

June 23, 1971

**Discussion Between the Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Dr The Hon. H. Muller and the Minister of Foreign
Affairs of Portugal, His Excellency Dr Rui D'Espiney
Patricio**

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DISCUSSIONS WITH THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT OF PORTUGAL
AFFAIRS, DR THE HON. H. MULLER AND THE

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL,

HIS EXCELLENCY DR RUI D'ESPINEY PATRICIO

PRETORIA 23-24 JUNE, 1971

W. Viljoen

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SUMMARY OF AGREEMENTS REACHED BETWEEN DR THE
HON. H. MULLER AND HIS EXCELLENCY DR RUI
D'ESPINEY PATRICIO

1. That both South Africa and Portugal would continue to publicise the dangers involved in Russian naval penetration of the Indian Ocean.
2. That South Africa and Portugal would exchange information on developments in Africa as a whole. The present geographically limited exchange would however continue.
3. That both South Africa and Portugal would support those African countries which endorsed the policy of dialogue.
4. That both South Africa and Portugal agreed that President Kuanda of Zambia was a danger to the peace and tranquility of Southern Africa and that South Africa and Portugal should adopt a common policy towards President Kuanda. This common policy would also involve the Republic of Rhodesia and would take into account the political and economic interests of the countries involved. In framing the joint policy sufficient time to allow for adequate consultation in depth must be allowed and South Africa's trading interests in Zambia must be recognized.
5. That both South Africa and Portugal agreed to keep in close contact in regard to the development of their relations with Zambia.

3. Cooperation in the field of arms control and disarmament against subversion from foreign origin.

1. The general orientation of Nato regarding the Communist World; to achieve a reduction of the deficit of the Portuguese balance of trade with South Africa.

(a) Report on contacts that have taken place concerning the Communist penetration in the various continents, mainly in the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans.

(b) Evolution of the Communist offensive against Southern Africa.

2. Review of the evolution of the problems in the U.N. (possible development of the idea of a new regional Asiatic group separated from the African group.)

(a) Evolution of the orientation of the specialized agencies of the U.N., of the Economic Commission for Africa and of the O.A.U.

3. Possibilities of a dialogue with the African Countries in general.

(a) Relations with Congo - Kinshasa.

(b) Relations with Malawi. (increasing use of its territory by FRELIMO).

(c) Relations with Zambia. (need of an alignment of policy in face of the increasing extremism of its Government.)

(d) Problems of Rhodesia.

(e) Relations with Madagascar and Mauritius.

(f) Relations with Ivory Coast and Gabon.

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MEETINGS BETWEEN DR THE HON. HILGARD MULLER,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND HIS EXCELLENCY

4. Co-operation in the field of common resistance against
subversion from foreign origin.

PORTUGAL, ON 21 AND 22 JUNE, 1971

5. Possibility of revising the Commercial Agreement in
order to achieve a reduction of the deficit of the Portuguese
balance of trade with South Africa.

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND HIS EXCELLENCY
DR RUI D'ESPINEY PATRICIO, FOREIGN MINISTER OF
PORTUGAL, ON 23 AND 24 JUNE, 1971

The discussions between the two Ministers took place at the Union Buildings in the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The South African Government was represented by Dr the Hon. H. Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mr Brand Fourie, Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

The Portuguese Government was represented by His Excellency Dr Rui d'Espiney Patricio, Foreign Minister of Portugal, Dr Goncalo Caldeira Coelho, Director-General of Political Affairs at the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, His Excellency Dr J.E. de Meneses Rosa, Ambassador of Portugal to South Africa, Dr Thomas Andresen, Deputy Director of Economic Affairs at the Portuguese Foreign Ministry and Dr Luis Navega, "Chefe de Gabinete" of the Portuguese Foreign Minister.

Notes on the 1st Meeting which took place
at 10.15 am on Wednesday 23 June

1. The Portuguese party was welcomed by Dr H. Muller and preliminary discussions on the agenda took place. Dr Rui Patricio then expressed a wish for a meeting between his accompanying officials and an official of the South African Department of Commerce to discuss point 5 of the agenda. He also expressed his desire to pay a courtesy call on the Minister of Transport.
2. The first point on the agenda dealt with Nato.

Dr Patricio said that at the present it was difficult to define the general position of NATO as the organization's members adopted different attitudes dictated by their internal policies. As he saw it, NATO was at the moment

informal contacts with these countries, including Portugal, on the defensive and reacted to initiatives of the Soviets, which in turn were motivated by the desire of the U.S.S.R. to consolidate its position in Europe, and especially to secure international recognition for the German Democratic Republic.

Dr Patricio stated that he considered the Russian desire to consolidate its position in Europe was aimed at freeing resources for Soviet action in other parts of the world.

Dr Muller said that he found this proposition most interesting and he asked Dr Patricio to continue, with special reference to Africa.

Dr Patricio said that for several years Portugal had asked the Ministerial Council of Nato to pay some attention to Russian activity in Africa, South America and Asia. He said that this Portuguese proposal was usually opposed by the Nordic countries, Norway and Denmark and also, very often, by Canada. On the other hand, however, there were countries such as Great Britain which were interested in the Communist threat in the Indian Ocean and other parts of the world.

Dr Patricio stated that at the last Nato Ministerial meeting held in Lisbon on 4 and 5 June 1971, the British had proposed a discussion of the increased Russian naval threat to other nations.

Dr Muller asked if there was appreciation of the British position and whether the other member countries had expressed their concern at these developments.

Dr Patricio said that the matter was eventually discussed but that not much concern was expressed. He continued by saying that at the meeting he had had an informal discussion with Sir Alec Douglas Home about the idea that NATO should begin making

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informal contacts with those countries, including Portugal, South Africa and Australia, with which NATO had a common interest. Sir Alec Douglas-Home had told Dr Patricio that the British position was that it was a matter to be dealt with very carefully and slowly, and that although there was a good deal of interest at service level, the matter had to be handled with velvet gloves at the political level.

were always encountered at political level. He emphasized that Dr Patricio then asked Dr Muller about South Africa's position, especially in regard to South America and Australia. states of NATO was to mention the organization itself.

Dr Muller stated that South Africa had not made any formal approaches for joint action, although when he was in South America two years ago, the matter had been informally discussed. He said that at the time there was an unfounded press report that we were considering formal defence ties with Argentina but that both then and now, South Africa had denied it. Dr Muller said that although he knew that the countries of South America were aware of the dangers of Russian Naval penetration, they were most reluctant to suggest that any grouping or defence arrangement be made. In regard to Australia, Dr Muller stated that although our relations were good there had been no formal approach on the issue.

Both Dr Patricio and Dr Muller agreed that Portugal and South Africa should continue to draw attention to the danger of Russian naval encroachment, particularly in the Indian Ocean.

Dr Muller continued by saying that there had lately been some favourable reaction as evidenced by the recent article of a United States Admiral entitled "Russian Fleet constitutes a real danger in the Indian Ocean" and also by the attitude adopted by Prime Minister Heath at the recent Commonwealth Conference of Prime Ministers, in regard to the question of the defence of the Indian Ocean and the supply of arms to South Africa for this purpose.

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Both Dr. Patricio and Dr. Muller expressed concern that the Russian naval base being established in the Indian Ocean, from the USSR and Communist China. Another success was the defense. Dr. Patricio repeated that at every meeting of the NATO Ministerial Council, Portugal insisted on drawing attention to the Russian naval threat and that although there was appreciation and reaction at service level, difficulties were always encountered at political level. He emphasized that it was not realistic to think that the matter could be quickly changed. At present the main problem of the member states of NATO was to mention the organization itself. At the present time the cry "Americans Go Home" was popular in Europe and, as he had said before, he considered that the initiative at the present time rested with the opponents of NATO and that it required a tremendous effort to keep NATO in existence. Countries had the same eventual goal.

Dr. Patricio stated that as he saw it both South Africa and Portugal must continue, on a bilateral basis, to stimulate interest in the problems created by Russian Naval activities. In this regard there were signs that our efforts were not in vain as there was a committee of Nato which dealt with problems of the continent of Africa, and the Portuguese report, which drew attention to Soviet and Chinese penetration in the continent usually formed the basic document of the committee.

Dr. Patricio stated that Portugal was obtaining the arms On the other hand Dr. Patricio conceded that there were those NATO countries, notably Norway, Denmark and Canada who held that Soviet and Chinese penetration in Africa was facilitated and caused by the policies of Portugal and South Africa and that NATO should attempt to get us to change our policies.

Dr. Muller then asked Dr. Patricio about Portugal's relations with In reply to a question from Dr. Muller, Dr. Patricio stated that Portugal had had some success in its campaign to bring the facts of the matter to the attention of NATO and that this was evidenced by the fact that NATO had not approved a proposal by

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one of the Nordic countries that NATO should make sure that support to Liberation Movements in Africa did not come only from the USSR and Communist China. Another success was the defeat of a proposal that NATO should give support to those non-governmental institutions giving support to the Liberation movements.

Dr Patricia also stated that the Nordic countries represented in NATO held the theory that competition between the USSR and China in Africa might be to NATO's eventual advantage.

Dr Patricia regarded the Commonwealth as unreliable and asked what Dr Muller emphasized that this was a most short sighted approach, to which Dr Patricia replied by stating that it indeed represented a short sighted and dangerous approach and that even if the USSR and Communist China used different methods the two countries had the same eventual goal.

