

SOUTHERN AFRICA

PS
 PS/MR RIFKIND
 PS/PS
 MR FERGUSON
 SIR J FREELAND
 MR JOHNSON
 MR O'NEILL
 HD/SAYD
 HD/CAFD
 HD/UND
 HD/NEWS DEPT
 RESIDENT CLERK

MR CLG MALLABY, CABINET OFFICE
 PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET



15.11.84

GRS 800

CONFIDENTIAL
 FROM PRETORIA
 TO IMMEDIATE FCO
 TELNO 349

OF 23 SEPTEMBER 85

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, MAPUTO, UKMIS NEW YORK
 INFO PRIORITY LISBON, BON, PARIS, OTTAWA, DAR ES SALAAM,
 HARARE, LUANDA, LUSAKA, MASERU, MBABANE,
 GABORONE, LILONGWE, MODUK (FOR DI ROW 2)

YOUR TEL NO 196: SOUTH AFRICA/MOZAMBIQUE

SUMMARY

1. A SENIOR DFA OFFICIAL ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THE REVELATIONS ABOUT BREACHES OF THE NKOMATI ACCORD ARE EMBARRASSING TO SOUTH AFRICA AND CLAIMS THAT A DETAILED EXPLANATION HAS BEEN GIVEN TO THE MOZAMBICANS. HE REPORTS PRESIDENT MACHEL AS ASSURING THE SA FOREIGN MINISTER THAT MOZAMBIQUE ATTACHES VALUE TO THE ACCORD AND WISHES IT TO CONTINUE AND SAYS THAT SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUES TO STAND FULL SQUARE BY ITS NKOMATI OBLIGATIONS.

DETAIL

2. MINISTER SPOKE TO DEPUTY DIRECTOR-GENERAL AT DFA AS INSTRUCTED IN YOUR TUR. VAN HEERDEN SAID THAT THE REVELATIONS HAD BEEN MOST EMBARRASSING TO SOUTH AFRICA, IN PARTICULAR TO HIS MINISTER, PIK BOTHA, WHO HAD BEEN QUITE UNAWARE OF MOST OF WHAT WAS IN THE VAZ DIARIES. VAN HEERDEN RECALLED THAT ON MONDAY 16 SEPTEMBER PIK BOTHA HAD BEEN SUMMONED TO MAPUTO. HIS MINISTER HAD HAD A PRIVATE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MACHEL PRIOR TO THE LATTER'S DEPARTURE TO THE UNITED STATES. AT THE END OF THE MEETING, WHICH HAD LASTED HALF AN HOUR, PIK HAD ASKED WHETHER THIS MEANT THE END OF THE NKOMATI ACCORD. MACHEL HAD ASSURED HIM THAT MOZAMBIQUE ATTACHED VALUE TO THE AGREEMENT AND WISHED IT TO CONTINUE.

3. PIK BOTHA AND HIS TEAM HAD THEN MET THE MOZAMBICANS FOR A 2 - 3 HOUR WORK SESSION. THE MOZAMBICANS TOLD THEM THAT THEY HAD CAPTURED A SET OF DIARIES KEPT BY VAZ, PRIVATE SECRETARY TO DHALAKAMA. THESE CONTAINED DETAILED ENTRIES OVER 18 MONTHS OF SOUTH AFRICAN-MOZAMBICAN CONTACTS. THEY HAD REQD OUT SELECTED ENTRIES. PIK BOTHA HAD BEEN DISTRESSED AND HAD PROMISED TO INVESTIGATE THE ALLEGATIONS AS A MATTER

18 MONTHS OF SOUTH AFRICAN-MOZAMBICAN CONTACTS. THEY HAD REQD OUT SELECTED ENTRIES. PIK BOTHA HAD BEEN DISTRESSED AND HAD PROMISED TO INVESTIGATE THE ALLEGATIONS AS A MATTER OF URGENCY. ON HIS RETURN TO PRETORIA, HE HAD CONSULTED THE STATE PRESIDENT WHO HAD INSTRUCTED GENERAL ROGERS, FORMER CHIEF OF THE AIR FORCE, AND DR GILLILAND, A SENIOR CIVIL SERVANT WITH CIVIL AVIATION EXPERIENCE, TO INVESTIGATE. WHEN THEY MET AGAIN AT KOMATIPOOR ON 19 SEPTEMBER, PIK BOTHA HAD HANDED OVER A DETAILED ACCOUNT CLARIFYING ALL THE SPECIFIC ALLEGATIONS WHICH HAD SO FAR BEEN MADE TO THEM.

