

# ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫЕ НАЦИИ

ГЕНЕРАЛЬНАЯ  
АССАМБЛЕЯ



СОВЕТ  
БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ



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ГЕНЕРАЛЬНАЯ АССАМБЛЕЯ  
Сороковая сессия  
Пункты 35 и 131 повестки дня  
ПОЛИТИКА АПАРТЕИДА, ПРОВОДИМАЯ  
ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВОМ ЮЖНОЙ АФРИКИ  
РАЗВИТИЕ И УКРЕПЛЕНИЕ ДОБРОСОСЕДСКИХ  
ОТНОШЕНИЙ МЕЖДУ ГОСУДАРСТВАМИ

СОВЕТ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ  
Сороковой год

Письмо Постоянного представителя Мозамбика при Организации  
Объединенных Наций от 31 октября 1985 года на имя  
Генерального секретаря

Имею честь представить фотокопии выдержек из документов, а также их перевод, захваченных у вооруженных бандитов в Горонгозе, провинция Софала 1/. Эти документы ясно свидетельствуют о постоянной поддержке, которую бандиты получают от Южной Африки, что явно противоречит Соглашению о ненападении и добрососедских отношениях, подписанному между моим правительством и правительством Южной Африки 16 марта 1984 года.

Буду весьма признателен, если Вы, по просьбе моего правительства, распространите эти документы в качестве официального документа Генеральной Ассамблеи по пунктам 35 и 131 повестки дня, а также документа Совета Безопасности.

Мануэл ДУШ САНТУШ  
Посол  
Постоянный представитель

1/ Имеются лишь на английском языке.

ANNEX

DECEMBER-JANUARY

1983-1984

26 MONDAY

30.

FRIDAY

09H30 Soldiers to be evacuated from the interior abroad to take a Conventional Forces course; engaged in 1977, 78, 79, 80, 81.

North - 100  
Centre - 250 good but sick  
South - 250

With at least 2nd class upwards between the ages of 15 to 30.

Speak to C.S. South

At the top of the page:

South of Maputo (Resupp.)

By sea; 100 cases M.AK 47

Zone Salazama  
" Decane (River Tembe)  
" Manhonga  
" Massaha  
" UKO (River Maputo)

One, two or three fires, in line with what was decided and agreed.

26/6/83 flight to RSA  
12/3/84 flight to Mozambique  
9/8/84 ship for RSA  
22/8/84 flight to Mozambique  
31/8/84 flight to RSA  
12/10/84 flight to Mozambique  
26/5/85 flight to Mozambique - Charles  
8/6/85 flight to Mozambique - Louis Nel  
9/6/85 flight to RSA - Louis Nel  
2/7/85 flight to Mozambique - Louis Nel  
3/7/85 flight to RSA - Louis Nel

JANUARY 1984

II.

WEDNESDAY

H.E. receives Vanika and Johany with the Secretary General to deal with organizational matters and the substance was as follows:

1. Release of all the Russians, at S.A.'s request, for diplomatic reasons.
2. SA confirms its total support to Renamo until the total elimination of Machel.
3. SA, under pressure from the USA, will ensure negotiations between Machel and Renamo before November.

27

TUESDAY

100 soldiers must be trained for the presidential guard

50 soldiers will also come from the women's detachment

JANUARY

16. MONDAY

H.E. receives colonel Charlie and the volunteer at 10.00H.

Owing to the undertaking that the South Africans will make to Machel in the light of the talks under way, resupply for the first 6 months of 84 will come in the first months: 500 pallets in a total of 25 resupplies apart from the resupplies in January 84.

The team of South Africans goes to Zambezia at the end of January - purpose to train soldiers:

100 instructors  
200 soldiers - conventional warfare.

Lieutenant Joanne asks to be a member of Resistance, that is an officer in our ranks

Written in the margin:

South-5DZ ; Centre - 7DZ; North - 3 DZ.

JANUARY

18

WEDNESDAY

3 DFS were picked and informed to take a parachuting course:

Marilia Nhanice	-	C/Zone
Joana Armando	-	Platoon Chief
Helena Antonio	-	Chief

They will be the first DFS in the Organization to take the above mentioned course.

It was decided by higher authority that the Northern zone chief of staff, C/Daniel should go to the interior with the following aim:

On behalf of the Commander-in-Chief to accompany the group of South African instructors at the end of January; establish liaison between the instructors and our commanders.

JANUARY

19. THURSDAY

H.E. asks LETT Lieutenant for 12.7 mm and SAM 7 weapons for the Northern Zone. It was agreed that at the end of January 84, an aircraft will go to Botoro DZ in Gurue - Materiel for Niassa - Tigre. And another aircraft for Viola - Maganja da Costa.

The group of 250 for Maputo set off on 26/2/84 from Jonnen.

JANUARY

21. SATURDAY

Colonel Vanikav went to Malawi to talk to President Banda about the Russians and to take them to RSA. At the request of Prime Minister Botha. This decision was a matter of disagreement with Renamo, since they did not give prior knowledge.

JANUARY

23 MONDAY

The Soviets leave today from B/R No. 8 West for Lojas de Tengani where they will be freed.

JANUARY

25. WEDNESDAY

On 30.1.84 there will be 3 resupplies in the Southern Zone - Inhambane:

DZ - Lago Pofu - Gato  
DZ - B/General Henriques - Gaza  
DZ - C/Maputo - Tigre

On 4.2.84 3 resupplies:

2 in the Centre: 1. DZ - John Kupenga  
2. DZ

1 resupply for Maputo.

On 9.2.84 there will be 3 resupplies for Zambezia.

JANUARY

28 SATURDAY

The South African team going to Zambezia :

Colonel  
Eurico  
Jakson  
Volunteer Joanh  
Boat specialist  
2 doctors  
with Daniel Pos  
10 of our instructors  
Total of 18 people  
The volunteer promised to take anti-aircraft to Zambezia.

**JANUARY**

**31 TUESDAY**

Programme for our friends in Zambézia.

**FEBRUARY**

**1 WEDNESDAY**

Commandant Daniel's duties in Zambezia :

**FEBRUARY**

**2 THURSDAY**

10. Our fighters must not talk to the people about our friends, so that the enemy should not find out; in the event of our friends being seen by the people, it will be the fighters' duty to inform the people that they are the captured Russians.
11. Inform our fighters that our friends are or came from England.
12. Our friends must always speak English and not Afrikaans, to avoid the soldiers finding out, as we have many fighters who were formerly workers in RSA.