There were trade problems.

Dr Muller then stated that he would like to discuss the question of the supply of arms to Portugal and South Africa and he asked of the recent announcement by the West German Minister of Information that no new arms were to be supplied to Portugal.

Dr Patricia stated that Portugal was obtaining the arms she needed, but not without difficulty. In regard to the West German statement he said that Minister Ehlers had said that no new arms contracts with Portugal were foreseen at the present time. In fact, Dr Patricia said, "we have no new contracts pending".

Dr Muller then asked Dr Patricia about Portugal's relations with France. The Portuguese Foreign Minister confirmed that these relations were very good; although France seemed to be more concerned about Africa than in recent years.

Dr Muller asked whether this might be as a result of

the visit of Dr Kuanda and Dr Patricio replied that this might well be so. He agreed with Dr Muller's suggestion that French Foreign Minister Schumann was more concerned with relations with Africa than was President Pompidou and other Gaulists in the cabinet. was not gaining ground in Europe, particularly in Italy and France. Dr Patricio answered that as far as Italy was In regard to the United Kingdom, Dr Muller suggested that if the British Government succeeded in its attempts to join the European Economic Community it might be much less sensitive to African pressures. He said that he felt that the British regarded the Commonwealth as unreliable and asked what Dr Patricio's views were, that he wished to return to the point raised by Mr Fourie, and he said as a result of the stable Dr Patricio said that he agreed that entry into the Common Market would place the United Kingdom in a more independent position - although both Portugal and South Africa would then have trade problems. these arms was increasing at an alarming rate and that he had discussed this problem with Sir Alec Douglas-Home. At this stage Dr Muller asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether there were any points which he would like to raise. Patricio said that he placed particular emphasis on this problem in regard to Guinea, for although Mozambique and Angola. Mr Brand Fourie asked Dr Patricio to confirm that he was of opinion that the proposed negotiations to reduce the level of armed forces in Europe would, if successful, lead to greater activity by the U.S.S.R. in other parts of the world - especially in Africa. Patricio continued by stating that Portugal had increasing problems in Guinea as the terrorists had not been supplied. Dr Patricio stated that he was convinced of this and that in order to bring this about the U.S.S.R. wished to freeze the position in Europe, particularly at this time while the Americans were susceptible to pressure. He said that the last Communist Party Conference in Moscow had again brought "hard liners" into positions of prominence, and that the apparent policy of détente was not sincere but merely a question of strategy.

Dr Muller asked whether this also applied to the situation in the Middle East and whether Dr Patricio thought that the Americans were sincerely anxious for a settlement. Dr Patricio answered in the affirmative. Dr Muller then asked whether Communism was not gaining ground in Europe, particularly in Italy and France. Dr Patricio answered that as far as Italy was concerned this was certainly so, but that he thought that President Pompidou would win the French Elections to take place in 1973 and that the only possibility of defeating him would be by the formation of a Popular Front.

Dr Patricio then said that he wished to return to the point raised by Mr Fourie, and he said as a result of the stabilization of the European situation, Portugal was facing the problem of a greatly increased supply of weapons to terrorists operating in her three overseas provinces. He said that the supply of these arms was increasing at an alarming rate and that he had discussed this problem with Sir Alec Douglas Home, Mr Schumann and others.

Dr Patricio said that he placed particular emphasis on this problem in regard to Guinea, for although Mocambique and Angola were more in the limelight, Portugal regarded Guinea as its first line of defence, particularly because of its strategic position, together with its islands, on the air route to Europe.

Dr Patricio continued by stating that Portugal had increasing problems in Guinea as the terrorists had now been supplied with heavy guns and rockets and were in fact waging a conventional type of warfare! In this regard Dr Patricio stated that artillery bombardments of border positions were taking place from the other side of the international boundary and that the enemy was using MIG aircraft based, he thought, in Conakry.

Dr Muller remarked that when he and Dr Patricio had discussed the matter previously, Dr Patricio had told him

that the communists were using Guinea as a testing ground for new weapons. ... influence in Kinshasa.

For this reason, Dr. Patricio said, the question of the supply of arms and the position of France interested his Government very much. He said that in Angola and Mocambique the Portuguese army had in recent months been very successful mainly because of the use of modern weapons, particularly helicopters. This applied especially to Eastern Angola. Returning to the problem of terrorist attacks on Guinea, Dr. Patricio said that the province's population was approximately 600,000 and that although the Portuguese had at some stage had problems with the local population, they were now mainly aligned with the Portuguese. He said that the forces attacking Guinea were becoming a sort of International Brigade under both Russian and Chinese Communist influence.

Dr. Muller then asked Dr. Patricio what he thought of the position of President Mobutu and the situation in Congo Kinshasa. ... Caldeira Coelho stated that such a sale would certainly be a pretext for newspaper attacks against Portugal, but Dr. Patricio said that the position was most complicated but that Portugal now had a very much better understanding with President Mobutu. ... confirmed that no problems would be raised which Portugal could not very easily deal with.

Dr. Muller asked whether the Portuguese considered that economic relations with Congo Kinshasa were sufficient to influence President Mobutu in the political sphere. ... it would be useful if South Africa and Portugal could have a regular

To this question Dr. Patricio replied that economic facts were important but to his mind President Mobutu's own lack of security was a more important factor. In explanation, he said that the Portuguese operations in Guinea and Angola distracted the attention of the so-called International Brigade and the Congo Brazzaville from Gen. Mobutu and thus increased his security. Dr. Patricio confirmed that this was

Dr Muller then asked what Dr Patricio thought of the strong United States influence in Kinshasa.

Dr Patricio replied that his Government was not against this influence per se but thought that the Americans were trying to disengage wherever possible and that this disengagement, if successful, would open the door for Russian penetration. Dr Muller then asked if, according to Portuguese sources, the U.S.S.R. was obtaining more and more of a foothold in Nigeria. Dr Patricio affirmed that the Russians were reaping the benefits of their support of the Nigerian Government against Biafra.

Returning to the question of the supply of arms to Portugal and South Africa the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Fourie, stated that under a economic co-operation agreement there was a possibility of South Africa purchasing certain ships from Portugal. He asked whether this proposed purchase would have repercussions for Portugal in the NATO context.

Ambassador Caldeira Coelho stated that such a sale would certainly be a pretext for newspaper attacks against Portugal, but not from Governments.

Dr Patricio confirmed that no problems would be raised which Portugal could not very easily deal with.

Dr Patricio then stated that having considered the problem of Guinea, the Congo and Nigeria he thought that it would be useful if South Africa and Portugal could have a regular exchange of information in regard to the whole of the African continent and not only to the areas of Southern Africa to which the exchange was at present confined.

Mr Fourie said that he was aware of the fact that the present informal agreement to exchange information had been geographically limited. Dr Patricio confirmed that this was so, and said that when Dr Muller had raised the question of

Congo Kinshasa and Nigeria - information about which is of the utmost importance to Portugal in Africa - it had made him realize that it was of the utmost importance that the present exchange of information should be widened in scope.

Dr Muller said that he was interested in the idea of creating the machinery to bring about an exchange of information on a wider basis. He continued by saying that his namesake, the South African Minister for Police, who has units on the border, was interested in making contact with a member of the Portuguese Government in this regard.

Dr Muller stated that in principle he agreed with the proposition put to him by Dr Patricio.

Dr Patricio continued by saying that the question of the mechanics of the proposed exchange of information would be for the experts to decide on, but that he viewed the matter as being of the utmost importance, and of great value to the Portuguese struggle in Africa.

Dr Muller stated that Dr Patricio was quite right and that neither Portugal nor South Africa should look at their problems in isolation.

Dr Patricio also mentioned that another reason for the increased terrorism was the Cape Delgado province the terrorists had been operating in. Dr Patricio again emphasized the importance of the matter and said that he would not propose a formal agreement but would suggest that the contacts be left to the Secret Services. Mr Fourie agreed to take up the matter as soon as practicable and Dr Muller reaffirmed that he knew that the South African Minister of Police, Mr S.L. Muller, was interested in the matter.

In concluding the discussion on this particular point both Dr Muller and Dr Patricio emphasized that it was imperative that their two countries should continue to exchange information on the present geographical basis.

Dr Muller then stated that he had heard that Tanzania was being supplied with MIG fighter aircraft or that she might soon be getting them. He asked Dr Patricio whether he had any information on this score. He continued by saying that besides the Communist groups in Zambia there was also an attempt to start a Communist movement in Mozambique.

Dr Patricio stated that he had no definite information, but that the question underlined the importance of the exchange of information, as his Government was most interested to know what war material the Communists were supplying to their African allies. He stated that the present position was less dangerous for Portugal than if Holden's movement was based in Zambia.

Dr Patricio then moved to a discussion of the situation in Mocambique and stated that the day before he had had a lengthy discussion with General de Arriga on the new strategy being used against Frelimo and at the same time they had discussed the new strategy being tried by Frelimo. He made with the construction of the Tanzania-Zambia railway line by the Communists.

In this regard Dr Patricio said that the use of helicopter-borne strike groups in Northern Mocambique had been particularly successful against the terrorists and that because of the that Portuguese success in the Cabo Delgado province the terrorists had been forced to move into the Tete province, where they were trying to join forces with and co-ordinate with other terrorist groups stationed in Zambia, such as Zapu and the ANC.

