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MEETING BETWEEN THE HONOURABLE R F BOTHA, MINISTER OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA AND
MR SILVINO DA LUZ, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE
REPUBLIC OF CAPE VERDE : PRETORIA : 16 AUGUST 1984

Also present:

Republic of Cape Verde: Mr Rosendo Pires Perreira
Chief of Protocol

South Africa: Mr G R W Babb
Mr D W Steward
Department of Foreign
Affairs

MINISTER SILVINO DA LUZ said that he and his President had held serious discussions with President Dos Santos and Mr Nujoma in Luanda at the beginning of August. He had also visited Maputo where he had held discussions with President Machel. These discussions had been very deep and as a result of them he hoped for the best. He believed that both Angola and SWAPO had open conditions with regard to the continuation of dialogue with South Africa. It was necessary to prepare for a meeting with Angola. The agenda and the timing of the meeting should be carefully considered and might include economic questions and the question of SWAPO. Cape Verde could assist with arrangements for a meeting with Kito Rodrigues. President Dos Santos would be prepared to go along with the arrangements if South Africa had other ideas. Cape Verde would act as a go-between and was open to suggestions. South Africa might have seen the recent declaration by Venancio da Moura which was very significant.

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MINISTER BOTHA replied that Cape Verde was playing a responsible role. South Africa was aware of Cape Verde's economic problems but it was clear that the Cape Verdean Government was doing a good job. South Africa appreciated its relations with Cape Verde. However, the Angolan question had been the most difficult situation of Minister Botha's life. When the Minister had seen President Machel recently, President Machel had told him the history of his country. It had been very touching. The Mozambicans had nothing but the Minister could not understand the Angolans. They were from another planet. They would not be able to survive if they continued along the present course.

THE MINISTER said that neither side in Angola would easily achieve a decisive military victory. He could inform Minister Silvino da Luz that General Veloso would be seeing him at 09h15 that morning. He had spoken to the leaders of Renamo the day before. He had urged them to stop killing people. Despite strong reservations, they were coming around to his point of view. He had asked them whether they would be prepared to accept President Machel. If South Africa could accept President Machel, then they should consider doing the same. Acceptable conditions for a ceasefire could then be negotiated.

MINISTER DA LUZ said that he was convinced that there were people in Luanda who wished to take the same step. These people included President Dos Santos and Kito Rodrigues. However, they had great problems. They were beginning to free themselves from certain constraints. That was why the Minister should meet with Kito again, either secretly or in the open as soon as possible to talk to him about SWAPO and South West Africa.

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MINISTER DA LUZ said that he knew what Kito's problems were. There were people who were working in the other direction. The Angolans had compromised themselves and they were prepared to release themselves from certain compromises. He could give South Africa the word of his President in this regard. President Dos Santos had asked Cape Verde to speak to South Africa. At the same time he could assure South Africa that the question of a meeting between SWAPO and the MPC would not be left aside.

MINISTER BOTHA replied that this was useful but he would have to analyse the situation. He had been on the point of saying that he would not talk with Angola again but President Machel had persuaded him to change his mind. However, every time Kito returned to Luanda he seemed to change his mind. The Minister could not understand this. South Africa was paying about R600 million a year to keep South West Africa going. How would South West Africa survive without this assistance? Moscow certainly would not give it any money. The world prices for its diamonds and uranium were depressed. An independent Namibia would not be able to provide more than a third of its present budget. Who would pay for the administration? South West Africa got its coal from South Africa. The Russians wouldn't be able to transport coal to Namibia by air.

THE MINISTER said that he asked Kito to speak to Nujoma and to tell him the difficulty he would experience in governing the country even if it had been rich. But South West Africa was a desert. The Minister did not know how Nujoma thought he would be able to succeed. Nujoma's response was simply that he would either manage it or mismanage it.

THE MINISTER said that he did not want his neighbours to

collapse. Already South Africa had one and a half million workers from other African countries, half of whom were in the Republic illegally. If South Africa were to send them back there would be no unemployment in the Republic, but the people concerned would suffer. South Africa could produce enough food - southern Africa could produce enough food - but there was no cooperation between the countries of the region. South Africa could help to create industries in the region. It could help to eradicate disease. But instead there was war. Within four years Zimbabwe would be finished. This is not what South Africa said, but what Zimbabweans themselves had told him. They had come to him and asked him to reassure the whites and to persuade them not to leave. But unfortunately Mr Mugabe continues on his disastrous road.

