NOTES OF A MEETING OF HEADS OF STATE OF FRONT LINE STATES, THE STATE PALACE, TRIPOLI 7 AUGUST 1982

PRESENT:

President Julius Nyerere - Tanzania (Chairman)
President Edocardo Dos Santos - Angola
President Onet Massire - Botswana
President Samora Machel - Mozambique
President Kenneth Kaunda - Zambia
~~Preside~~
Prime Minister Rober Mugabe - Zimbabwe
Comrade Sam Nujoma - President of SWAPO
Foreign Ministers and other officials.

President Nyerere:

Since we are all here it is gratifying that when a lot of pressure is preventing the OAU to meet, South African and East African states are all here - SADCC is here in full and the Front Line States are all represented by their Heads of State. President Kaunda suggested that since we are all here, and Resolution 435 is being discussed in New York, we may want to discuss the latest developments. Sam is here, and President Dos Santos may want ot tell us something about what is happening in Angola. Whether there is a Summit or not our colleagues would be interested to know about these developemtns. That is what we are here for. So, Sam, what is happening? You are the horse.

SAM NUJOMA:

Thank you. Since our meeting in Dar es Salaam on June 14th when Foreign Ministers and SWAPO were mandated to go to New York to attend the proximity talks on 6th July several meetings have taken place. At the beginning the Western Five wanted to make the question of Impartiality an issue. They were, however, asked to look at more substantive questions which were still outstanding, wuch as the electoral system.

On the whole other issues have been resolved. Now there are three outstanding issues:-

(a) The electoral system - shuth Africa and the United States are saying that we should wait. The Western Fice are saying that South Africa has not made up their mind.

(b) There are also attempts by South Africa and the US of linking the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola with the independence of Namibia. We told them that this linkage has nothing to do with the decolonisation of Namibia and therefore rejected it.

(c) Thirdly, agreement has yet to be reached on the composition

of UNTAG. South Africa has suggested that from Africa UNTAG troops should come from Morocco, Malawi and Sudan, SWAPO rejects Morocco because Morocco has a controversial issue within the OAU. As for Malawi, we all know that Malawi has no troops. We prefer African troops, and have no objection to Sudan.

It is being suggested that on 12 August the Front Line States SWAPO and the Western Five should meet in New York to get a report of the discussions between the Western Five and South Africa. We have learned that General Geldenhuys and Charles Lloyd of South Africa have been discussing with the UN Secretariat.

We would like to appeal to the Front Line States, Nigeria and Kenya to back us and send high ranking officials or Foreign Ministers (as was decided in Dar es Salaam to go with us to New York to make sure that UNTAG goes to Namibia with a clear mandate and prevent Chester Crocker and the Administrator General from saying that everyting has been resolved.

We think also that is is essential that a Sub-Committee of the security Council should establish an office in Windhoek to follow closely what is happening during the elections. This will frighten South Africa.

We suggest also that the Front Line States, Nigeria and Kenya should station liaison officers in Namibia in order to see to it that elections are run smmothly.

The problems which remain now are not insurmountable. They can be resolved. We appeal for Ministers to assist us this time and come to New York because, if the Americans are serious, this should be the last meeting.

MACHEL:

Why is Kenya being proposed? They will hand-over the Chairmanship of the OAU this August.

Nyerere:

That may be one of our problems here with Traiki (Libyan Permanent Representative to the UN) going to join the Front Line States group in New York.

MACHEL: Sam Nujoma is also asking for representatives of Front Line States to go to New York. It seems that the experience of the officials who have been in New York has enabled them to establish good working relations with the team from the Western Five. I would like to suggest that we maintain the same team. They know the scheme of thinking of the Americans. If it is necessary then the Representatives can ask for the Ministers to join them.

MINISTER CHISSANO: On 12 August the Non-Aligned Countries will be meeting in New York. I dont know whether this date should be accepted as our Representatives will be suby.

DOS SANTOS: Kenya will still be Chairman until a new one takessoover.

NYERERE: I think Kenya is not necessary. It is important to continue as Front Line States.

DOS SANTOS: Our Governments should be well represented because this final stage will lead us to the signing of the ceasefire.

NYERERE: What is this non-aligned meeting in New York?

MINISTER CHISSANO: It will be at the level of Representatives.

NYERERE: Not at Ministerial level. This then doesn't matter. They can go on.

DOS SANTOS: On 12th Agust there will be a meeting of the co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries.

(referring to what Nujoma had said) that sounds like a progress report!

MUGABE: I want to find out the importance of the linkage. But was recently saying that nothing will occur unless there is a withdrawal of the Cubans.

NUJOMA: The linkage issue is spearheaded by the Americans and the South Africans. The French told me on 13 July that France does not want to be part of this linkage proposal and the Canadians and the British are saying that we dnnt insist. The pressure is from the Americans.