**FEBRUARY**

**4 SATURDAY**

The 1st resupply of the year ; at the ? of Lake Pofu, DZ at the general South Inhambane and at the DZ of c/Maputa in North Inhambane. The operations proceeded normally.

Written in the margin :

3 Gato Region - South Inhambane  
Tigre Region - North Inhambane

3 resupplies on 5/2/84

**FEBRUARY**

**5 SUNDAY**

Written in the margin :

Resupply on 5/2/84

## FEBRUARY

### TUESDAY

H.E. left for Pretoria at 15h00 with the Secretary General for talks with the South African generals, at their invitation.

The meeting with the general settled the arms supplies : huge for 8 weeks because SA is going to stop giving logistics.

But only the South African military have this strength, while Pik Botha the Foreign Minister is pressurising the South African politicians to abandon Renamo. He is functioning as if he was a nark for the Soviet Union.

And it seems to be generalised because they are also going to abandon UNITA and give independence to SWAPO.

## FEBRUARY

### 8 WEDNESDAY

Resupply by ship is expected soon at Bata de M Coluine  
3525/1927  
60 specialists  
40 tons of material

Written at the top : FEBRUARY

Leão Region  
East Zambezia  
Resupply on 8/2/84

10

### FRIDAY

Radio transmission course.

In Namibia.

## FEBRUARY

11

### SATURDAY

Planned resupplies :

23/2/84	-	Gaza	-	2 planes
25/2/84	-	Gorongosa		
27/2/84	-	R.5		
28/2/84	-	Buzi		
4/3/84	-	Gorongosa		
4/3/84	-	Zambezia		
7/3/84	-	Region 4		
11/3/84	-	Gorongosa		
14/3/84	-	Inhambane		

Apart from these there will be other extras by Dakota for the Sul do Save which will carry 100 boxes of ammunition each time.

The war material that will be carried in these resupplies :

4279 boxes ammunition AK 47 x 1360  
210 boxes ammunition G.3 x 1000 b  
1730 AK 47s  
680 boxes M.60 shells x 10 shells  
680 boxes M.81 shells x 4 shells  
110 boxes anti-car mines x 5 mines  
1112 boxes RPG7 rockets x 6  
820 boxes explosive x 20 kg  
31 boxes medicines x 100 kg  
Each resupply will carry 4 M.60; 4 M.81; 4 M.82 and 30 RPG7 and machine guns.  
100 pistols with 1000 bullets each will also go to Gorongosa.

Written at the top :

Resupply by boat at Culemine Bay will be on 10.3.84 east of Cheringoma.

**FEBRUARY**

**13 MONDAY**

Resupply for Maputo. 1 plane . Everything went well.

Colonel Charles guarantees Renamo that for all that they sign an agreement with Machel they will continue to send planes now and again.

Material that will go to Zambezia :  
900 weapons  
500 boxes AK47 ammunition  
20 boxes M. G3  
5 M.60; 5 M.81  
10 boxes  
80 boxes  
100 boxes explosives  
50 boxes mines  
5 boxes medicines  
150 boxes RPG7 rockets

**FEBRUARY**

**14 TUESDAY**

I went to Louis Trinchardt with Colonel Vaniker in order to reconnoitre the new camp where we are going to live.

Written at the top :

Leopardo  
North Maputo  
Resupply on 14/2/84

Written in the middle :

Those who are going to land.

**FEBRUARY**

**15 WEDNESDAY**

Those who are going to take the parachuting course.

**FEBRUARY**

**16 THURSDAY**

1st group for parachuting course, beginning 20.2.84

**FEBRUARY**

**18 SATURDAY**

Those who are staying to take the parachuting course :  
23/2/84

# FEBRUARY

20 MONDAY

## Personnel evacuation plan :

26/2/84 - Dakota for Gorongosa to land at Cangatore  
 29/2/84 - Dakota for Buzi to Jambar, 20 people,  
 Centre HQ  
 1/3/84 - Dakota for Maputo to Jambar, 20 people,  
 South HQ (a)  
 2/3/84 - Dakota for Zambezia to Jambar, 20 people  
 North HQ

23 people  
 35 RT sets  
 23 parachutes

9/3/84 - C 130  
 South HQ, with 25 people  
 2 planes will go  
 Maputo

On 27th the Dakota will go to Namibia to take our 8 instructors 23  
 who are taking the heavy weapons course.

On 9/2/84 - resupply by sea on the coast between  
 Chinde and Beira at Culaima Bay.

There will be 2 more flights for Maputo - resupply

(a) Written in the margin : "postponed"

# FEBRUARY

22 WEDNESDAY

On 23/2/84 at 10h00 there was a meeting in Pretoria between  
 H.E. and the general of Military Intelligence; general of  
 the Special Forces; Brigadier of Military Intelligence;  
 and Colonel Vaniker of Military Intelligence.  
 Objective : planning the war in the face of the situation  
 taken up by the South African Republic.

2. The previous plan made at the meeting is still under  
 consideration.

# FEBRUARY

23 THURSDAY

6. We soldiers will continue to give support without  
 the consent of our politicians in massive numbers  
 so as to win the war.

9. Machel can only fall immediately through a cut in  
 the economy and communications routes.

At the top :  
 Bufalo  
 Gaza  
 Resupply on 23/2/84



**FEBRUARY**

**25**

**SATURDAY**

**FEBRUARY**

**24**

**FRIDAY**

11. The 100 men should enter Maputo in small groups via the Libombos, with pre-determined aims and targets for each group.
12. Joan and Eurico will go only with the authorization of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.
13. Two RNM men will be trained in ultra-secret communications between RNM and Pretoria.
14. The general will ensure resupply even after the agreement by SA with the communist Machel, especially ammunition and radio transmitters.
15. Railways; Cahora Bassa; cooperantes, and other targets of an economic nature, SADCC.

Remaining in SA :

**Brigadier - SA**

3. Definition of targets that force Frelimo to talk to Renamo.
7. Communication by radio or physically between Renamo and the SA soldiers.
8. Apologies for the release of the Russians without the complete agreement of Renamo - pressure from the U.S.A.
9. Fate of the two Russians still in Renamo's hands.
10. Good relations between Renamo and SA are desired, leaving aside the matter of the Russians, which was a shameful attitude of the South African Government.

