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FM NAPUTO

TO IMMEDIATE DESKBY 230900Z FCO

TELNO 439

OF 211400Z SEPTEMBER 85

INFO IMMEDIATE PRETORIA, WASHINGTON

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INFO PRIORITY DAR ES SALAAN, HARARE, LUANDA, LUSAKA, MASERU

INFO PRIORITY MBABANE, GABORONE, LILONGWE.

YOUR TELNO 196 TO PRETORIA

SOUTH AFRICA/MOZAMBIQUE: CONTINUING SOUTH AFRICAN HELP TO RENAMO.

1. VIEIRA MINISTER OF SECURITY SAYS THAT CAPTURED DOCUMENTS REVEAL CONTINUING AND SERIOUS BREACHES OF NKOMATI ACCORD BY SOUTH AFRICA.

NOT CONVINCED BY PIK BOTHA'S EXPLANATIONS. ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTS NOT COMPLETED. BUT SOUTH AFRICAN INTERFERENCE IN ZIMBABWE ALSO REVEALED. STRONGLY CRITICAL OF MALAWIAN SUPPORT FOR RENAMO BUT DOES NOT BASE THIS ON CAPTURED DOCUMENTATION. NO FURTHER MEETINGS PLANNED BUT MONTEIRO, INTERIOR MINISTER, SEES DAY TO DAY COOPERATION WITH RSA CONTINUING. NKOMATI STILL HAS VALUE FOR MOZAMBICANS WHO ARE UNLIKELY TO DENOUNCE IT OUT OF HURT PRIDE.

DETAIL

2. I SPOKE THIS MORNING WITH VIEIRA, MINISTER OF SECURITY, WHO ATTENDED THE KOMATIPOORT MEETING ON 19 SEPTEMBER WITH PIK BOTHA, AND WHO HEADED UNTIL RECENTLY THE JOINT SECURITY COMMISSION. VIEIRA CONFIRMED THAT THE EVIDENCE OBTAINED FROM THE GORONGOSA OPERATIONS REVEALED SERIOUS AND REGULAR BREACHES OF THE NKOMATI ACCORD WHICH IMPLICATED THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. IN A LENGTHY HISTORICAL ANALYSIS WHERE HE RECALLED SOUTH AFRICAN TALK IN NEGOTIATIONS LEADING UP TO NKOMATI OF GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENTS HE SAID THEY NOW HAD EVIDENCE OF THE CONSIDERABLE SUPPLY OF RENAMO IN WEEKS PRECEDING THE AGREEMENT WHICH HAD EARLIER BEEN DENIED. DESPITE SIX MONTHS SUPPLIES PROVIDED RENAMO WERE SHOWN BY THE MATERIAL TO BE CALLING BY MID 1984 FOR RESUPPLY. THEY SOON HAD THEM. WHERE FROM?

3. VIEIRA SAID THAT WHENEVER THEY HAD RAISED THESE QUESTIONS BEFORE WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS, THEY HAD BEEN ASKED FOR PROOF AND ASSURED THAT IF ANYTHING HAD BEEN HAPPENING IT WAS WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND THAT OFFENDERS WOULD BE PUNISHED. THE RADAR SURVEILLANCE AT THE BORDER WAS SUPPOSED TO CHECK UNAUTHORISED FLIGHTS. WHY WERE FLIGHTS NOW ADMITTED NEVER REPORTED? THE DOCUMENTS SHOWED SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT WAS HAPPENING. IN REPLY TO A QUESTION HE SAID THAT THEY SHOWED ALSO THAT PIK BOTHA KNEW OF NEL'S VISIT TO GORONGOSA.

4. THERE WAS A MOUNTAIN OF DOCUMENTS STILL TO BE WORKED THROUGH. THEY HAD NOT RELEASED ALL THE INFORMATION THEY CONTAINED. THEY ALSO SHOWED SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT IN ZIMBABWE. THEY EVEN RECORDED RENAMO LEADERS DISCUSSING WITH SENIOR SOUTH AFRICAN OFFICERS IN GORONGOSA BRITISH SUPPORT FOR FRELINO AND OUR MILITARY TRAINING PROGRAMME.

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5. THE MOZAMBICAN SIDE HAD TAKEN NOTE AT KOMATIPOORT OF PIK BOTHAS ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF BREACHES. THE EXPLANATIONS DID NOT CONVINCE. IT DID NOT NEED TO BUILD AN AIRSTRIP, TO USE C.130S AND OTHER CARGO AIRCRAFT, MAKE LANDINGS BY SUBMARINE JUST TO CONVEY ONE OR TWO PEOPLE TO A MEETING. THE DOCUMENTS SHOWED MUCH MORE CONTINUING HELP. THEY CONFIRMED WHAT THEY HAD BELIEVED EVEN MORE. THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAD NOT KEPT THEIR WORD BEFORE ABOUT PUNISHING THOSE RESPONSIBLE. HOW COULD THEY PUNISH NOW WHEN THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF WAS KNOWN TO BE INVOLVED.

