole of Africa that there were 30,000 Cuban troops in Angola who were acting on behalf of a super power.

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Mutual reciprocal military restraint was equally important. There could not be constructive talks while one side was attempting to make military gains as had been the case in February when SWAPO had launched its largest-ever attack against South West Africa. South African Cabinet Ministers could not politically afford to hold talks with Angola under such circumstances.

South Africa was nevertheless prepared to continue its dialogue with Angola on the basis of its letter of 22 April 1983. It appeared that that letter might not have reached the Angola Government and a copy had accordingly been sent to Angola by another channel on 19 August. South Africa was still of the opinion that dialogue was worthwhile and might lead to peace. Because of the current referendum campaign it would, however, be impossible for South African Cabinet Ministers to meet with their Angolan counterparts before 2 November 1983. This did not preclude the possibility of contacts at other levels. MR STEWARD briefly explained the present political situation in South Africa and stressed that the referendum on the new constitution was the most important political development since the foundation of the Union.

MR STEWARD then gave a brief resumé of the Secretary-General's recent visit and stated that the only obstacle now preventing implementation of resolution 435 was the presence of Cuban forces in Angola.

THE MINISTER mentioned, with regard to the Cuban presence, that President dos Santos seriously wished to liberate himself of this problem but that he was caught up in a

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cycle of violence which made this decision difficult for him. The recent escalation of military activities by UNITA complicated this matter, as did the continued presence of South African forces in Angolan territory.

MR STEWARD replied that it was a mistake to imagine that UNITA was controlled by South Africa or that it was a puppet organization. He did not deny that there were contacts between South Africa and UNITA but UNITA was a factor in its own right and would remain a concrete reality regardless of what happens in SWA/Namibia. President dos Santos and the other Angolans involved would have to resolve this problem among themselves. In the meantime Angola was hardly in a position to complain. It gave active support to the ANC and repeatedly made hostile statements against South Africa.

MR STEWARD pointed out that the South African Defence Force was in SWA/Namibia and sometimes in southern Angola to protect the Territory against SWAPO attacks. While they continued South Africa would have to take steps to defend SWA/Namibia. As long as the threat existed there would be a military response from the South African side. It was for this reason that South Africa had suggested to the Angolans in December 1982 that there should be a military freeze, followed by a withdrawal to agreed lines to create a situation of noticeable peace. South Africa had no wish to maintain military forces in the operational area. Its commitment to South West Africa cost it one billion dollars per year.

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THE MINISTER said that in his opinion the key to the problem was implementation of resolution 435. He was sure that the Angolans would exercise firm control over SWAPO the moment that South Africa indicated its intention to implement resolution 435. He asked what conditions South Africa would set for implementation.

MR STEWARD replied that the one outstanding issue was the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. He could not see why this should be such an insurmountable problem for the Angolans. After all, they claimed that the reason for the Cuban presence was the supposed threat from South African forces. But the withdrawal of forces would be on a reciprocal basis. While all the Cubans were being withdrawn from Angola, all South African forces (except 1500) would be withdrawn from SWA/Namibia in terms of the settlement plan.

THE MINISTER asked what South Africa's reaction would be if President Perreira were personally to guarantee any agreements reached between South Africa and Angola.

MR STEWARD replied that although South Africa had the greatest respect for President Perreira, politics was a complex business and one looked always for concrete gestures rather than verbal undertakings. President Perreira unfortunately had no direct command over SWAPO. Nevertheless it was an interesting and worthy idea.

THE MINISTER mentioned that after his recent visit to Angola and Mozambique he was certain that these countries

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wished to live in peace with South Africa and to expand their commercial and economic ties with the Republic. He mentioned that the Cape Verde Government would be happy to play a role as interlocutor between South Africa on the one side and Mozambique and Angola on the other. He added that this year Cape Verde was the coordinator of the group of five ex-Portuguese territories and accordingly had closer contact than ever with these countries.

He said that he was sure that Cape Verde would also gain if there were better relations between South Africa and its neighbours, particularly Angola and Mozambique. This would certainly improve prospects for relations between Praia and Pretoria. He hoped that it would one day be possible for him to holiday in South Africa.

With regard to Mozambique THE MINISTER said that he was sure that President Machel wished to live in peace with South Africa and to "gain some breathing space". He said that he did not believe that Mozambique's brand of Marxism implied any subservience to the Soviet Union. He said that President Machel was a particularly independent person.