At the top :  
Gato Region  
Gorongosa  
Cheringoma  
Resupply on 25/2/84

**FEBRUARY**

**27 MONDAY**

**Renamo :**

- 1. Our 100 specialist soldiers who are in the hands of SA.**
- 2. Possibility of putting them into Maputo overland.**

**General of Spec. Forces :**

- 1. Despatch of 6 technicians to Gorongosa to receive the ship with material.**
- 2. Of the 100 men :  
2 died struck down by the Angolans  
3 are prisoners  
30 in Namibia  
65 in Parabolwa  
  
Out of these 75 are parachutists. They have been trained on various courses : security, WT, drivers, etc.**
- 3. The general asks to keep 10 of our soldiers.**
- 4. Method of infiltrating the 95 into Maputo overland.**

**FEBRUARY**

**27 MONDAY**

**At the top of the page :**

**Buzi - Furozi  
Leão Region  
Resupply on 27/2/84**

**FEBRUARY**

**29 WEDNESDAY**

**At the top of the page :**

**On 29.2.84 the central office of the general staff left for Leão Region-Furozi.**

**MARCH**

**1 THURSDAY**

**At the top :**

**Leão Region  
Zambezia  
Resupply on 1.3.84**

**MARCH**

**2 FRIDAY**

**What our 19 specialists learned in Namibia, and 10 of our fighters remained there.**

# MARCH

11 SUNDAY

1. The contact will always be on the Monday and Thursday of each week.
2. From 26.3.84 onwards Pretoria will be listening in to receive any messages.
3. An agreed time will be communicated through Noa Muchanga before 26.3.84  
 Winter - earlier  
 Summer - later

Written at the top of the page :  
 5 Monday March

Resupply at  
 Region Leopardo palletts Maputo

2 aircraft - 1 16  
 1 64 parachutists  
 including Southern HQ

# MAY

26 SATURDAY

DFs who are going to take the weapons instructors and military discipline course; the course to begin on 30 May 1984.

# MAY

27 SUNDAY

The Malawi government is withdrawing or expelling our delegate Gimo from Malawi at the request of Pik Botha (Foreign Minister), alleging that if they do not then SA won't give more goods to Malawi because Malawi depends on SA.

# JUNE

21 THURSDAY

Reply to our message N° Special 1984 of 16.6.84 from C/Charles-Vanicar to C/Supreme Chief and President of Renamo.

1. I received your message on 16.6.84. June 1984.
2. The political climate here, internationally, is still bad for continuing to supply Renamo. Any violation of the Incomati Accord on our part will prejudice South African attempts at peace in Southern Africa. The situation could change at any moment, because the Machel government has serious problems as can already be seen from Honwana's talks with Evo.
3. Renamo must continue to squeeze Machel but in such a way as to use as little war material as possible. Avoid combat with the FAM, giving more attention to destroying the economy, infrastructure and controlling the population.
4. Renamo has to survive longer until Machel reaches a agreement with Renamo, but never let Frelimo see that we have no more materiel.

FRIDAY

5. I am doing a study with my chiefs and I will call Evo here to explain our plan to him. We will then inform Your Excellency how the problem contained in the message you sent us was resolved.

6. The struggle continues, 20.6.84.

JULY

17

TUESDAY

Message of 20.7.84 from C/Charles to Supreme C-in-C and President of Renamo.

1. The Secretary-General and two of our men with 26 tons of baggage will jump from 18/8/84 onwards at the DZ east of Inhaminga where the volunteer made his last jump in March 84.
2. From there Yr Excellency's group will be taken to SA from 7/8/84 onwards with transport that will take a few more tons.
3. I would be grateful if the President could begin his journey to the DZ taking with him the chiefs he has for securing the DZ before 1/8/84. He should also take plenty of carriers. Keep in permanent radio contact with me.
4. The security of movement, radio and DZ is extremely important.
5. Kindly confirm the coordinates of the DZ and alternative DZ in the same area as soon as possible.
6. It is not possible to use Gorongosa DZ on 20/7/84.

The struggle continues.

**AUGUST**

**6 MONDAY**

Departure from Maciambozi to Zangara zone.

7/8/84 - We left Zangara for the Lojas of Chitalane.

8/8/84 - We left Chitalane for the beach where we made an emergency base.

9/8/84 - We left our emergency base at 16h30 for the sea where we embarked at 19h15. We were received there by Colonel Charles. João (anouncer in Chissena) disembarked from the same boat, Macuamule and another of our people whose name we didn't know. The journey to Durban took 48 hours.

11/8/84 - We disembarked at 20h00 in the military harbour at Durban Natal. We then took a light plane to Pretoria together with the Commodore, Chief of Secret Operations for the Navy. We arrived at Pretoria at 23h15 on the same day where we were received by Brigadier Van Tonder of Military Intelligence, SA's Chief of Secret Operations, in the military installations in the Centre of Pretoria.

12/8/84 - We had the first political lesson where S/General Evo Fernandes sketched to us in general terms Mozambique's internal and external political situation and consequently the character of the expected negotiations between Renamo and Frelimo.

13/8/84 - We had the second political lesson. We had the first meeting with general Van Der West Huizen to whom we transmitted HE's greetings, he having regretted HE's absence from SA contrary to the plans, but we explained the causes of HE's absence and the general agreed with us.

Written in the margin :

Commodore Morrisson

The General then announced to us that the South African Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence, Pik Botha and Magnus Malan, respectively want to talk to the Renamo delegation.

**AUGUST**

**8 WEDNESDAY**

This afternoon we agreed to the meeting, so we waited for the Ministers to appear. At 1640 on the same day we had the expected meeting with the South African Government delegation headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha and including in the South African delegation the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, the Military Intelligence General Van Der West Huizen and Colonel Vanikerque, as well as Minister Pik Botha's Private Secretary.

**AUGUST**

**9**

**THURSDAY**

Pik Botha stressed that the Maputo Government is still accusing SA of going on supporting Renamo and that on this very day the Frelimo Government put the following charge against SA before Prime Minister Peter W. Botha :

1. After the Incomati Accord the South African government went on supporting Renamo, with the indication that in May, June and July they sent a total of 14 aircraft full of war materiel to Renamo.