DOS SANTOS: There is a parallel diplomacy on the Namibia and Angolan issues. During the Namibia talks in New York President Reagan sent General Walters to contact me. Before our meeting in Dar es Salaam Walters met all of us separately. The new proposals brought by Walters contained two parts:
The first part has the following elements:-

(a) cessation of hostilities across the border with Namibia
(b) withdrawal of South Africa troops from Angola
(c) Removal of SWAPO forces from the border to the 14th parallel, i.e. more than 600 km northwards.
(d) removal of Cuban troops up to the lines of defence of the town of Mosamedes.
(e) a unit to established which will oversee the implementation of a 30 - day ceasefire.

We reacted thus:

(a) South Africa should not allow puppets to cross from Namibia.
(b) We rejected SWAPO being moved to parallel 14. They should be north of parallel 16. In any case these matters should be a concern of SWAPO.
(c) On Cuban troops we said that instead of moving up to Mosamedes they should be north of parallel 16, i.e. more or less 110 to 115 km from the border.
(d) On Civil Administration, we proposed border ports during the 30 days of the ceasefire. We want to be at the border when UNTAG arrives.

It is difficult to monitor a ceasefire over a wide area, Monitoring units should be established to monitor the border. These units should be in liaison with the South African and the Angolan High Commands. They should take appropriate measures

against violations. Our reaction was given as written proposal, but on non-official paper because their own proposals were given in a similar manner.

The second part of the proposals is linked with the simultaneous withdrawal of Cuban troops some sort of calendar showing the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and Cuban troops from Angola.

According to Resolution 435 South African troops are expected to withdraw in stages. Now the Americans are suggesting that as South African start to move the Cubans should also leave Angola. The date of the Cuban withdrawal should coincide with South Africa's and the withdrawal should be completed within seven months as given by Resolution 435.

We objected to the idea of a simultaneous withdrawal of the Cubans. We need to ensure the intereral ~~x~~ security of Angola. We can see the example of Lebanon where, despite the presence of UNFIL, Israel had violated the borders of that country. Secondly, in the early days of Namibia's independence there will be an effective control of the borders. Therefore we need a guarantee that our security will not be jeorpadised.

As an alternative we have affirmed our Joint Communique with Cuba on the withdrawal of the troops. We ~~x~~ say that we are committed to honour this declaration. If there is a guarantee that armed bandits will not attack Angola then we can consider the proposal of withdrawal. They have not answered us.

We have always rejected linkage although we do not oppose the principle of withdrawal.

(President dos Santos then said something on Walvis Bay but the interpreter was heard poorly by the writer).

NUJOMA: We propose that South African troops withdraw from Walvis Bay to south of the Orange River in order to ensure security in the region. We would like to send a retired judge or some senior official to check what the secretariate is doing on this. There should be an independent judge within the UNTAG component.

NYERERE: Thank you, Mr President. We are fully behind your position. It is a principled position. You are doing everything possible to make the Americans see sense. I personally think you have been wise to raise Walvis Bay, because what is called South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia does not include Walvis Bay. Some members in the Contact Group also see this. The Americans are whispering that the South Africans are not very keen on Walvis Bay - the American Ambassador in Dar es Salaam said that the South Africans are not keen to remain in Walvis Bay. Well, if they are not why then not uudge them? If therefore they want a parallel then let there be a complete parallel.

Sam, on some detailed questions we are backing you up as far as 435 is concerned e.g. on the form of elections we are backing you fully that it is either SMC or PR. When it cames to selecting boundaries we will be behind you and there will be people behind you. But this is not the Frontline States, it is SWAPO getting good advices. We can help you get the advice. On the details of implementation you will come to work hard with your advisers.

This parallel thing will delay the process - they know it is not part of 435.

DOS SANTOS: We dont want to take the responsibility for delating the independence of Namibia. We suggest we work through France, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany to try to make - the US ~~xhaxing~~ change its stand on the issue of linkage. The withdrawal of the Cubans was first raised by the US and not South Africa. It is a process of normalisation with the US and not a question of the independence of Namibia.

NYERERE: We understand your position perfectly. It will be a crime on our part to suggest that Angola is delaying the independenced Namibia.

MACHEL: Each one of our capitals should act on the Western Five and particularly the US. Dos Santos has given us a lot of material.

Secondly, we are here for the OAU meeting. The other members may want to hear what is happening. We must try to get maximum support from them.

NYERERE: Sam could address the meeting - that could handle the problem of Namibia. Dos Santos may want to say something - not necessarily in the same way as he has now done. The arabs are doing nothing. We are not doing nothing. Dos Santos may draw our attention that South Angola is occupied by South Africa. Well fine, thank you very much.

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August, 1982

W.K. Tibaijuka
HS/AO