Dr Patricio also mentioned that another reason for the increased terrorist activity in Tete was, of course, the building of the Cabora Bassa dam. Thus, following their defeats in Cabo Delgado the terrorists were most anxious for a successful strike against the dam project in order to boost their morale. He would enable heavy equipment to be transported to the dam.

In regard to the Makonde people Dr Patricio stated that in spite of desperate attempts on the part of Frelimo to that force the Makondes to support them, they had not succeeded and many Makondes were now on the side of Portugal. To compensate for this Frelimo were trying harder in Tete and Dr Patricio repeated that in order to combat these increased activities of Frelimo it was important that all possible information should be available to the Portuguese authorities.

Dr. Patricio then said the proposed closer co-operation between terrorist groups, particularly those based in Zambia, was a reflection of the increased intensity of the Communist assault on Southern Africa. He continued by saying that besides the Communist groups in Zambia there was also an attempt to strengthen the position of the followers of Roberto Holden, based in Kinshasa. However, Dr Patricio was of opinion that even though General Mobutu was unable to control his own army, and although many units of the army openly supported the terrorists the present position was less dangerous for Portugal than if Holden's movement was based in Zambia.

For the Portuguese", Dr Patricio said, "Zambia remains the most dangerous problem facing Southern Africa."

Dr Muller then asked about the progress being made with the construction of the Tanzania-Zambia railway line by the Communist Chinese.

Dr Patricio said that his authorities had information that the construction of the railway line was two years ahead of schedule, and that the first stage - over the coastal plain and up to the mountains - would be completed by December of this year. Dr Muller said that the construction of the railway line would contribute greatly to the Communist offensive in Southern Africa and was not very reassuring from our point of view.

Dr Patricio agreed that the present progress on the railway line would enable heavy equipment to be transported to the interior for the construction of the second stage of the line. He said that Portuguese intelligence services had reported that heavy military equipment was being offloaded in Tanzanian ports and that construction works in these ports was proceeding.

Dr Patricio said that he estimated that by 1974 there would be 15,000 Chinese troops and the means of supplying them with heavy equipment in Tanzania and Zambia.

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He said that there it appeared that the heavy equipment would be concentrated in Zambia and that South Africa and Portugal should devise their strategy to counter this build up.

Dr Muller said that he had information that Dr Nyerere was no longer in full control in Tanzania and he asked whether the Portuguese had any information on forces opposed to Dr Nyerere.

Dr Patricio said that the British Foreign Secretary had told him that the United Kingdom had no illusions as to the directions in which Dr Nyerere was leading Tanzania. However in Tanzania there was no organized opposition to Dr Nyerere although there were certain tribal factions opposed to his leadership. He said that although he had information of a plot in Zanzibar, it was also reported that all the plotters had been executed. In regard to the mainland Portugal did not think that there was any concrete possibility of a coup d'état.

Dr Muller remarked that the construction of the Tanzania railway must be viewed as a feather in the cap of Dr Nyerere by his countrymen. Dr Patricio agreed and said that the evolution of events in Tanzania, Zambia and the Congo Brazzaville was contrary to the interests of South Africa and Portugal, and that the only bright spot that he could see was Congo Kinshasa.

Dr Patricio then asked whether Dr Muller considered that recent events in Uganda would effect the surrounding states. Dr Muller replied that it had definitely had a positive effect in the OAU context.

Dr Muller then broached the subject of the proposal in the United Nations that a new regional assistance organization for Africa might be formed separate from the Afro-Asian Group.

Dr Patricio said that Portugal was trying to develop

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this idea in the United Nations, namely, that the Asian group of countries should not always form part of the larger Afro-Asian group. He said that Portugal was trying to get the idea across, particularly to Japan and China, that the interests of Asian countries were not well served as long as they remained members of the huge Afro-Asian group. In this regard the interests of Africa and Asia were seldom identical, most interesting but that he thought that we should not confuse ourselves. Dr. Patricio said that Portugal was trying to propagate this idea and so bring about a split in the Afro-Asian camp, extremist powers within the Blocs. Dr. Muller said that the main Ambassador Caldeira Coelho then remarked that no trend was discernible as yet but that Portugal was continuing with the policy of bringing home to the Asians that they had nothing in common with the Africans and that culturally they were thousands of years in advance of Africa.

Dr. Muller remarked that the Portuguese idea was extremely interesting and that South Africa would bear the policy in mind and, where possible, help to propagate the idea. He said that the South African Government was trying to get away from the idea that all Afro-Asian states are the enemies of South Africa. Dr. Muller mentioned that he personally in his speeches always referred to "the extremists in the Afro-Asian Group". Dr. Patricio signified his agreement and said that when he was in New York at the 25th Session of the United Nations he was impressed by the fact that the majority at the United Nations was very definitely in the hands of the Afro-Asians. He said that he observed that even though the Europeans and South Americans voted against a resolution, it could be passed by the Afro-Asians voting alone. Dr. Patricio emphasized that it was for this reason that the Western States must try to separate the Asian from the African states.

Dr. Muller then said that in Africa the natural division was an example Dr. Patricio said that when the Foreign Minister of Japan told him that Japan voted in a certain way, and that he was aware that the Arabs were used by the

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because of its membership of the Afro-Asian group, Dr. Patricio had told him that he would have thought that it was more important for Japan to be a member of the Security Council, rather than just another member of the bloc.

Dr Muller then explained to Mr Fourie, who had left the room for a short while, that he had found Dr Patricio's idea most interesting but that he thought that we should not confine ourselves to attempting to bring about a split in the Afro-Asian bloc, but also to work for a split between the moderate and extremist powers within the blocs. Dr Muller said that the main danger of the present power line-up was that it tended to split the world on colour lines, and that we should rather work to have the split develop on lines of civilization. He warned that whether Portugal and South Africa would succeed was an open question. Mr Fourie replied that it was not yet certain but that Zambia would in any event not be a member. He thought that the policy of dividing the Afro-Asians between themselves was inherent in South Africa's basic policy, and that dialogue could come later.

In regard to Japan, Mr Fourie said that our most potent force was trade and that this was making a positive contribution to the splitting of the Asian bloc. Mr Fourie continued by saying that Japan's reluctance to give up her lucrative trade with South Africa had already forced her to change her political position.

In regard to the United Nations Mr Fourie said that a good case had been made for a wider bilateral effort on behalf of Portugal and South Africa and that the past session of the organization had shown that the past solid front against the two countries had shown signs of cracks.

Dr Muller then said that in Africa the natural division between the Arab and Negro peoples carried a great deal of weight with a man like President Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, and that he was aware that the Arabs were used by the

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Soviets in their attempts to dominate Africa. Dr Muller said that the position in the Sudan was also of interest to President Houphouët-Boigny and that this was another area where division could be exploited by South Africa and Portugal. In conversation in the different capitals Dr Patricio said that Portugal's representatives had emphasized how seriously their government viewed the matter and that if necessary Portugal would reconsider her attitude to the United Nations Organization.

Adjournment for Lunch.

The discussions were continued at 15.20 hours.

Dr Muller began the resumed discussions by mentioning that he understood that the Economic Commission for Africa was considering the establishment of a regional development committee for Southern Africa.

Ambassador Caldeira Coelho asked who the members of such a committee would be. Mr Fourie replied that it was not as yet certain but that Zambia would in any event not be a member. He thought Botswana, Malawi, Swaziland and Lesotho but did not know what the position of Angola and Mocambique would be.

Ambassador Caldeira Coelho replied that as South Africa knew Portugal was not a member of the Economic Commission for Africa - although the ECA had attempted to introduce so-called representatives of the people of Angola and Mocambique into their conferences.

Dr Muller asked whether the Portuguese had any information as to whether the ECA also intended to introduce so-called representatives of the people of South Africa. Dr Patricio said that this was an unhappy and absurd development, and he mentioned that on the last day of the 25th meeting of the General Assembly, Portugal had learnt that a paper had been sent to the Secretary-General concerned with the problems of the representation of Angola and Mocambique.

Dr Patricio said that his Government were able to stop

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this move by making a strong statement in all the capitals of the world where Portugal is represented, which statement, inter alia, emphasized that Portugal could not participate in, or remain a member of, an organization in which terrorists were represented. In conversation in the different capitals Dr. Patricio said that Portugal's representatives had emphasized how seriously their Government viewed the matter and that if necessary Portugal would reconsider her attitude to the United Nations Organization.

Dr. Muller asked what the reaction to the Portuguese demarche was. He mentioned a recent case in connection with fisheries where Portugal had co-operated with the Food and Agric. Dr. Patricio replied that all the Governments approached were in complete agreement with the Portuguese attitude - even those Governments which look upon the Provinces of Angola and Mozambique as autonomous states. He continued by stating that all Portugal's friends supported her in the matter, relations with South Africa. As an example he quoted the action of Mr. Fourie then mentioned that he thought that that the ECA was looking for some basis of co-operation in Southern Africa, led to terminate their contact with South Africa before the end of the year.

Dr. Patricio agreed that that was probably the aim of the ECA but said that Portugal could not allow a situation to develop such as the 1970 Youth Assembly in New York, where even the Viet Cong were represented.

United Nations these bodies would have to decide whether to accept. Dr. Muller warned of the danger of the recognition of successionist movements by the United Nations and quoted the recent tragic case of Pakistan. He speculated that the move by the ECA might be a positive step to bring about co-operation among the moderate states of Southern Africa. Dr. Patricio replied that this might be so but that he had no information and one could never make assumptions on logical grounds as far as Africa was concerned.