2. That there are officers in South African military circles directly linked to this support, with a mention of Colonel Vanikerke as one of them.

3. Colonel Vanikerke said at a meeting in Parabola on 13/3/84 also attended by Adriano Bomba that the SA Government betrayed Renamo.

**AUGUST**

**13 MONDAY**

We had a meeting with General Van Der Vertsam.  
Arriving in Pretoria  
Jacinto Veloso  
Sergio Vieira  
Murad Hali  
they went to put a charge against SA before Prime Minister  
Pieter Botha that;  
SA went on supporting Renamo in May, June and July,  
84.

**AUGUST**

**14 TUESDAY**

14/8/84 - We studied the content of the meeting we had  
with Pick Botha and drew the following conclusions :

**AUGUST**

**15 WEDNESDAY**

6. That Pick Botha wants to remove the military as intermediaries between Frelimo and Renamo, for him to be the one to serve in our negotiations with Frelimo, he even asked to be chairman of the negotiations.

**AUGUST THURSDAY**

**16**

**16/8/84**

We had a meeting with Brigadier Van Tonder and Colonel Vanikerque, at our request, where we explained our request for war materiel, in accordance with HE's instructions. They gave us the following reply :

As regards war materiel, AK-47 ammunition, we have this for you, and they said they will send it but at the moment there are transport difficulties. Since we can no longer use the CR30 aircraft, as these aircraft are under Air Force control, nor can we use the Navy as there might be an information leak as well as involving many people. And in the event of doing this when we were caught out this would imply a heavy sentence for General Van Der West Huisen, Brigadier Van Tonder and Colonel Vanikerke, as it would constitute a serious violation of the Incomati Accord, which is vital at this moment for our South African Government.

The Brigadier went on to say :

To overcome this difficulty we are going to use civilian aircraft that will land. So Colonel Vanikerke will go to Gorongosa on 22/8/84 to meet the President of Renamo so as to organize landing strips to make it easier to use civil aircraft that can land and not drop parachutes so as to avoid under-using capacity.

As for material for urban guerrilla warfare we shall send this, but not all the kinds of material asked for, since there are some bombs that were assembled in SA, and it would compromise us with the Incomati Accord, so we shall send time bombs and timing devices to work with explosives.

Finally the Brigadier told us of the Frelimo delegation's arrival in SA, to settle security problems.

**AUGUST**

17

We had another meeting with Pick Botha, who was accompanied by Minister Magnus Malan, General Van Der West Huisen, Brigadier Van Tonder and Colonel Vaniker, as well as the Ministers' personal secretaries.

**AUGUST**

21

**TUESDAY**

Written at the top :

Journey from SA/Mozambique  
S/General  
C/Vaniquerque  
Major  
Vaz

**AUGUST**

23

**THURSDAY**

Material that came on 21/8/84 :

25 cases AK47 ammunition

7 gallons of ? oil

23 rucksacks

3 blankets

2 cans of petrol

1 drum of petrol

Building material for a landing strip

12 cartridge-belts

1 large complete WT

2 small WT

30 reams of white paper

23 reams of lined paper

5 files with carbon paper

5 hole-punches

20 40cm green rulers

19 30cm white rulers

50 black pads

46 blue pads

1 box of staples

12 adhesive tapes

20 compasses

New request from H.E.

Plastic bags

1 sack of Reno potatoes

writing pads

4 pairs of size 9 boots

large reels of thread to repair clothes

No. 18 needle for sewing machine

1 case of Fanta for Belinha

tubes of adhesive for scooter

patches for motor-byke

**AUGUST**

**25 SATURDAY**

We arm 29 soldiers on 25/8/84  
No.1 Battalion in Commandant Damo's 1st Company.  
26 recruits remain.

**AUGUST**

**27 MONDAY**

**IMPORTANT**

"Plan"

3/9/84 - Talk to the South African Minister of Defense,  
General Magnus Malan about humanitarian aid , in principle  
in the central area of the country :  
Chibabava and Gorongosa.  
Bring our Generals, Henriques, Mário, António Pedro; General  
Varea will come on foot from Muchamba to Gorongosa.

6/9/84 - Take General Mário, Commandant Raul and a  
communications man.

10/9/84 - Take General Henriques, one military infantryman  
and one communications man.

12/9/84 - Jump in Zambezia for us to go and prepare  
the strip.

20/9/84 - Take General António Pedro; C/Torres and  
C/Issufo Momad; a communications man.

24/9/84 - Put them all in Gorongosa.

N.B.: Between 10 and 24/9/84 Generals Mario and Henriques  
must be put in Gorongosa without waiting for General  
António Pedro.

1/10/84 - Take all the Generals to SA.

**AUGUST**

**27 MONDAY**

3/10/84 - Put General Mário  
4/10/84 - Put General Henriques  
4/10/84 - Put General António Pedro

**AUGUST**

**29 WEDNESDAY**

**Dakota**

31/8/84 70 cases AK47  
20/9/84  
12/10/84  
13/10/84  
21/10/84  
25/10/84  
27/10/84 Nothing  
7/11/84 Nothing

**SEPTEMBER**

**1 SATURDAY**

At 11h30 we had a meeting with Brigadier Van Tonder  
and Colonel Vanikerke

- a) at the end of September 1984 start of talks Renamo/  
Frelimo
- b) Evacuation of the generals to Gorongosa before the  
talks
- c) Swazi passports for Vaz and Mateus
- d) Tour of Europe. Evo-Vaz-Mateus
- e) Audience for us to talk to General Magnus Malan

Evo Fernandes went to dinner with Major Filipe.



SEPTEMBER

3

MONDAY

Important

31/8/84 - We left Gorongosa for SA where we arrived at 2130 hours in the city of Pretoria.

1/9/84 - At 1130 we had a meeting with Brigadier Van Tonder and Colonel Charles. At this meeting the following points were raised :

1. Evacuation of the generals from the South and North to Gorongosa in accordance with His Excellency's plan. As this request was granted, Brigadier Van Tonder was to inform us how the withdrawal operations would be done.
2. It was agreed that our friends would arrange two passports for S/Vaz and Commandant Mateus, with the aim of facilitating the journeys abroad.
3. The former also informed us that the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Pick Botha, on 26/8/84, met the Ambassadors of the USA, Britain, France, and the Italian Chargé d'Affaires in SA, when he promised them that SA would do everything it could within the next 45 days to ensure that the Mozambican question be settled, with Pick Botha appealing to the respective countries to help the government of SA to reach an urgent peace in Mozambique.