4. VAN HEERDEN SAID THAT THE VARIOUS ACTIONS HAD BEEN TAKEN BY THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE WING OF SADF IN THE BEST FAITH. THE LIAISON VISITS TO GORONGOSA HAD ALL BEEN ESSENTIAL FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROMOTING NEGOTIATIONS. DC3S HAD MOSTLY BEEN USED TOGETHER WITH A FEW C130 FLIGHTS. THE SADF HAD SENT IN ONLY INCIDENTAL QUANTITIES OF SEED, MEDICINES AND SIMILAR HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES. VAN HEERDEN REITERATED THAT WHAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD SUPPLIED WAS ONLY TOKEN AND COULD NOT COMPARE WITH FAR GREATER SUPPLIES REACHING RENAMO FROM OTHER SUPPLIE

5. VAN HEERDEN CONCEDED THAT SADF HAD BEEN MOST UNWISE TO INTERPRET THEIR INSTRUCTIONS IN SUCH BROAD TERMS. HIS DEPARTMENT HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY BEEN AWARE OF THE DETAILS AND HE COULD GIVE AN ASSURANCE THAT THE MILITARY WOULD NOT BE GIVEN SUCH LATITUDE IN THE FUTURE.

6. ASKED WHAT EFFECT THESE REVELATIONS WERE LIKELY TO HAVE ON THE NKOMATI ACCORD, VAN HEERDEN SAID IT WAS TOO SOON TO SAY. THE MEETING AT KOMATIPOORT HAD BEEN FRIENDLY ENOUGH, BUT THE MOZAMBICANS HAD NOT RESPONDED AT THE TIME, NOR GIVEN ANY INDICATION OF WHETHER OR WHEN THEY WOULD RESPOND. VAN HEERDEN SAID THAT SOME DAMAGE HAD BEEN DONE, BUT HE THOUGH THE EXTENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT IN THE AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL, TRANSPORT AND FINANCIAL FIELDS WAS SUCH AN OBVIOUS REALITY THAT IT WOULD ACT AS A SAFETY NET TO PREVENT NKOMATI CRASHING TO THE GROUND. THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMITMENT HAD BEEN CONFIRMED THROUGH THESE VARIOUS UNDERSTANDINGS. THE JOINT SECURITY COMMISSION CONTINUED TO EXIST AS DID THE VARIOUS TECHNICAL LIAISON COMMITTEES.

7. AT ALL EVENTS, VAN HEERDEN WISHED TO ASSURE US THAT SOUTH AFRICA FULLY STOOD BY ITS NKOMATI COMMITMENTS AND WOULD CONTINUE TO DO SO.

8. VAN HEERDEN DISPLAYED SOME ANXIETY ABOUT FURTHER REVELATIONS WHICH MIGHT FOLLOW. HE SAID THAT MACHEL WOULD BE ADDRESSING THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON 25 SEPTEMBER AND MIGHT USE THE OCCASION TO MAKE NEW ALLEGATIONS. MINISTER REMINDED VAN HEERDEN OF PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER ON 27 SEPTEMBER.

9. TONKIN ALSO GAVE VAN HEERDEN THE ASSURANCE IN FCO TELNO 172 THAT WE HAVE FULLY NOTED S. AFRICAN CONCERN ABOUT THE FOOD SITUATION IN SOUTHERN MOZAMBIQUE AND DREW ON APPROPRIATE STATISTICS OF CONTINUING BRITISH AID.

COMMENT

10. THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE CLEARLY BEEN SHAKEN BY THESE REVELATIONS. THEY SEEM TO HAVE GIVEN THE MILITARY FAR TOO MUCH SCOPE (PROBABLY DELIBERATELY SO) AND THIS HAS NOW REBOUNDED ON THEM. BUT THEY CONTINUE TO SUGGEST THAT PRESIDENT MACHEL MUST HAVE KNOWN GENERALLY WHAT WAS HAPPENING. THE BEST WE CAN HOPE IS THAT THESE REVELATIONS HAVE HELPED TO CLEAR THE AIR; VAN HEERDEN THOUGH IT MIGHT HAVE THIS POSITIVE EFFECT.

MOBERLY