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of the United Nations and remarked that he had noted that Portugal had now left UNESCO, as South Africa had a long time ago. Dr Muller said that several bodies in South Africa were placed in a difficult position, for although South Africa was no longer a member of Unesco, they were sometimes asked to co-operate in Unesco projects. He said that in each case the South African Government had to decide whether such co-operation would be in South Africa's interests or not and that this was the basis for decision.

Dr Patricio said that Portugal was in a very similar position and he mentioned a recent case in connection with fisheries where Portugal had co-operated with the Food and Agricultural Organization. He said that every case was decided on its merits. Mr Fourie then mentioned the resolution passed at the last session of the United Nations, in which all specialized agencies were asked to report to the Secretary General on what steps they had taken to break off relations with South Africa. As an example he quoted the action taken by the International Nurses Council and other bodies such as the Boy Scouts Organization, who had also been asked to terminate their contact with South Africa before the end of the year.

In the above regard Mr Fourie said that there were about 50 or 60 bodies and organizations associated with UNESCO and that as a result of the latest move of the United Nations these bodies would have to decide whether to expell South Africa, and possibly also Portugal.

Dr Muller said that if these bodies and organizations were forced to choose between UNESCO and South Africa and Portugal, he expected that they would opt for Unesco as membership of the body gave them more prestige.

Ambassador Caldeira Coelho stated that the position of Portugal was that she was excluded from those bodies falling directly under UNESCO. However, in regard to other bodies,

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it could be seen from the replies submitted to the Secretary-General of the U.N. that they have taken different positions, some accepting the resolution and some modifying it.

Dr Patricio said that an example of the different attitudes adopted by specialized agencies was the recent meeting of ICAU. He said that both Portugal and South Africa should resist the move and that in this regard the attitude of the chairmen of the organizations was of paramount importance.

Dr Muller then asked Dr Patricio about Portugal's relations with the FAO, to which Dr Patricio replied that these relations were not at all bad. Portugal had good relations with the Director-General and there is a certain measure of technical co-operation. Dr Patricio said that Portugal does not participate in the FAO's meetings or programmes on Africa, although the FAO had requested Portugal's co-operation in the eradication of the malarial mosquito and in a coffee project.

Dr Muller then raised the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, which he described as a very difficult problem.

Dr Patricio agreed that the problem was most difficult and said that he considered that a "wait and see attitude" was the best one to adopt. He continued by saying that Portugal continued to support the Republic of China, but that if there was a marked movement of the Western Powers away from this position, Portugal would follow. Ambassador Caldeira Coelho then remarked that both the United States and Japan at present appeared to favour the "two Chinas policy". Dr Patricio said that the "two Chinas policy" seemed to be the logical one for Portugal as he was convinced that the United States would not abandon Taiwan. Mr Fourie asked whether the implementation of the "two Chinas policy" would not mean a revision of the Charter of the United Nations.

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Everyone present agreed that it would be difficult to get the Republic of China to abandon her seat in the Security Council without amending the Charter.

Dr Patricio then remarked that Communist China had stated that she would not accept the "two Chinas" formula, however, the position was in a state of flux and even the United States' attitude to Chinese terrorism was changing. In conclusion Dr Patricio said that he did not think that the China question would come to a head in the United Nations until 1972.

Before leaving the question of relations with the United Nations Dr Muller said that South Africa was uncertain as to how its relations would develop as a result of the adverse judgment in the South West Africa case. He said that this development might change our relations and that South Africa might be suspended from membership. Mr Fourie remarked that the interesting point was that South Africa's enemies stated that the Security Council decisions were binding, even though not taken in accordance with Chapter 7 of the Charter.

Dr Patricio asked how Dr Muller viewed the legal position, and was informed that South Africa realized that the extremists now had the legal basis they had sought and that they would no doubt use the decision to attempt to twist the arms of a number of members of the Security Council to use force against South Africa.

Dr Patricio asked whether Dr Muller had any indication as to when the Security Council would meet. Dr Muller replied that he did not know, but probably in July or August.

Mr Fourie then said that Summit Meeting of the Organization for African Unity would probably decide as to when would be the best time for the Security Council to meet. However, he added, even though the OAU was at present in disarray, the

Mr Fourie then explained to the Portuguese representatives the differing attitudes adopted by the judges.

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Security Council would have to meet as the Council had asked for the advisory opinion and would have to consider it.

Dr. Patrício asked of the substance of the World Court's decision and was informed of the main points by Mr. Fourie, who concluded by saying that the advisory opinion would not unduly affect South Africa's administration of South West Africa but that South Africa would in due course have to examine the practical effects of the opinion. Dr. Patrício then asked of the reactions of third countries to the advisory opinion and Dr. Muller informed him that for South Africa the most important were the reactions of the countries of the dissenting judges, the United Kingdom and France. He continued by saying that in the United Kingdom the reaction of the Conservative newspapers was not unfair and the "Daily Telegraph" had echoed Judge Fitzmaurice's warning that "the door had now been opened for the United Nations to become a World Parliament with the powers to take action". The Ambassador of Portugal then asked Dr. Muller whether he considered that the decision of the International Court would lead the big and responsible powers to reappraise their attitude to the United Nations.

Dr. Muller replied that he hoped so but that the only thing of which he was certain was that the extremists would use the advisory opinion to reinforce their case. He did not think that the great powers would do anything stupid. if Dr. Muller would keep in touch with him on developments at the United Nations. Mr. Fourie then stated that the only thing to do was to play the situation by ear and that all that he could do was to repeat the point stressed by South Africa's Prime Minister that there should be consultation with the peoples concerned and that to suggest using force was in direct contradiction of this idea. The Ambassador of Portugal then stated that the United Kingdom and France had the only real judges in the case.

Mr. Fourie then explained to the Portuguese representatives the differing attitudes adopted by the judges.

General Mobutu faced many internal difficulties and was not in a position to play the matter by ear, but that one thing was certain and that was that South Africa would stay in South West Africa for as long as the people of the territory wanted us and as long as South Africa had commitments in the territory. Dr Muller mentioned the articles in the morning press written by journalists who were not friendly to the Government and who had reported favourably on South West Africa.

Mr Fourie then said that one of the things that the extremists were saying was that the United Nations should suspend South Africa from membership.

Dr Muller queried whether membership of the United Nations was an advantage or a disadvantage and said that there was a considerable body of opinion in South Africa in favour of withdrawal.

Dr Patricio said that he agreed that the healthy development of the Congo (Kinshasa) was of importance to all of Africa and that he hoped that the three reasons for maintaining membership which Dr Muller had mentioned to him during their talks in Lisbon were still valid.

Dr Muller replied that the three reasons were still valid. This applied particularly to the economic and trade fields.

Dr Patricio said that he would appreciate if Dr Muller would keep in touch with him on developments at the United Nations.

The meeting was then joined by Mr R.J. Montgomery and moved on to the third item on the agenda.

In this regard he mentioned trade, transport, fishing and the supply of raw materials. Dr Muller asked Dr Patricio whether he would like to embroider on the position of Gen Mobutu which had been raised earlier.

Dr Patricio then said that in the Portuguese view

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General Mobutu faced many internal difficulties and was not in complete control of the Congo. Mobutu's relations with Congo Brassaville were not good, in spite of the friendly communiques issued from time to time. The reason was that the Belgians were very loath to return. Dr Patricio also said that it had been Dr Patricio thought it important for Portugal to try to support Gen. Mobutu as it was considered doubtful whether a Government with more Western leanings could exist in the Congo. Portugal did not think that the influence that the United States had on Mobutu was to her detriment.

Dr Muller then remarked that South Africa regarded the Congo Kinshasa as one of the most important states of Africa. A large country with a great potential. He said that South Africa had for many years had diplomatic ties with the Congo and that many South African diplomats had been stationed there. countries' interests that Gen. Mobutu should continue to govern the Dr Patricio said that he agreed that the healthy development of the Congo (Kinshasa) was of importance to all of Africa and that he hoped that Portugal would have success in developing links with that country. The USSR and Communist China and in a private discussion had emphasized that he was Dr Muller told Dr Patricio that if he considered that there was anything South Africa could do to improve relations he would appreciate if Dr Patricio would please let him know. This applied particularly to the economic and trade fields on good terms with that of the Congo Kinshasa.

Mr Fourie said that South Africa's trade relations with the Congo (Kinshasa) were practically normal and did not constitute a problem. President Kuunda had exerted a very bad influence. Dr Patricio continued by saying that Portugal was trying to help the Congo Kinshasa as far as her limited means would allow. In this regard he mentioned trade, transport, fishing and the supply of food. The United States were grooming a successor to Gen. Mobutu so that they could maintain a measure of control. Dr Muller said that he believed that one of Gen. Mobutu's

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greatest problems was the shortage of trained personnel - even in his own Cabinet. He believed that Belgians were slowly returning to the Congo. Ambassador Caldeira Coelho stated that the Portuguese impression was that the Belgians were very loath to return. Dr Patricio also said that it had been reported to him from Brussels that Gen Mobutu's visit to Belgium eighteen months ago was a success from the public relations point of view, but that it had not engendered much investment or Belgian interest. The "affair Jacomin" was a defeat for Belgium.