He mentioned that Cape Verde still had to endure criticism in the OAU from time to time because it continued to make its airport facilities available to SAA.

With regard to the Minister's remarks on Mozambique MR STEWARD referred to the close cooperation between South Africa and Mozambique in many areas. This cooperation formed a sound basis for the development of bilateral

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relations. However, South Africa could not accept attacks on its territory by ANC terrorists operating across international borders. The recent bomb attack in Pretoria had highlighted this threat. South Africa had indisputable proof that the attack had been planned and executed from within Mozambique. South Africa respected Mozambique as an independent state. Even though Maputo had a different political system South Africa was prepared to co-exist with it. However, if the Mozambicans supported armed attacks against the Republic they would have to accept the consequences.

In response to a question concerning the degree of Soviet influence over the Angolan Government THE MINISTER acknowledged that Angola's dependence on the Cubans and Soviets for its military position restricted its freedom of movement. He confessed that this was a matter which worried Cape Verde and had been the subject of discussions between his Government and the Angolans. However, he felt sure that President dos Santos still had the ability to ask the Cubans to leave. Africans, including himself, who had fought many years for freedom, would not easily sacrifice their sovereignty again. South Africans would understand this because it had also fought for its liberty. South Africa was also an African country. Cape Verde maintained an absolutely independent line and would not accept any aid which might compromise its independence. It was therefore in a position to play the role of an honest broker. He hoped that if Ministerial meetings between Angola and South Africa could be arranged they would take place in the Cape Verde Islands. It would also be useful if his President could be present in view of the constructive role which he could play.

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THE MINISTER said that he hoped that when the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information next flies to North America or Europe via Sal Island he will use the opportunity to hold discussions with him, even if it is for only 40 minutes in the VIP lounge. Should the Minister be able to stay longer he was sure that it would be possible to arrange a meeting with President Perreira. He said that he would appreciate it if the points which Mr Steward had made could be confirmed in a letter to him from our Minister before his departure for New York on 17 September 1983. He also expressed an interest in receiving South African publications.

THE MINISTER said that he would convey to his President the views which the South African representatives had expressed.

SWA SECTION (115)

PRETORIA

12 SEPTEMBER 1983

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MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INFORMATION

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19 September 1983

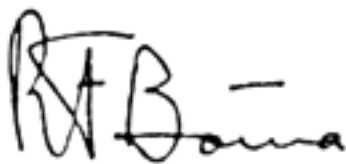
My Dear Minister

With reference to the talks which took place on Sal Island on 11 September 1983 between your Excellency and Messrs Steward and Stauch of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information, I wish to confirm the following points which they conveyed to you.

1. The South African Government is committed to seek a peaceful settlement to the South West Africa/Namibia question on the basis of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) within the framework of the understandings reached with the United States and the Western Contact Group.
2. The one major issue still to be resolved is the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola, on the understanding that they will not be replaced by any other hostile forces. Firm agreement will have to be reached on the fundamental requirements of Cuban withdrawal, and a commitment will have to be obtained from the Angolan Government regarding the implementation of such an agreement. The other outstanding issues should be addressed and resolved within the framework of the understandings reached with the United States of America and the Western Contact Group.
3. The South African Government will continue to object to bias in favour of SWAPO on the part of UN bodies. No settlement plan will be implemented unless the Secretary-General and his personnel act with strict impartiality. The South African Government has consistently rejected resolutions of the General Assembly which declared SWAPO to be "the sole and authentic representative of the people of South West Africa." Under no circumstances either now or in the future will it receive any representative of the United Nations on that basis.

4. As regards the release of detainees the International Committee of the Red Cross should investigate fully the present status and condition of South West African/Namibian detainees in other African countries. A list of such detainees was provided some time ago to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
5. South Africa is willing to pursue discussions with Angola. However, in the pursuit of a peaceful solution, it is essential that Angola should realise the necessity of restraint on the part of its own forces and also on the part of SWAPO. It is also essential that the Angolan Government should understand that, in the view of the Government of South Africa, a peaceful solution is simply not possible without the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.
6. The South African Government appreciates the constructive role which the President and Government of Cape Verde have played in promoting peace in southern Africa. It looks forward to maintaining its dialogue with the Republic of Cape Verde on these and other important questions.

I should like to avail myself of this opportunity of renewing to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.



R. F. BOTHA
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND INFORMATION

H.E. Mr Silvino da Luz
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Republic of Cape Verde.