6. NO FURTHER MEETINGS WITH PIK BOTHA WERE PLANNED. THERE WAS NOTHING EITHER FOR THE JOINT SECURITY COMMISSION TO DISCUSS.

7. VIEIRA WOULD NOT REPLY DIRECTLY TO A QUESTION ABOUT WHAT THE DOCUMENTS REVEALED ABOUT OTHER COUNTRIES INVOLVEMENT WITH RENAMO, BUT IT DREW FROM HIM A STRONG DENUNCIATION OF MALAWI FROM WHERE RENAMO OPERATED FREELY. THEY EVEN HAD THE REGISTRATION NUMBER OF VEHICLES INVOLVED. MALAWI WAS STORING UP A SERIOUS INTERNAL PROBLEM FOR ITSELF IN LETTING RENAMO RUN AT WILL.

8. I SAID WE HAD HAD ASSURANCES FROM THE SOUTH AFRICANS IN THE PAST THAT THEIR CONTACTS WITH RENAMO, INTENDED TO PROMOTE NEGOTIATION AND PEACE HAD BEEN WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE MOZAMBICANS. VIEIRA SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THEY HAD KNOWN THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD MAKE CONTACT THEY HAD NOT BEEN TOLD THAT IT WOULD INVOLVE MINISTERIAL VISITS TO GORONGOSA, BUILDING AN AIRSTRIP, FURTHER SUPPLIES ETC. THE CAPTURED DOCUMENTS ALSO SHOWED THAT PEACE HAD NOT BEEN THE MAIN SUBJECT ON THAT AGENDA.

9. THE U.S. CHARGE WHO SPOKE TO THE INTERIOR MINISTER THIS MORNING SAYS MONTEIRO REPORTED PIK BOTHA AS BEING PERSONALLY DEEPLY UPSET. VIEIRA SHOWED LESS TRUST IN PIK BOTHAS POSITION. MONTEIRO ALSO SPOKE ABOUT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS CONTINUING INVOLVEMENT WITH RENAMO AS BEING MORE SERIOUS THAN MOZAMBIQUE HAD EXPECTED. VIEIRAS LINE WITH ME WAS THAT THEY NOW HAD PROOF OF WHAT THEY ALWAYS KNEW. HE WOULD SAY NOTHING IN RESPONSE TO PROBING ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN COUNTER ALLEGATIONS OF MOZAMBIQUE SUPPORTING ANC.

COMMENT

10. VIEIRA WAS AS ALWAYS HARD BUT CLEAR. HE SPOKE WITHOUT EMOTION. THE FACTS WERE THERE; THEY WERE NO SURPRISE. FOR THE FUTURE, OPTIMISTIC SCENARIO WAS THE SOUTH AFRICANS AT LAST LIVING UP TO THEIR

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WORDS, THE PESSIMISTIC THEIR CONTINUING TO PLAY FALSE. HE LEFT IT TO ME TO DECIDE WHICH WAS MORE LIKELY ON PAST FORM, BUT HE STOPPED SHORT OF SAYING THAT THE JOINT COMMISSION WAS DEAD AND MONTEIRO SPECIFICALLY FORESAW DAY TO DAY COOPERATION CONTINUING EG WITH ESCOM ON POWER SECURITY, AND PROVISION OF UNIFORMS.

11. GUIDANCE TO THE PRESS IS NKOMATI HAVING PROTECTED MOZAMBIQUE FROM OVERT SOUTH AFRICAN INVASION IN CONTRAST TO ANGOLA AND TO SOUTH AFRICA HAVING TO DO HER DIRTY TRICKS HERE BY SUBTERFUGE, ONLY MOZAMBIQUE IS NOT GOING TO DENOUNCE NKOMATI. MACHEL WILL NOT ACT RASHLY OUT OF HURT PRIDE. THE SEARCH FOR A SENSIBLE DAY TO DAY RELATIONSHIP WILL CONTINUE. BUT MACHELS MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER WILL BE THAT MOZAMBIQUE CAN NOT MANAGE ITS AFFAIRS WHILE IT IS BEING BADLY MAULED BY THE ROGUE ELEPHANT. SOMETHING MUST BE DONE BY THE BIG POWERS TO RESTRAIN HER IN WHICH BRITAIN MUST TAKE A DECISIVE LEAD, AS IN THE RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT, TO SAVE SOUTH AFRICA FROM HERSELF.

12. BOTH VIEIRA AND MONTEIRO ARE CLOSE TO MACHEL. BUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLICY WILL BE DEFERRED UNTIL MACHEL RETURNS WITH CHISSANO AND VELOSO AND LAYS DOWN THE LINE TO TAKE.

VINES

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