Ambassador Caldeira Coelho said that Gen Mobutu had very grave internal difficulties and had recently even been forced to leave Kinshasa to gather strength in his native province.

Both Dr Patricio and Dr Muller agreed that it was in their countries' interests that Gen Mobutu should continue to govern the Congo (Kinshasa).

Ambassador Caldeira Coelho stated that Gen Mobutu was conscious of the dangers posed by the USSR and Communist China and in a private discussion had emphasized that he was aware of the "yellow-peril" facing Africa and that the Congo (Kinshasa) was being surrounded by a "Yellow Circle".

Dr Muller noted that the Government of Madagascar were on good terms with that of the Congo Kinshasa.

Dr Patricio then said that the recent visit by President Kuanda to Kinshasa had very nearly been disastrous for Portugal's improved relations. President Kuanda had exerted a very bad influence on Gen Mobutu.

Mr Montgomery then said that he had information to the effect that the United States were grooming a successor to Gen Mobutu so that they could maintain a measure of control should Gen Mobutu fall away.

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Mr Fourie said that this was a most dangerous game as the United States could not groom a man and then keep him in the wings indefinitely without pushing him. Mr Fourie also made a claim against Malawi in regard to the Lake. Mr Fourie then Ambassador Caldeira Coelbo agreed that it was most dangerous and that there was a danger of the Americans losing control of the matter, a presence on the lake.

Mr Montgomery then said that an indication of the measure of control exercised by Gen Mobutu was the fact that he was able to let his commercial representatives visit South Africa without fearing internal repercussions. Dr Muller confirmed that the expansion of the commercial links between South Africa and Congo Kinshasa was done with Gen Mobutu's approval.

Dr Muller then referred to a point raised by Dr Patricio in regard to the use of Malawi territory by Frelimo terrorists. He asked whether this was done with or without the approval of the Government of Malawi.

Mr Montgomery asked whether the Frelimo infiltration was Dr Patricio answered that it was without approval and that the Frelimo in fact formed a challenge to both the Portuguese and to the Government of Malawi. He emphasized that he considered Frelimo to be a grave danger to stable government in Malawi, and whether there were many supporters of Frelimo in Tete and was informed that Frelimo supporters were Dr Caldeira Coelbo said that the danger was increasing as a result of the increasing facilities being put at the disposal of Frelimo by Zambia. Thus there was increasing terrorist activity in Tete of infiltrators coming from Zambia via Malawi. our views on the situation were.

Dr Patricio stated that as a result of this his Government was most anxious to see positive action taken against Zambia. Mr Fourie asked whether the Portuguese authorities had any the information that terrorists using Malawi territory were also using Lake Malawi, would follow his leadership.

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Dr Patricio said that up until the present time the Portuguese authorities had maintained complete control of the lake. He mentioned that Tanzania had a claim against Malawi in regard to the lake. Mr Fourie then asked whether the Portuguese authorities had any evidence that Tanzania was building up the kind of force they needed in order to have a presence on the lake.

Dr Muller then asked Dr Patricio what his information was of the development of the new Malawi. Dr Patricio stated that Portuguese forces were in command of the lake and maintained a strong presence thereon.

Dr Caldeira Coelho also confirmed that the Portuguese would have no knowledge of Tanzanian boats operating on the lake. He said that South Africa had granted an initial loan to set the project going but as the whole project was too big for South Africa it had been hoped that the Portuguese would also contribute.

Dr Muller asked whether the Portuguese forces patrol the lake in force and was informed that that was so, with the Malavians patrolling in the South with their two boats. Dr Patricio pointed out that his country was also interested in the project and was a prestige project. However Portugal had not considered assisting Malawi.

Mr Montgomery asked whether the Frelimo infiltration was mainly in the South. Ambassador Caldeira Coelho answered that their was infiltration along the border of Tete province - mainly of a hit and run nature.

Dr Muller then asked whether there were many supporters of Frelimo in Tete and was informed that Frelimo supporters were more concentrated in the North West.

Dr Patricio said that he knew that the Government of Malawi had requested help from Germany, the Netherlands and the United States, but that he believed that the appeals had not been too successful.

Dr Muller replied that his impression was that Dr Hastings Banda was in a strong position and that he enjoyed the full support of his cabinet. Dr Muller thought that the people of Malawi were frightened of Dr Banda but at the same time respected him and would follow his leadership.

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In regard to Dr Banda's cabinet, Dr Muller remarked that one of the ministers who was recently in South Africa had been imprisoned by Dr Banda but later released. He also remarked that Mr Aleki Banda, who came to South Africa regularly, was young but held a strong position in the Malawian hierarchy, mainly because of the position he occupied in the Party.

Dr Muller then asked Dr Patricio what his impressions were of the development of the new Malawian capital of Lilongwe. He said that South Africa had granted an initial loan to set the project going but as the whole project was too big for South Africa it had been hoped that other countries would also grant help. Dr Muller said that he knew that certain other countries had expressed an interest in the project and he wondered if Portugal was amongst them.

Dr Patricio replied that his government thought that the project was sound and was a prestige project. However Portugal had not considered assisting Malawi with the project. Dr Patricio said that the German Government was granting help to Malawi but he did not know whether this was in regard to Lilongwe.

Dr Muller then said that the Republic of China and Israel were also active, but mainly in the agricultural sector and not in regard to the capital.

Dr Patricio said that he knew that the Government of Malawi had requested help from Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States, but that he believed that the appeals had not been too successful.

He said that Portugal and South Africa should try to get their friends to assist Malawi.

Dr Muller agreed.

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Dr Muller agreed.

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Mr Montgomery then asked whether the Portuguese believed that Zambia was making progress in improving its relations with Malawi, as suggested by the recent Zambian mission to Malawi. Dr Patricio said Dr Patricio said that the Portuguese were watching this development with interest, however he thought that there was no danger of Zambia extending its sphere of influence as the Government of Malawi was very much aware of the dangers involved. influence than other African leaders there had been some

Mr Fourie confirmed that the South African representative in Malawi, Mr Wentzel, had reported that Dr Banda was perfectly aware of the difficulties and dangers involved in too close a relationship with Zambia. that as regards terrorist activity, President Kuanda was the greatest enemy facing Portugal and he

The meeting then decided to discuss the problem of wheat and maize exports to Zambia and Dr Patricio suggested that this subject should be discussed in the context of the general position of Zambia. and whether, for the reasons mentioned above, the time had not come for Portugal and South Africa to have a

Dr Patricio said that President Kuanda was the most dangerous enemy of Portugal and South Africa on the African continent. President Kuanda more than any other person was attempting to undermine the position of the Governments of Southern Africa and had had some success in this regard. his worried Portugal very much and Portugal was very disappointed with the deal as

Dr Muller then asked Dr Patricio whether he was aware of how Prime Minister John Vorster had recently exposed the double-dealings of President Kuanda.

Dr Patricio asked whether Portugal could or could not

Dr Patricio said that he had noted the exposure and he recalled that in November of 1970 Dr Muller had told him that South Africa still hoped to make progress with Dr Kuanda. He was not surprised that nothing had come of it. President Kuanda. He said that South African information was that

Dr Patricio said that Portugal could face Tanzania for they knew the nature of their enemy, however, in regard to Zambia they were not happy at all. Because of its geographical position, Zambia formed the point of departure for terrorist

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attacks on Mocambique and Angola and it also would form the starting point for an offensive which would endanger the security of other countries in Southern Africa. Dr Patricio said that Portugal had information that Zambia was giving increasing support to Frelimo and other terrorist organizations and was also mounting an offensive on the diplomatic front. He said that although Pres. Kuanda seemed to have more influence than other African leaders there had been some recent success by Portuguese diplomats abroad in breaking down President Kuanda's image.

Dr Patricio stated that as regards terrorist activity, President Kuanda was the greatest enemy facing Portugal and he considered that when the Tanzanian railway was completed the danger of President Kuanda and Zambia would increase.

Dr Patricio asked whether, for the reasons mentioned above, the time had not come for Portugal and South Africa to have a joint policy towards Zambia.

Dr Patricio then said in regard to the recent South African maize deal with Zambia both he and his Prime Minister had been most disappointed. The problem of Zambia worried Portugal very much and Portugal was very disappointed with the deal as Zambia threatened the security of all the states in Southern Africa.

Dr Patricio asked whether Portugal could or could not count on South Africa's solidarity in its relations with Zambia.

Dr Muller replied that South Africa was of course aware of the dangers of Zambia and of the threat posed by President Kuanda. He said that South African information was that President Kuanda was no longer accepted, without question, as the leader of Africa. As Portugal knew South Africa had over a number of years attempted to improve its relations with Zambia and President Kuanda but South Africa had now told the

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world that President Kuanda did not keep his word and was not to be trusted. However, when one came to the question of the imposition of trade sanctions on Zambia it is, to the South African Government, a matter of principle. South Africa had for many years gone out of its way to oppose the use of trade boycotts for political motives and, as Dr Patricio will recall, in the days of Dr Verwoerd and the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Rhodesia, South Africa adopted a firm position against sanctions. At the moment South Africa was trading with Congo Kinshasa, with Zambia and with many other countries with whom she did not see face to face on political questions. Dr Muller stated furthermore that it would have seemed most strange to the outside world had South Africa suddenly adopted a different attitude.

Dr Muller then asked Mr Fourie, who had discussed the matter with the Prime Minister during Dr Muller's absence, to refresh his memory.