THE MINISTER said that a leading western industrialist had recently told him that he had proposed to Mugabe that he would be prepared to arrange for billions of dollars of investment if Mugabe would give him a discreet assurance that the investment would not be nationalised. Mugabe had replied that he could assure him that the investments would be safe for three years. THE MINISTER said that he had asked major industrialists to invest in Cape Verde and in Mozambique. Even the socialist leaders that the Minister and the Prime Minister had seen during their recent visit to Europe had said that the prospects for Mozambique were very dim. The racist South African Government had had to put in a good word for Mozambique. However, the situation in Luanda remained a mystery to the Minister. THE MINISTER said that he had seen Dr Savimbi three weeks earlier. He had persuaded him to say publicly that he would serve under President Dos Santos. Savimbi had not been pleased with this suggestion but he had accepted it. However, if Luanda

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continued on its present course there would be no peace. Most of the people of Angola supported Savimbi. They did not identify with Lucio Lara and others in Luanda. THE MINISTER said that he had met people from all parts of Angola, many of whom were well educated. It was clear that the MPLA did not have its roots in the soil of the Angolan culture. In South Africa he did not laugh at his opposition. He had opposition on the right who thought he was a liberal. If he underestimated them, they could win. He could not pretend that they did not exist as the government in Luanda was trying to do with its opposition. Dr Savimbi had fought Portuguese. Kito had said that he had been an ally of the colonialists. However, the Minister had checked with reliable sources and had established what the true facts were. Savimbi had been the most feared leader of the Angolan Resistance Movement. Why had Kito told him lies?

MINISTER DA LUZ replied that this idea of Savimbi nevertheless existed and moreover he shared it. He felt that even President Machel would make the same statement about Savimbi. This was a very profound belief and it was why Africans did not accept Savimbi.

MINISTER BOTHA said that it was possible to talk about peace but unless we understood the economy we would fail. The Americans were not able to offer much help. However, last week he had received an encouraging message. Mozambique's application to join the IMF was going well. The western countries would also try to create a fund for Mozambique. This would help to create jobs. Mozambique would grant amnesty to members of Renamo. Possibly, South Africa could help by keeping Renamo's leaders in the Republic for the time being. He had spoken frankly to

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Mozambique and understood them. He had admitted that South Africa had helped Renamo in the past and they had admitted that they had helped the ANC, but it was not the same with Luanda.

MINISTER DA LUZ replied that President Machel had also said that South Africa should reconsider the possibility of talks with Luanda. South Africa should give the Angolans a chance otherwise outsiders would continue to make advances.

MINISTER DA LUZ said that he knew what the price of independence was. He said that his role in southern Africa had caused the Republic of Cape Verde problems, however, Cape Verde had not compromised its independence. That was why South Africa should talk again with Kito. It seemed that Kito was starting to talk about UNITA but he was very reluctant to consider a role for Dr Savimbi. President Dos Santos had his own ideas. He had even indicated that he would be willing to go quite far in imposing conditions on Nujoma.

MINISTER DA LUZ said that Kito was waiting for him (Da Luz) in Maputo and would see him after his return from South Africa.

MINISTER BOTHA informed Minister Da Luz that he had sent his Ambassador in the United States the draft of a letter which he proposed to send to the Secretary-General. The United States would take up the draft with Nujoma and with Kito. It had been difficult for him to obtain Cabinet approval for the draft. It had been limited to factual language. The Administrator-General had told him that the Multiparty Conference wanted peace and reconciliation. South Africa also wanted peace. Because of that South Africa would be prepared to cease all military activities

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against SWAPO if SWAPO reciprocated these feelings. It would be possible to have a cessation of violence for an initial period of three months which could be extended for an indefinite period. Structures to ensure the observance of the ceasefire could also be discussed and this process could pave the way for a settlement of the South West Africa question including a settlement under Resolution 435. That was as much as the Minister could get. If it was not acceptable he could foresee an escalation of the conflict. South Africa was not frightened of Moscow. Their aircraft and tanks could not fight the African bush. However, South Africa preferred the possibility of making peace. The alternative was destruction. The enemies of South Africa could have tried to make war against South Africa ten years ago but South Africa had grown too strong since then. South Africa did not want to humiliate anyone. It simply wanted peace and development.