SEPTEMBER

4

TUESDAY

4. Separate meetings were arranged with the Chief of Staff Visloen; with the Minister of Defence, Magnus Malan and with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pick Botha. With the first two it is for us to request "humanitarian aid", and with the last-named to sound out his point of view about the expected talks with Frelimo.
5. Finally it was agreed that our friends would establish conditions for our delegation to be received in some countries in Europe as in Africa, on which it was left to us to say which countries would accept our presence.

SEPTEMBER

4

TUESDAY

4/9/84 - We had a meeting with General Van Der West Huisen, Br. Van Tonder and Colonel Vanikerke.

1. The General indicates his acceptance of H.E.'s plan concerning the evacuation of the generals, giving the order to Br. Van Tonder and Colonel Charles to deal with the matter.
2. In the meeting Br. Van Tonder spoke and referred to Pick Botha's meeting with Chester Crocker, the North American Assistant for African Affairs.
4. Finally General Van Der West Huisen expressed his concern and willingness, saying they are always side by side with Renamo and that we shall study and work together, since our common purpose is to rid Southern Africa of communism both militarily and politically.

SEPTEMBER

6 THURSDAY

5/9/84

Colonel Vanikerk informed us how the Generals will be withdrawn to Gorongosa: General Henriques would leave by submarine; General Mário would leave by car through the border at Kruguer Park, penetrating the frontier network; and General António Pedro will come on foot for lack of quick possibilities to land a plane in Zambezia and Malawi didn't accept our request to leave by that route.

SEPTEMBER

7 FRIDAY, 8 SATURDAY, 9 SUNDAY

Commandant Mateus joined us on 5/9/84, coming from the field.

6/9/84 - at 17h00 we had a meeting with the Chief of Staff of the South African Armed Forces, General Visloen; General Van Der West Huizen, Br. Van Tonder and Colonel Vanikerke were present at the meeting.

At the meeting the following was discussed:  
"Humanitarian aid for Renamo"

1. General Vilsoen agreed to send us "humanitarian aid" in Air Force C130 planes.

2. He agreed with the evacuation of the generals.

3. He said he would do everything possible to have at least 1 hour on SABC, information about Renamo activities and other related questions.

4. He recommended us not to lose military strength and control, in the face of these negotiations.

5. He said that the ceasefire mustn't be effective, he agreed with the plan of two to three months maximum.

7. He recommended us not to accept the amnesty.

8. He suggested that the ceasefire should not enable economic agreements between SA and Machel, these should be suspended until the conclusion of the Final Peace Agreement in Mozambique.

11. He also said that he would facilitate our contacts with foreign countries especially African countries.

SEPTEMBER

9 SUNDAY

12. The General recommended us not to be fooled by the schemes of Pick Botha because he is a traitor, he even agreed with Chester Crocker's idea of Frelimo offering an amnesty to Renamo members.

SEPTEMBER

10 MONDAY

General Visloen went on to say :  
I agree with a joint strategy for putting Machel out. Because we want to remove the Russians from our region of Southern Africa, we have to employ a joint strategy to be able to defeat communism. In such a way as not to let the outside world "USA" perceive it. Because the world is convinced that Machel is changing, because he doesn't seem to them to be entirely communist. We want Renamo to win the war to remove the communists from the area. The USA has its way of fighting the Russian, like South African politicians too, who have their way of fighting communism. And we soldiers have our way of fighting the Russians. During the negotiations we must begin with strong propaganda. For this we have to keep the negotiations going for some time, we must never accept first time.  
Finally, general Visloen guaranteed us that he is on our side until final victory, C130 planes for Mozambique, humanitarian aid. Common strategy to defeat communism in Southern Africa.

SEPTEMBER

11 TUESDAY

10.9.84 In the afternoon, at exactly 5h00 we caught a jet plane to Cape Town where we had a meeting with the Foreign Minister Pick Botha in the Cape castle, from 21h00 to 24h00. Brigadier Van Tonder, Colonel Vanikerke, Colonel from the Cape and Pick Botha's secretary were present.

SEPTEMBER

12 WEDNESDAY

7. Asked about the suspension of economic agreements from SA to Maputo, Pick Botha refused, saying I will only pressurise Maputo to come to the negotiations seriously and not with the story of the amnesty.

SEPTEMBER

13 THURSDAY

On 10.9.84 Pick Botha had requested that the Renamo delegation should be under his wing and that the military should look after the Renamo delegation. Br. Van Tonder replied that he couldn't because the Renamo delegation would always have to be in contact with the President in Mozambique.

SEPTEMBER

14 FRIDAY

12.9.84 Our head of delegation went out during the morning.

In order to mollify the South African government he requested a meeting with some Bantustan country.

SEPTEMBER

16 SUNDAY

18.9.84 - C/Raul arrives in Pretoria with 2 more soldiers.

19.9.84 - General Henriques arrives in Pretoria with 2 soldiers.

20.9.84 - General Henriques' group and that of C/Raul together with C/Mateus leave for Gorongosa.

SEPTEMBER

17 MONDAY

They will install microphones in the negotiating room to listen in on the talks between Pick Botha and the Mozambican delegation; it will be very advantageous for us. In this way we will know Pick Botha's plan and Frelimo's, this was guaranteed us with Vanikerke, SS colonel in SA.

SEPTEMBER

20 THURSDAY and 21 FRIDAY

25.9.84

On arrival at the residence HE was received by Brigadier Van Tonder who gave welcoming greetings. He emphasised that Pick Botha will speak to HE tomorrow, and will possibly ask the following questions for his information :

1. If Renamo continues to receive aid from SA.
2. The thinking of Renamo on the Incomati Accord.
3. If the South African military are carrying out the Incomati Accord.

26.9.84 - at 14h00 HE had a meeting with Manjor Dubry of South African Military Intelligence for Mozambique. He gave a military briefing on the military situation in Mozambique based on their monitoring and information they have gathered. In particular Manjor Dubry gave us the position of the foreign soldiers from the Eastern bloc who are in Mozambique, including Zimbabwean and Tanzanian forces.