Mr Fourie said that as far as the maize question was concerned it concerned a commercial deal already entered into and which involved three countries. South Africa had purchased Rhodesian maize at a time when Rhodesia could not export it because of sanctions. The maize was then sold by South Africa to Malawi and by the latter country to Zambia. The sale to Zambia had already been concluded before the matter was raised by the Portuguese in the prior discussions.

Dr Patricio then said that his Prime Minister had suggested that the question of maize supplies to Zambia be discussed at the present meeting and that he had not been certain whether the maize contract was being proceeded with or not. He asked what the rate of delivery was and how long it was estimated that it would take to conclude the contract.

Mr Fourie said that the delivery of the maize was going on at a very slow rate and would take three or four months. He said further that this present meeting should clarify how

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strenuously the question of not supplying maize to Zambia should be pushed as it would also have an effect on South Africa's policy of dialogue with African states, on which matter our Prime Minister held very strong views.

Mr Fourie stated that when the South African Prime Minister had conveyed an assurance to the Portuguese Ambassador in regard to maize deliveries to Zambia he specifically referred to future contracts and not to contracts which had already been entered into.

Dr Patricia then said that he wished to intervene on a matter of principle. He said that Portugal was in a very good position to appreciate the arguments put forward by Dr Muller and Mr Brand Fourie as she shared the concern expressed about sanctions. Dr Patricia said that at the time of Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence Portugal had adopted the same attitude as South Africa for both political and juridical reasons. Thus in dealing with the problem of Zambia, Portugal was not unaware of the risks involved on the international front. However, Dr Patricia continued, when dealing with a man such as President Kuanda, there is only one kind of argument that he can be made to understand, and that is that he must be made to feel that the existence of Zambia was dependent on the goodwill of the states surrounding it. At Present President Kuanda continued to deny that he permitted the establishment of terrorist bases in Zambia and that he encouraged terrorist attacks on Portuguese territory. In this regard Dr Patricia said that he had a report from the Portuguese Commander-in-Chief in Mocambique detailing 21 bases of Frelimo and MPLA in Zambia. Furthermore it was known that these bases existed with the knowledge and support of President Kuanda - a man who was trying to do everything possible to end the presence of Portugal in Southern Africa.

Dr Patricia emphasized that for Portugal it was a matter of survival and that although she did not wish to

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deny the principle of free access, she could not sit idly by while her interests were attacked. He said that Portugal did not wish to blockade Zambia but that in practice he found that it was as necessary to be as cynical as President Kuanda. Dr. Patricio continued by saying that for the reasons given above Portugal did not wish to formally blockade Zambia but in practice wished President Kuanda to feel that his country was being "squeezed" taking place over a long period.

In regard to the question of maize, Dr. Patricio said "let us forget the past and think of the future. All that Portugal wants is to know that we can count on the solidarity of South Africa in dealing with President Kuanda".

Dr. Patricio continued by saying that Portugal had been in close touch with the United Kingdom, the United States and Western Germany on the question of Portugal's relations with Zambia and had explained to the three states that the recent kidnapping and subsequent murder of members of an agricultural mission had been, so to say, the straw which had broken the camel's back. In regard to the kidnapping and subsequent murders, Dr. Patricio said that Zambia had acted in such a cynical way that it explained the Portuguese reaction. In this case the Portuguese authorities had immediately approached the Zambian authorities but the latter had delayed any action until after the murders had been committed. Dr. Patricio said that the Portuguese Embassy had given details of the matter to the South African Foreign Ministry in a Note - still however this was just one example and the basic point was that Portugal felt that Zambia must be made to understand that she was not prepared to stand by and see her nationals murdered without taking any action, that in spite of President Kuanda's savings, Zambia was still a good commercial customer

Dr. Muller then said that during the course of the discussions already held both he and Dr. Patricio had agreed in principle that it was of the utmost importance that Portugal and South Africa should act in consultation with each other.

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He said that he agreed with Dr Patricio's suggestion that there should be consultations in order to try and work out a joint policy towards Zambia. However, South Africa's attitude was that there could be no total blockade of Zambia particularly in view of what was happening in other parts of Africa. Dr Muller continued by stating that as Mr Fourie had said the present maize deal was comparatively small and deliveries were taking place over a long period. President Banda and other moderate African leaders were succeeding in

Dr Muller then asked Dr Patricio to explain how far Portugal would be willing to go to squeeze Zambia - particularly in view of Dr Patricio's statement that he did not agree with a total blockade.

Dr Patricio said that supplies were continuing to reach Zambia through Mocambique ports but that there had been a slowdown in deliveries.

Dr Muller stated further that South Africa also regarded

Mr Fourie then said that in fairness to the attitude adopted by South Africa's Prime Minister, he felt that he should emphasize the following two points raised by the Prime Minister:

- (i) that South Africa should not do anything which might set world opinion against it eg. refuse to transport food for Zambia and African side, in that Portugal had not asked the South African authorities to cancel a contract of the
- (ii) that having told the world that the door was still open to President Kuanda to enter into a dialogue with South Africa, we could not now slam that door.

Mr Fourie said that there had been no increase in the Mr Fourie continued by saying that in spite of President Kuanda's ravings, Zambia was still a good commercial customer of South Africa's. He continued by saying that President Kuanda's anti-arms sales trip had hurt South Africa and that one of the aims of the South African Prime Minister's expose of President Kuanda was to damage the image the President had built up abroad.

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In the previous talk against South Africa. Dr Patricio said that Mr Fourie concluded by saying that South Africa and Portugal should continue to get together and, in discussions, weigh up the pros and cons of sanctions against President Kuanda and Zambia. Dr Muller then said that there was an item on the agenda dealing with the question of dialogue in Africa. In this regard he said that South Africa had good reason to believe that President Houphouët-Boigny, President Banda and other moderate African leaders were succeeding in convincing the leaders of other African countries that dialogue with Southern Africa was worthwhile. Thus, had South Africa taken action against Zambia it would have resulted in a breakdown of the attempts made by President Houphouët-Boigny to form a group of moderate states who would be willing to negotiate. President Houphouët-Boigny would have been placed in an impossible position and at all costs this had to be avoided.

Dr Muller stated further that South Africa also regarded President Kuanda as the most potent threat in Africa, but that until the end of last year we had also had hopes of trying to reach him. When South Africa saw that this approach would not work, our Prime Minister made his expose which has had an important effect on President Kuanda's creditworthiness.

Dr Patricio then said that there appeared to be some misunderstanding on the South African side, in that Portugal had not asked the South African authorities to cancel a contract, if they had merely asked that South Africa should not speed up the contract or implement it too quickly.

Mr Fourie said that there had been no increase in the rate of delivery of the maize and offered to find out the exact rate of delivery. He thought 4 to 6 trucks a day.

Dr Muller said that as he had not been in Cape Town at the time when the matter was raised, he was unable to comment. He continued by saying "however, that is past, let us look to the future" and asked Dr Patricio of his views on joint action

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in the economic field against Zambia. Dr Patricio said that he agreed and that he was pleased that he had decided to discuss the Portuguese disappointment in the matter openly. would have to examine at all the ramifications of the matter. Mr Fourie then said that the feeling on the South African side was that by not speeding up the maize deliveries, South Africa was acting in conformity with what the Portuguese were doing in regard to the slowdown of deliveries through Mocambique ports. Dr Muller continued by saying that he had not been aware that the Portuguese Government had been disappointed at South

Africa. The Portuguese Ambassador then said that at the talks in Cape Town he had explained that the Portuguese had not intended to cut off all supplies and thus starve the people of Zambia. To which Mr Fourie replied that the amount of maize getting through was not enough to feed the whole population of Zambia. Dr Muller.

Dr Patricio then intervened and said that he would like to discuss matters of principles and policy. He, for his part thought that South Africa and Portugal should work out a common policy in the matter. The two countries should encourage African states to accept dialogue, and he agreed that a blockade would adversely effect the policy of dialogue, which South Africa was implementing with intelligence and some success. On the other hand, one also had to consider policy towards those countries which did not accept the principle of dialogue for when Malawi, the Ivory Coast and Senegal saw that South Africa acted in the same fashion towards those countries which were friendly towards her, as to those countries which were her enemies, they would ask themselves "is dialogue to our benefit?". Kuanda's power to clamp down on the terrorists.

Dr Patricio said "we will explain to President Kuanda that

Dr Muller then repeated that South Africa had exposed President Kuanda as a liar to which Dr Patricio replied that Portugal was directing almost fifty per cent of her diplomatic action against President Kuanda, but felt that she must also take some action against him at home.

There were, however, various practical

Dr Muller said that he was one hundred per cent with Dr Patricio and that, talking of President Kuanda, he was also

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Dr. Patrício re-emphasized that Portugal considered that not too happy in regard to South Africa's neighbour, Sir Seretse Khama. He agreed that South Africa and Portugal would have to examine at all the ramifications of the matter very carefully but that it remained a cardinal point that support should be given to those states who support the idea of dialogue. practical difficulties in their way as has been done in Congo (Kinshasa).