MINISTER DA LUZ said that he had two questions. Firstly, he would like to have a meeting between a South African delegation and SWAPO to discuss the text of South Africa's proposed message.

MINISTER BOTHA replied that the National Party in South West recently during their congress attacked him and the Prime Minister because they they had refused to see representatives of the party. However, if South Africa saw representatives of each party it would soon have to accept the role of arbitrator. It was necessary for South Africa to distance itself from South West African political affairs. There were twenty parties in the Territory. He wanted a gap between them and himself. He could not see Nujoma because such a meeting would simply end in a clash. An independent Namibia would have to live with South

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Africa. South Africa would not have to live with an independent Namibia. If Sam Nujoma became president, he would have to live with the other leaders of the territory. It would create problems if South Africa were to speak with only one party. The important thing was to achieve a settlement. Often the best route was not the most direct route. Often it was better to take a detour. However, he would try to persuade the Prime Minister to agree to a further meeting between the Administrator-General and SWAPO in the Cape Verde Islands. This was because of the appeals which had been made by the Cape Verde Islands and President Machel.

MINISTER DA LUZ replied that he appreciated Minister Botha's frankness as an African. He felt that Africans should solve the problems of their continent among themselves. Africa had great economic potentials. Africans should work together economically. However, they could only do this if there was peace. The Cape Verde Islands had never talked to South Africa about economic development because it had not wanted to link such discussions to its present peace moves, but this was a matter which might be considered in the future. South Africa should meet with the Angolans again and speak to Kito because it was he who prepared the decisions which the Angolans took.

MINISTER BOTHA asked why Minister da Luz did not bring Kito to him?

MINISTER DA LUZ replied that Kito was under pressure.

MINISTER BOTHA said that during the latest talks in the Cape Verde Islands it had seemed as though SWAPO had lost

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some of its arrogance. Nujoma had asked the Administrator-General if he expected SWAPO to crawl back to South West Africa on its knees. If this was true, it might indicate that Nujoma wanted an agreement. But he is a completely unpredictable person. The South African draft message would enable him to achieve such an agreement without crawling. It would also be a bitter pill for President Machel to swallow to speak to Penamo. However, this pill might cure the problems of the country. If Nujoma wanted to, he could return to South West Africa and begin to project a different image. He might be able to participate in an interim government. An atmosphere might develop which would help all of the parties to reach a solution to the problems of their country. The South West Africans might then ask South Africa to leave them alone or to implement Resolution 435. Possibly they might want a cheaper version of Resolution 435 since it would cost \$500 million to implement in its present form. South Africa did not reject Resolution 435. It wanted a settlement which would include SWAPO. However, it also wanted a settlement which would solve the problems of the country. SWAPO was an Ovambo party. Nujoma would have the whole of the south against him. He could operate in Ovambo but not in the south. He would have to fight for another twenty years. The south was largely semi-desert. The Herero would not submit to Nujoma's rule. The Germans had killed 80 000 Hereros but had not succeeded in destroying them. He should not make peace only with South Africa. He would have to make it with his own peoples. South Africa wanted a cessation of hostilities. South Africa was not interested in Resolution 435 only. He wanted a solution which would bring about peace because the South West Africans were South Africa's neighbours. However, he feared that the country would be more divided than ever.

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This was Nujoma's chance to make peace with the peoples of South West Africa. He could never destroy South Africa but the people of South West Africa would destroy him.

THE MINISTER said that he understood that there would soon be military talks at the Joint Monitoring Commission on the establishment of a more permanent organisation to maintain peace along the border. It would be very important to avoid a vacuum. It would be possible for South Africa to have substantive talks and it was important to create the impression that the spirit of the Lusaka Agreement was still alive.

MINISTER DA LUZ said that Kito Rodrigues would like to speak to South Africa on the South West African question and also on economic questions. It might also be possible for the Minister to discuss certain aspects of Venancio da Moura's declaration with Kito. MINISTER DA LUZ said that he had been very impressed and affected by this meeting. He would convey the Minister's words to his President and to President Dos Santos.

MINISTER BOTHA replied that he would give the Cape Verde Islands some interim dates for possible discussions with Kito - if not at Cape Verde then at Ruacana - although the Minister would be prepared to travel to the Cape Verde Islands for such talks.

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