SEPTEMBER

24 MONDAY

At 17h30 Pick Botha, Magnus Malan and general Viljoen - chief of the South African General Staff - arrived. Pick Botha began by saying the following to HE :

**OCTOBER**

**8 MONDAY**

**Aircraft movement plan : on 19.10.84**

**21.10.84 - Gorongosa  
at 17h30 - Dakota**

**22.10.84 - Maputo  
at 23h59 - C130**

**23.10.84 - Inhambane  
at 23h59 - C130**

**25.10.84 - Zambezia  
at 23h00 - C130**

**27.10.84 - Gorongosa  
at 23h59 - C130**

**OCTOBER**

**12 FRIDAY**

**Flight to Gorongosa.**

**Colonel Van Kerk  
Lieutenant Long John**

**OCTOBER**

**13 SATURDAY**

**HE has a scooter accident at the general Staff Base. The doctors arrived by plane from SA at 22h00, treated HE and returned at 2h00 on 14.10.84.**

**OCTOBER**

**21 SUNDAY**

**The Dakota arrived at 17h30.**

**It took our generals.**

**Brigadier Van Tonder arrived by the same plane with the objective of persuading HE to send the politicians to talk or to re-open the talks with Frelimo on 23.10.84.**

**OCTOBER**

**27 SATURDAY**

**We left Gorongosa by plane at 17h30 and arrived at Pretoria at 22h00 - we landed at the military airport.**

**8 passengers :**

**Evo Fernandes**

**Jorge Correia**

**Gideone Machussa**

**A.J. de Fonseca**

**Vicente Ululu**

**Mateus Ngonhamo**

**Joaquim Vaz**

**GENERAL PLAN Nº 1 OF 24 FEBRUARY 1984**

- 1. Destroy the Mozambican economy in the rural zones.**
- 2. Destroy the communications routes to prevent exports and imports to and from abroad, and the movement of domestic produce.**
- 3. Prevent the activities of foreigners (cooperantes) because they are the most dangerous in the recovery of the economy.**

MESSAGE FROM COMMANDANT CHARLES TO PRESIDENT  
OF RENAMO

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- I. I advise the President of Renamo that Pick Botha instructed me to advise the President of Renamo that the Portuguese capitalist Bulhosa from Brazil is in Pretoria and wishes to talk to the President of Renamo.
- II. Pick Botha asks the President of Renamo to leave for SA to talk to the capitalist Bulhosa from Brazil.
- III. He asks the President to allow the capitalist Bulhosa to visit the President of Renamo in Gorongosa; but it will be very difficult because Bulhosa is already 86 years old.
- IV. It appears that Secretary-General Evo Fernandes is not aware of this. It is part of the Pick Botha plan to eliminate the Secretary-General from the talks.
- V. I am waiting here with transmitters for an immediate reply from the President of Renamo.
- VI. Accept my sincere greetings and highest compliments to Your Excellency and Family. 12.1.85  
The struggle continues  
END

Colonel Vanikerke explained the reasons that led him to meet the President of Renamo in Gorongosa on 26 May 1985: They arrived by plane at 18 hours on 26 May 1985. The group comprised Colonel Vanikerke, Colonel Grel, Barbas and two doctors. All soldiers.

Vanikerke: In addition to my wish for a personal visit to Mr. President, I was sent by my superiors to pass on some remarks of these leaders to Mr. President.

Vanikerke: Furthermore the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Louis Nel, is still interested in the search for peace in Mozambique, for which reason he asked me to come and say to the President that if possible he will visit the President here in Gorongosa on 7, 8 and 9 May, 1985, with the aim of talking to the President of Renamo about the situation in Mozambique.

In my view, I think that a visit by him here in the interior is highly feasible and desirable for Renamo given the current situation, for he would thus be fully informed on the Mozambique situation in regard to the Renamo movement. He said in addition that his coming here would be without the knowledge of his chief Pick Botha.

Vanikerke: Some of the points that Minister Louis Nel will raise with the President are as follows: the Cahora Bassa power lines, the SA/Maputo high tension lines, The SA/Maputo railway and the SA/Maputo road. He will later ask Renamo not to attack these targets. But the most important point that brings him here is to ask for a resumption of Renamo/Frelimo talks.

Vanikerke: My point of view on Louis Nel's coming to Gorongosa, I think that H.E. could place some conditions, such as taking the opportunity for him to bring Evo with him, however the President before talking to Louis Nel should first talk to Evo for a picture of the current political situation abroad, and at least one journalist so that it should be reported.

Vanikerke: I am also bringing Mr. President a message from our Armed Forces Chief, General Visloen:

- I. Greetings to His Excellency. I assure Mr. President that Renamo still has friends in the South African military. I hope that Mr. President understands the difficulties that we South African soldiers have with our politicians.
- II. I also promise the President of Renamo that as for involvement of South African troops in Mozambique's internal conflict, I should say that as soon as we receive orders from my government for my troops to go and fight in Mozambique against Renamo, all the generals my colleagues and I myself will resign from the armed forces.
6. We the South African Military guarantee the passage of Renamo men in SA or transit, in case of need.

7. I am asking H.E. to inform me of the situation of the two Russians still in Renamo's hands; because lots of organizations are putting pressure on us and want to know the Russians' situation, the International Red Cross for example are asking for the two Russians. And we South Africans are not able to explain the situation.

President:

H.E. gave an immediate reply on point 7, saying that he could tell General Visloen particularly for his own information alone and for NO-ONE else: the two Russians are dead, no longer exist. We can say don't think any more about the Russians because they aren't there, they have gone into the abyss, the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

DEFINITIVE REPLY BY H. E. THE PRESIDENT OF RENAMO TO THE POINTS PRESENTED BY COL. CHARLES  
MEETING 27 MAY 85. 28 MAY 85.