Dr. Muller continued by saying that he had not been aware that the Portuguese Government had been disappointed at South Africa's actions in regard to the maize and had considered that South Africa was not co-operating. This point was that before Portugal decided on a definite plan of action against President Kuana. Mr. Fourie said that the Portuguese Embassy had come back and said that Dr. Patrício would raise the matter directly with Dr. Muller. an exchange of views prior to the discussions and the parties. Dr. Patrício then said that what happened in the future was really the important thing. Ambassador Caldeira Coelho then said that apropos the Zambian transport situation he had been informed by the Chief of Army Intelligence in Mocambique that at the time that President Kuanda was complaining about lack of co-operation and transport facilities, a trainload of military equipment was being railed to Lusaka from Lobito. the Tanzen railway.

Dr. Patrício said that during the next few months Portugal intended hardening its attitude towards President Kuanda mainly because Kuanda was allowing free movement to terrorists in Zambia and the Portuguese considered that it was within President Kuanda's power to clamp down on the terrorists. Dr. Patrício said "we will explain to President Kuanda that unless he takes steps to stop these terrorist activities we will have to consider some sort of retaliatory policy towards him." Dr. Patrício said further that the proposed policy would have to be very carefully worked out as Portugal could not consider any action which would place her in a bad light internationally. There were, however, various practical measures which could be considered but first of all, Dr. Patrício thought that agreement should be reached on the matter in principle.

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Dr Patricio re-emphasized that Portugal considered that President Kuanda was a real danger to her presence in Africa and that unless President Kuanda could be persuaded to moderate his support to the terrorists, Portugal would be forced to take action. In regard to the terrorists, Dr Patricio considered that President Kuanda could, without endangering his own position, place practical difficulties in their way as has been done in Congo (Kinshasa).

(1) that President Kuanda was a real danger to the
Mr Fourie then stated that as he saw it Dr Patricio and Dr Muller had reached agreement in principle and that he wished one major point to be clarified. This point was that before Portugal decided on a definite plan of action against President Kuanda, Portugal would discuss the matter with South Africa to see how far South Africa could agree with the plan of action and give its co-operation. Mr Fourie said that there must be an exchange of views prior to the discussions and the parties must draw up a balance sheet to see that more good than harm would result from the plan of action. However, Dr Muller saw no reasons why Portugal and South Africa should not. Mr Fourie continued by stating that South Africa's trade with Zambia was worth R70 million per year and should not be lightly endangered, even though it was not looked upon as being absolutely safe, particularly in view of the construction of the Tanzam railway.

Dr Patricio said that he had in fact not been asking for a...
 Dr Muller then said that he assumed that Dr Patricio did not wish to go into details of the matter. As he understood it Dr Patricio was suggesting that President Kuanda be threatened either to comply with certain demands or suffer circumstances.

Dr Muller asked Dr Patricio what action he was considering to back up the demands. Was he considering the use of force, trade embargos or would Portugal come with some suggestion at a later stage? Dr Muller continued by saying that South Africa's relations with Zambia were not good, however he had noted that President Kuanda had been much quieter during the past few months - Dr Muller asked Dr Patricio whether he had noticed the same tendency.

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Dr Patricio said that he too had noticed an improvement but that he thought that this was due to the fact that President Kuanda had been made to realize that he was dependent on his neighbours.

Dr Patricio stated that Portugal desired South Africa's agreement on the following two points:

- (i) that President Kuanda was a real danger to the peace in Southern Africa, and
- (ii) that Portugal and South Africa should work out a common policy towards President Kuanda.

Dr Muller said that he agreed that the two countries should get together on the matter. He continued by stating that, as Mr Fourie had rightly pointed out South Africa's trade with Zambia was important. In principle, South Africa was opposed to boycotts and sanctions - however, Dr Muller saw no reason why Portugal and South Africa should not consult together and work out a joint policy. Mr Fourie said that in order to avoid friction later the two countries must consult timeously as the problems involved would require study in depth. He asked whether the Portuguese had considered the Rhodesian involvement in the issue.

Dr Patricio said that he had in fact not been asking for a blank cheque. He was merely asking for an agreement from the South African side that it would be beneficial to take some action against President Kuanda. Whether this action would be diplomatic or economic would depend on circumstances.

Dr Muller said that one aspect of the matter was that Dr Patricio said that it was most important for his government to have an agreement in principle of the need to have a joint policy in regard to Zambia. What they did not want was for South Africa to prop up President Kuanda and thus undermine Portugal's efforts.

Dr Muller then said that the answer to the two points was the most serious problem facing Southern Africa.

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Dr Patricia said that in view of the problem of
continued by saying that he also thought that the three states
put forward by Dr Patricia was positive as both the answer
of Mr Fourie and the Prime Minister to the Ambassador of
Portugal had been positive.

Dr Muller said that he
agreed that the three states should get together and consult
The Ambassador of Portugal confirmed that the Prime
Minister had also agreed to the formulation of a joint policy.

Dr Muller said that as the agreement was made
The Ministers then agreed to discuss the part that
Rhodesia would play in the matter, at a later stage.

The discussions were resumed at 10.04 am on Thursday
24 June 1971.

Dr Muller opened the discussions by reminding those
present that they had been discussing the question of joint
action against Zambia. He said that he had not had time to
consult with Mr Brand Fourie or the Department of Commerce,
but he wished to talk of Rhodesia in the above context.

Mr Fourie said that on the previous afternoon he had
spoken of the maize contract in which three or four countries
including Rhodesia were involved. Thus apropos to discussing
the Zambian question, he asked whether the Portuguese had con-
sidered the Rhodesian involvement in the issue. Mr Fourie
said that suggestions had also been made by the Rhodesians
that there should be a co-ordinated policy towards Zambia.
In view of this Mr Fourie thought that it would be useful to
exchange views.

Dr Muller said that one aspect of the matter was that
Rhodesia had profited by the sale of the maize, and it was
South Africa's policy to assist Rhodesia economically where
possible without getting into difficulties with the outside
world.

Dr Muller said that to sum up he thought that agreement
had been reached, also with Rhodesia, that President Kuanda
was the most serious problem facing Southern Africa. He

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Dr Patricio said that in regard to the problem of continued by saying that he also thought that the three states should show their teeth to President Kuanda and Zambia in some appropriate manner. "We must bring home to him that he cannot go on without getting into trouble." Dr Muller said that he agreed that the three states should get together and consult in order to decide what action should be taken.

Dr Muller said that as the agreement might involve a shift in South African policy as regards boycotts and sanctions he must, in view of the importance of the matter, stress that enough time to consult and decide on a common policy should be allowed.

Dr Muller asked whether Mr Fourie had any comments to make.

Mr Fourie said that he agreed with the Minister's statement particularly in regard to the necessity of allowing time for adequate consultation.

Dr Patricio then thanked Dr Muller for his statement and said that he thought that Dr Muller had summarized the matter

accurately. He said that Portugal had also held discussions with Rhodesia on the matter and that Portugal took notice of Rhodesian wishes. Dr Patricio averred that Portugal had informed the Rhodesians that South Africa should also be brought into the picture and that the three countries should work together in the matter.

In regard to the problem of the international status of Rhodesia (a problem previously mentioned by Mr Fourie) Dr Patricio said that the type of action that he had in mind would not be affected by the international status of Rhodesia, which was a delicate problem for both Portugal and South Africa. But even taking this problem into account Rhodesia would have to be consulted.

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Dr Patricio said that in regard to the problem of maize deliveries Portugal had requested the Rhodesian authorities not to take action contrary to Portugal's interests in the matter. Dr Patricio then said that coming back to the present he was glad to hear that South Africa agreed with Portugal in regard to President Kuunda and that, secondly, he also agreed that there should be the closest possible consultation - even at Governmental level.

Dr Muller confirmed that the consultation should be at Governmental level and said that he would in any event have to consult the Prime Minister who would no doubt insist on a Cabinet decision.

Dr Patricio then said that agreement would also have to be reached in the utmost secrecy. However in practice Zambia had found that they could not

Dr Muller agreed that secrecy was important but cautioned against what he termed an "unholy alliance".

Dr Patricio said that there must be no special meetings which would give rise to speculation and Dr Muller agreed that normal channels of communication should be used. Mr Fourie then said that it was important that the talks were conducted

Mr Fourie then said that there was a third basic point which he wished to raise. This point was that the parties to any agreement should try their utmost to reach agreement and in doing so should take due regard of the ideas and situation of the other parties. Mr Fourie said that it was of the utmost importance that any concrete measures to be taken should not imperil the international position of any of the parties. Mr Fourie continued by saying that South Africa had for a long time adopted other measures mainly because of this awareness of the dangers involved in positive action. The necessary effect on Zambia.

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Dr Muller then said that he wished to add a fourth point and that was that any action taken should take into account the position of South Africa's trade with Zambia and the economic repercussions of the proposed action.

Dr Muller said that South Africa had to contend with balance of payments difficulties and was running a deficit on trade balance. He said that South Africa had enormous commitments within its own borders in the economic development of the homelands. It was important to Portugal that South Africa's economy should be sound and strong!

Dr Muller reminded Dr Patricio that Mr Fourie had stated that South African exports to Zambia were worth R70 million per annum and that this was a figure which could not be ignored. He said that South Africa knew that the trade was not reliable and that Zambia was trying to do without it. However in practice Zambia had found that they could not do without it.

Dr Muller emphasized that South Africa could not agree to do permanent damage to its trade relations with Zambia.

Dr Patricio then said that he was glad that Dr Muller and Mr Fourie had raised the two points to which Dr Muller then said that it was important that the talks were conducted frankly and openly.

Dr Patricio said that he wished to emphasize that in the proposed consultations the countries involved would have to balance the cost of the proposed operation against the probable results to be achieved. In this regard he mentioned Mocambique and Angola and said that Mocambique, which was most dependent on transit trade, suffered severe losses when exports to Zambia were slowed down. However there were circumstances when such losses had to be borne provided that the action had the necessary effect on Zambia.

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Dr. Patricio emphasized that the Portuguese Government did not wish South Africa to break off its trade relations with Zambia - all it wished was that South Africa should not divert or increase its exports to Zambia and thus nullify the sacrifices of Portugal. Dr. Patricio said that he was thinking of selected slow downs in the delivery of certain commodities which could damage the Zambian economy. He said "we could create an administrative slowdown or could attribute it to a labour slowdown". He continued by saying that when Mr. Fourie asked for a lengthy period to study the matter, this would really depend on the type of action to be taken.

Dr. Patricio said that Portugal had already proposed to Zambia that the latter state should refrain from aiding the terrorists, and only if Zambia did ^{not} agree to co-operate in controlling the transit of terrorists and weapons, would it be necessary to take action. Dr. Muller whether the latter had

any comments on developments in Rhodesia. Dr. Muller said that it would be very useful to South Africa if Dr. Patricio would let him know the results of Portugal's approach to Zambia. He said that South Africa had in fact adopted a selective attitude to Zambia for years and in this regard he mentioned the refusal of permission to the Anglo-American Corporation to set up an explosives factory in Zambia. He also mentioned the total ban on the export to Zambia of blood plasma, which could be used by wounded terrorists. Front but that both Messrs Smith and Heath were anxious for agreement. Dr. Muller feared that a solution to the Dr. Patricio agreed that all appropriate cases should be examined and the two Ministers agreed to keep each other informed of developments. In this regard contact was suggested via a special envoy who would not have a status which would lead to attention being drawn to him.

Dr. Patricio said that he thought that Dr. Muller was In the context of their discussion of the Rhodesia that issue Dr. Muller then raised the question of "certificates of origin" which were being demanded by the Brazilian authorities in respect of exports from South Africa. Dr. Muller said that

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South Africa did not have the necessary administrative machinery to issue governmental certificates of origin, and he asked whether Portugal was experiencing similar difficulties. Ambassador Caldeira Coelho said that Brazil was demanding similar certificates in respect of exports from Mocambique and Angola.

Dr Muller asked whether there were not indications that the

Dr Patricio offered to take the matter up with the Brazilian authorities - referring to Portugal's special relationship with Brazil. Dr Muller then asked Dr Patricio whether he had any news of the proposed new direct shipping service between Brazil, Mocambique and Angola.

that he had been informed that the "Friends of Rhodesia" in the British Parliament have

Dr Patricio said that he did not have details but that of he knew that it was a private venture and that the Portuguese Government had given the "green light."

new drydock at Narinda Bay, Madagascar. He said that during

Dr Patricio then asked Dr Muller whether the latter had any comments on developments in Rhodesia, have the Portuguese as well as the French and others take part in the project.

Dr Muller said that he had information that both sides were anxious to reach a solution, that progress was being made and that Lord Goodwin was the British emissary. Africa would be pressed to give a decision. Dr Muller said further

Dr Muller continued by saying that his fear was that Mr Smith would not be able to sell concessions to his own party. He said that there were rumblings of discontent within the Rhodesia Front but that both Messrs Smith and Heath were anxious for agreement. Dr Muller feared that a solution to the issue might bring about a flare-up of terrorism - however, and on the other hand, the success that Mr Heath was having on the European Common Market front might make the U.K. less sensitive to African pressures.

they had a Commercial Attaché in Madagascar, besides other forms of contact such as Airways -

Dr Patricio said that he thought that Dr Muller was correct in regard to the terrorists however, he thought that such a flare-up would only be for a short while and that it was of major importance for Portugal that a settlement should be reached in Rhodesia. Dr Muller then asked how the blockade

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of Beira was affecting Portugal and Dr. Patricio said that it was imperative that the blockage be lifted as the present deficit of the budget of Mozambique corresponded almost exactly to the loss of revenue from the port of Beira.

Dr. Muller asked whether there were not indications that the blockade of Beira might be lifted to which Dr. Patricio said that he thought that the Rhodesian question would first have to be settled. Dr. Muller asked whether the scheme was not backed by the Government to which Dr. Patricio answered in the affirmative.

Dr. Muller then told Dr. Patricio that he had been informed that the "Friends of Rhodesia" in the British Parliament have given an indication that they will not support the renewal of the blockade order when it come before the House later in the year. Dr. Muller then raised the question of the proposed new drydock at Narinda Bay, Madagascar. He said that during his recent visit to the Malagasy Republic President Tsiranana had told him that he was most anxious to have the Portuguese as well as the French and others take part in the project. Dr. Muller asked where Portugal stood in the matter and mentioned that a delegation from the Malagasy Republic was expected in South Africa within a month or six weeks and that South Africa would be pressed to give a decision. Dr. Muller said further that a private enterprise in South Africa had raised the question of the erection of a huge dry dock in the Republic and that this proposal was complicating the matter.

Dr. Patricio said that his Government had been in contact with the Malagasy Republic during the past few months in connection with Narinda Bay. He said that the Portuguese considered that it was of the utmost importance to have sound relations with the Malagasy Republic and that they had a Commercial Attaché in Madagascar, besides other forms of contact such as Airways - Tourism etc.

Dr. Patricio said that the question of Narinda Bay had thus been discussed several times and that the Portuguese had told the Malagasy Government that Portugal would be happy to

to facilitate the scheme within the limits of her means. The technical representatives of the Malagasy Republic had been brought into contact with Portuguese experts, however, before a final decision could be taken on the project more information would be required. Dr Patricio emphasized that the project had been represented to the Portuguese as a private sector scheme and not as a Government project.

Africa's outward looking policy was not merely a matter of words but would lead to positive action. Dr Muller said the Government to which Dr Patricio answered in the affirmative. Dr Patricio then stressed that the scheme was a business profit-making enterprise and that his Government would have to await the results of the studies being made by private investors, before they could take up a position. In his opinion there had to be a sound economic basis for the whole project. Portugal was interested in the aspect of political co-operation and would leave it to the private sector to resolve the commercial problems.

Dr Patricio then said that he was unable to give an indication at this stage whether the scheme would be economically viable, however, he was glad that Dr Muller had raised the matter.

Dr Muller then asked Dr Patricio whether he thought that the question of South African participation in the project had been mooted by the South African Industrial Development Corporation without the prior approval or knowledge of the Government. He said that there were no further developments as the studies had still to be completed.

The two Ministers then agreed that their countries could be of assistance to the Malagasy Republic in the field of tourism. Dr Patricio then raised the question of the two countries' relations with the Ivory Coast and Gabon.

Dr Muller said that in regard to the question of dialogue, in which the President of the Ivory Coast had taken the initiative

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he was awaiting the outcome of the summit conference of the Organization for African Unity. Dr Muller said that there was a bloc of almost twelve states which appeared to favour dialogue and of these, some had either not sent representatives to the summit conference or had sent low ranking delegations. Dr Muller then repeated the assurance given by the Prime Minister in his Republic Day speech that South Africa's outward looking policy was not merely a matter of words but would lead to positive action. Dr Muller said that, as he saw it, President Houphouët-Boigny's motivation for the dialogue concept was a fear of communism in Africa. The President had seen that the Communist Powers were exploiting the Arabs, who in turn had exploited the Negro peoples of Africa. Dr Muller said that President Houphouët-Boigny had initiated his policy seven years ago, but had had to move slowly to avoid the fate of Mr Tsjombe. Dr Muller considered that if even only a half-dozen African States opposed violence in Africa it could have far-reaching results.

Dr Muller then referred to Gabon which he said was a much smaller country than the Ivory Coast, and whose President Albert Bernard Bongo was not in as secure a position.

Dr Patricio replied that there was no request as yet, but Dr Patricio asked Dr Muller whether he thought that President Houphouët-Boigny's position was secure, to which Dr Muller answered in the affirmative. A decision was issued after the conclusion of the talks.

Dr Patricio then remarked that the Ivory Coast was helped by France and this remark gave rise to a short discussion on the French attitude to Africa, which the Ministers agreed was characterized by a division between the French Government and the officials of the QUAI.

Dr Muller then asked Dr Patricio whether he was happy in regard to the security position at the Kunene River and at Cabora Bassa.

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Dr Patricio said that this was an important question and as he had previously explained, the new strategy employed by the Portuguese forces had had great success and had led to a change of strategy on the part of Frelimo. Dr Patricio said that the Mocambique province of Tete had been reinforced from Nyassa and Cabo Delgado which in turn had caused other problems.

Dr Patricio said that most of the Portuguese casualties were caused by land mines and that to minimize these losses new roads with macadamised surfaces were being built. He said that a number of new roads were being built in the province of Tete and a wide new road was being constructed along the border with Zambia so as to facilitate patrolling. In regard to roads Dr Patricio asked whether it was not possible for Portugal to obtain road making machinery from South Africa. (He suggested that this might be done under some sort of "Lend Lease" arrangement).

Dr Muller asked Dr Patricio whether there was any specific request from the Portuguese side in this regard.

Dr Patricio replied that there was no request as yet, but that the matter was being discussed at official level.

A communique in the following terms was issued after the conclusion of the talks.