- I. Items that Renamo wants sent in the same aircraft that carries Deputy Minister Louis Nel here to Gorongosa on 7 June 85:  
  
medicines. Fuel (diesel, petrol and paraffin). Plugs for Honda 50 motor-bikes. Office equipment. Duplicating machines for reproduction. Reams for preparing documents. Material for art design, material for wood sculpture. And more that our friends can provide at their discretion.
- II. The Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Louis Nel, can come here to Gorongosa on 7 June 1985 in accordance with his request, since it is beneficial to us and only in this way can Renamo's situation here in Mozambique be clarified personally, as well as it being a victory for Renamo and at a time when your government is side by side with the Marxist government of Frelimo.

CONVERSATION BETWEEN H. E. AND COLONEL VANIKER KE ON 5.6.85

- President: I am putting forward the possibility of us having a radio transmitter here inside Mozambique in our liberated areas. Communication is an extremely big and important weapon in a war like this one. The world doesn't know of us from here inside. The world has only had inadequate information about Renamo coming from Lisbon through our spokesman Jorge Correia, who is often less credible.
- Charles: I guarantee the President that the problem of energy for c/Affinete will be resolved, because I have a friend who can fix something for the purpose. I also guarantee the possibilities of radio transmitters. But all this will depend on this weekend.
- Charles: We could think about 4 transmitter-receiver-relays for Renamo: 1 directed abroad; 1 for the Centre; 1 for the South and another for the northern zone. Broadcasting abroad would be from the Centre.
- N.B. We must take into consideration that at the moment we can't buy anything in the name of Renamo. But as far as the transmitters are concerned we can manage because we still have them in store.



Charles:

The problem that I see isn't that of my supporting the South African Government. It is that I see the need for Renamo to give Deputy-Minister Louis Nel a hope of solving the problem that he is coming here to discuss with the President on 7.6.85. It will be useful to make him see that Renamo will win this war. For my part, I will do everything possible to convince my superior officers (generals) that Renamo will win this war.

Louis Nel must leave here with the guarantee and hope of a peaceful solution in Mozambique, this is to enable him or any other South African envoy to come here to the interior more often to have more contacts with Your Excellency. Because only in this way will it be possible to keep the road to here open; and I will always have the opportunity of coming here.

Charles:

I suggest to the President that in the case of Louis Nel saying that Frelimo will not agree to say publicly that it is going to talk to Renamo.

What I said to you was only what my general Visloen ordered me to come and say to Your Excellency. For security reasons and so to avoid distrust I suggest that the trans later should be from Renamo and not myself.

Renamo must never guarantee to Louis Nel that he can come here alone whenever he likes, otherwise it will put our friendship in doubt (South African Military). You must give him to understand that should he need to come here it is always necessary for the military to come here first.

General Van Der West Huysen asks Mr. President to put or write a message on the back of these 5 photos so that it can be given to the Foreign Minister Piek Botha, for him to consider the question. And should he remain an enemy of Renamo he himself will destroy the photo. Therefore Mr. President will write on the 4 photos for us to have copies.

General Visloen will send the head of the army with Louis Nel, or the deputy-minister of defence and police who is 100% in favour of Renamo. The objective of the company is to help Louis Nel to reflect on the problem when he is resting. But the basic idea is for the military to get influence over Louis Nel.

For us South African military Louis Nel is the most honest of the South African politicians.

I would also suggest to Mr. President that he doesn't let Louis Nel hear about the training that the doctors and Greiling did here inside.

President:

I am very keen that Fatendo return to Nairobi to deal with the renewal of his passport. However we will do all we can to guarantee to Minister Louis Nel that we are going to win this war and that we want to win it peacefully.

Charles: Mr. President can talk about everything, but never about Renamo strategy. And you must also tell him that Renamo controls all this (country) and is appropriately structured here in the interior, both militarily and politically.

THE FIRST MEETING BETWEEN H.E. THE PRESIDENT OF RENAMO AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEPUTY-MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS LOUIS NEL AT 1430 ON 8 JUNE 1985 AT THE GENERAL STAFF BASE IN GORONGOSA

Louis Nel: We came here as friends. This is the moment when we must and can discuss Mozambique's problems and those of the whole of Southern Africa.

THE 2ND MEETING OF H.E. WITH LOUIS NEL AT 10H00 ON 8.6.85

Louis Nel: Mr. President when was this base made ?

Mr. President have you trained your people before they go to fight ? Have you received many Frelimo officers who desert to Renamo. How has health been handled in your organisation, where are your nurses trained ?

If you will allow me, Mr. President, I will ask the doctor to make me a list of the medicines that are in short supply here for me to bring when I return on my next trip.

What Mr. President needs a lot of is war material and uniforms. And do you have sewing machines ?

MESSAGE FROM COLONEL CHARLES TO PRESIDENT OF RENAMO ON THE FORMER'S ARRIVAL WITH LOUIS NEL IN PRETORIA ON 8 JUNE 1985

1. We arrived safely on 8 June 1985. I was present on 9 June 85 when Louis Nel had a meeting with our high command about his visit. He was very satisfied and hopeful with the progress. We shall need to come back again to talk to Your Excellency next weekend. The big problem for Louis Nel is how to handle his initiative with the South African Government itself keeping out certain elements like Pida.
2. Louis Nel advised General Viljoen that we must be very careful with the kind of materiel we are supplying to Renamo, so as not to violate the Incomati Accord as this could prejudice his initiative and the current progress.

FROM COMMANDANT CHARLES TO PRESIDENT OF RENAMO

1. I will arrive there Sunday night at 20H30. The group coming is the Minister and his secretary, Barbas and the two doctors and the Brigadier.
2. We have cargo but not very much. They leave Monday 1 July 85. I and Barbas and the two doctors will stay for two weeks.

3. I have instructions to take the patient who is paralyzed if Your Excellency agrees that he should go to hospital. The person should be at the airport on Sunday night.

N -

I am going to Europe on Monday morning. I shall be back on 29/7/85. When I come back my intention will be to return to Mozambique. I shall be meeting Veloso on Friday.

SECOND VISIT BY THE DEPUTY-MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS LOUIS NEL TO OUR CAPITAL GORONGOSA ON 2 JULY 1985

SA: Louis Nel (Deputy-Minister of FA)  
Brigadier Van Tonder  
Colonel Vanikerke  
Colonel Grelling  
Doctor  
Doctor

President: Welcome Minister once again to our provisional capital Gorongosa.

Louis Nel: Thank you Mr. President. When we left here last time on 8 June 85, we went to tell Frelimo that peace must be conditional and unconditional.

FINAL PART OF THE MEETING WITH LOUIS NEL

NEL: The BBC 6 o'clock news today reported that Britain is going to train Frelimo officers in Zimbabwe. Thirty officers will be assigned, the training will last 5 months and will begin in January next year. I believe that by January next year the war will already be over.

P - We had information about that weeks ago. I agree with the Minister when he says that by January next year the war will be over, either Frelimo loses or Renamo

I shall tell him if they do not accept talks the war will go on for many years. I shall speak so as to leave the idea that Renamo has assistance abroad, I shall say that Renamo is a self-reliant movement. I shall say that I invited Renamo in order to know the current war situation in Mozambique.

- we are going to fool ourselves that Renamo has military support abroad,
- But Renamo has no foreign support but has the total support of its people. On this basis we are going to negotiate with Renamo for peace in Mozambique.
- I shall not say that I was in Mozambique
- I shall say that the President of Renamo is moving from one side to the other, so we are going to negotiate peace, since the fact that South Africa has been supporting Renamo is not going to solve the problem, as we know that Renamo has international support and it is impossible to stop it.
- The international press gave me the Mozambique situation, that was great.
- The talks will be unconditional, but the peace will be conditional. I do not want to give advice but you must understand, you must hold peace negotiations to make it seem to the world that the President of Renamo wants peace in Mozambique.

What I have in mind is the whole war strategy in Mozambique.

The President of Renamo will have to make a statement and go on telling the world that he wants peace negotiations.

In the world telling the truth is a good weapon (saying that I am for peace).

I shall mention the proposal of negotiations not saying that Machel refused the negotiations, since S.A. could appear in a bad light. S.A. wants to play a very important role. We want to make Frelimo enter into negotiations. This will make Frelimo lose its diplomatic weight.

You President have shown yourself as a head of state seeking peace.

We need the international press. It is possible that when I come from Europe, the two will be needed (the Secretary-General and Janeiro da Fonseca).

President: Everything you have said is what is in my heart as you were saying that our problem is that it is not understood why we are struggling. I believe that 100% of the points you focussed are the problems that Renamo has. And thank you for the advice, because it is proof of friendship and the arrival of the Secretary-General and the Secretary for Foreign Relations is very important. It is they who must play this role abroad. This conversation will go down in our history. For me it opened up a vision, I was impressed, it makes me say that we have friends in South Africa, this conversation guarantees friendship, I don't want to make many comments and I am very pleased because the minister was able to focus on Renamo's problem and Renamo wants peace.

The ANC having left Mozambique does not mean that Frelimo doesn't support it, it supports actively, therefore Renamo is a friend of South Africa's.

We were friends in the past and today we must be friends.

I will certainly follow the advice the minister gave me, our problem is diplomacy.

Nel: I shall meet with Evo and he will come on the 18/7/85. I will tell him how I spoke with the President.

President: I repeat that I am very pleased, and I shall take the message of these talks to our cadres.

Nel- The President should be discreet.

President: Renamo is discreet. When I speak of cadres I mean those who are here. It means that I shall explain to them. So that they know we have South African friends.

Nel - I believe that good will come of it.

End

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF RENAMO TO FRIEND COMMANDANT  
CHARLES

- I My friend Commandant Charles, we no longer have war materiel, VI mainly in the central and southern areas of our country.
- II We appreciate that we received that last consignment but as soon as we unloaded, we had to relieve all the regions in the central area, including Fete region, as they already lacked materiel to respond to the massive offensive that Frelimo had just announced would be launched after the signing of the Incomati Accord.
- III So we want to remind our friends of the pledge they gave us of keeping up support to us clandestinely.
- IV We think this is an opportune moment for our friends to send us a consignment, since even Machel has made repeated accusations against South Africa.
- V We need ammunition to sustain the war in the central areas of the country.

Here in the centre our friends could slip in a ship with a bigger load than we received before, and that would allow us to sustain the war for the whole of 1984. We guarantee every safeguard. I personally will be present for this operation. For the southern area of the country, as our forces already have bases in the areas south of Goba in Catuane, it will be easier to carry out those joint operations friend Commander Charles knows well, and you know can be done in small consignments, for this we shall also recommend to our forces the maximum of security and avoidance of leaks.

Friend Commandant Charles should not forget that our enemy will do everything possible to disorganize us in the centre of the country.

As we no longer have the war material to go on squeezing Machel as we were squeezing just after the signing of the Incomati Accord both in the centre and in Maputo, towards his final defeat. For as we are now without war materiel to fight him he will recover and that will force us to shift out bases about as they go on chasing us all over the place. This could cause a bad situation to occur for us identical with that of 1980 when we were so badly hit by Rhodesia abandoning us.

We are however certain that this will happen to us because we no longer have the war materiel, and our Secretary-General and our other politicians are not aware of the bad results that could follow, since they follow only our victories and not the possibilities Machel has of wiping us out.

- IX However, after this message, I feel that friend Commandant Charles will be very sympathetic, as he has always been the South African Government's official representative to Renamo, and I in particular as President of Renamo appreciate the valuable duties you fulfil, appreciate the work you have done and are doing, with all affection and incomparable devotion. However the war you have always represented and still represent has not yet been won, and even if your government has cut off the support it gave us, our friend Commandant Charles, according to the promise you made us, we are still assured.

16 June 1984  
END

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF RENAMO TO FRIEND COMMANDANT  
CHARLES

- I We received your message of 20/7/84 and fully understand all it contains.
- II As for the DZ area I confirm full security.

21 July 1984

- II According to the statement by our Secretary-General, Evo Fernandes, the difficulty lies in channelling these war communiqués from South Africa to Portugal, he said that he has already found another communications channel with you and the problem of routing information has been solved.

As Commandant Charles knows full well about the difficulty Renamo has in communicating with the Secretary-General from here in the interior, it means that we have no other way except through you friend Commandant Charles.

- III I am aware that you are preparing a journey here to the interior and that you will come with Evo Fernandes and Brigadier Van Tonder. You will be welcome to our provisional capital.

22 July 1984

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF RENAMO TO FRIEND COMMANDANT  
CHARLES

- I In accordance with your proposals for the consignment to come with the transport that will collect the group, we should appreciate your not including in that consignment ammunition for G3 weapons, as we do not have these G3 weapons.