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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Plenary Meeting with President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique

PARTICIPANTS: The President
James A. Baker, III, Secretary of State
John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff
Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and
Deputy for National Security Affairs
Herman J. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for
African Affairs
Melissa Wells, U.S. Ambassador to Mozambique
John M. Ordway, Director, African Affairs, NSC
Staff (notetaker)

President Joaquim Chissano
Pascoal Mocumbi, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Jacinto Veloso, Minister of Cooperation
Abdul Osman, Minister of Finance
Francisco Madeira, Presidential Advisor
Florencio Infante, Presidential Advisor
Felisberto Lukanga, Assistant Minister of Foreign
Affairs
Valeriano Ferrao, Ambassador to the U.S.

DATE, TIME March 13, 1990, 11:30 a.m. - 12:10 p.m.
AND PLACE: Cabinet Room

The President: Let me give you an official welcome, Mr. President. We had a very pleasant talk in the Oval Office. Photographs were taken. Then, we talked about some subjects. We talked about north Africa, and our views on Libya. The President gave me a copy of the new constitution, and another article by a man whose opinion he values. We talked about his aspirations under the new constitution. We talked about our views on a multi-party system. He said this was an open issue. We talked about direct discussions with RENAMO -- we began this but didn't define any deals. (Ø)

I am really very pleased that you are here. We have great respect for your approach to your wonderful country. (U)

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The floor is yours. I guess I can thank you for bringing this weather from Mozambique. (U)

President Chissano: I have congratulated your protocol man on this. He said it was your responsibility. [Laughter] (U)

This invitation of yours was very timely. It came when we were taking very important decisions, which have to be supported by people like you and countries like yours. The main decision is how to bring an end to the war. We decided that now we should do everything to get seated with RENAMO directly and talk about peace. We had some difficulties in the past in getting them to accept principles. But the U.S. contribution was very important. When your seven points were presented, it said "U.S. Position." This led RENAMO to accept six of the seven points. Now, RENAMO is accepting part of that remaining point. I brought a letter they sent, and with your permission will read part. (Ø)

"We would like also to reaffirm that we are ready to enter into direct and meaningful negotiations for peace and national development for the people of Mozambique. It is for this reason that RENAMO is willing to negotiate directly with the government of the People's Republic of Mozambique. It is not our opinion to reject to negotiate for peace with the leaders of the government of the People's Republic of Mozambique." (Ø)

The President: Could you repeat that last portion, please? (U)

President Chissano: [re-reads last sentence of quotation] (U)

This is a new statement by RENAMO. It shows they are meeting part of point six. There is this, and the discussions going on about the revision of the constitution, together with discussion of what system to follow on the question of parties -- a one or a multiple-party system. This opens the way to go and sit down with RENAMO and talk. During the talks maybe we can get them to accept these principles they either don't understand or fear. We decided not to waste any more time, although we continue to insist that they address these principles, especially the peaceful and democratic process of change. We will not ask them to stop fighting before talks, but that will be an immediate aim. The talks will be about guarantees for their participation in political life. The form of that participation will be decided after the debate is over, and we will invite them to participate in that debate. We will be able to discuss how to end the war, how to achieve a ceasefire and how to guarantee it. (Ø)

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We don't want a temporary ceasefire, but the end of the war. We will discuss about their resettlement in society, and what guarantees there will be. They may require some other countries to guarantee this, but they don't need that. We have received thousands of them under the amnesty program, which was necessary to prepare the minds of our people for them. The workers are asking how can they accept and work with these killers? We have a lot of work to do. When the war is over, let us not have any rancor. (Ø)

There will be some things we can't discuss with them. One is changes in the constitution, which must be discussed by everybody, not just my group, or RENAMO's group. All should participate. (Ø)

Multiple parties or one party must be discussed by everybody. The electoral law can be discussed only on the basis of the constitution, and on the outcome of the discussions on the constitution. We may, however, discuss the electoral law with them when the time comes. Also, the qualifications to establish a political party. Algeria has done some things which could help avoid divisions, and overcome backwardness and tribal divisions, language and religious differences. This is the main problem. There are 20 parties in Algiers now. I don't know how many there might be in Mozambique. Mr. President, all freedoms have limits, or they can turn into anarchy. We have to look at what can be a party in Mozambique's situation. (Ø)

Then there are trade unions. We did not have them in the colonial days. Now we have them. The right of strike is in the draft constitution. There are now no laws to regulate strikes. (Ø)

Mr. President, all these questions are not just for discussion with RENAMO. There is the law on land tenure. These are laws which will have to take into account the constitution, which must first be adopted. (Ø)

I would ask you, Mr. President, to maintain your position, which has been very helpful. We don't ask you to support a party called FRELIMO, but what is valid for a truly democratic system. We want true democracy, where people participate in making decisions on their own governance, to use your word. (Ø)

We are moving ahead with dialogue, peace and constitutional changes for an improved, democratic life in our country. (Ø)

My second point is to thank you for the help we have been receiving, for the emergency aid we are receiving. We are getting \$65,000,000 from you this year for the population in

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need. You have also started giving a substantial amount for development. We regard this as a starting point, channeled to the private sector. We hope you will be more flexible in the future, since we need to rebuild the economy. You are providing good help for the private sector -- \$14,000,000. Combined with regional assistance, this is up to \$61,000,000. We thank you, and ask you to continue and to expand to new directions. (Ø)

For example, encourage the U.S. private sector to invest in Mozambique. To go from just aid to cooperation. We welcome cooperation in the economy, and want to see it in the cultural field also -- art, theatre, cinema and sports. We think this is very important. (Ø)

I should draw your attention to the fact that while we are moving toward peace, the problems in the first phase will be more complicated. The refugees will return. The RENAMO people will need jobs, land, clothing and food. Our emergency relief situation will be complicated in the first phase. We cannot avoid it, since we cannot continue the war. (Ø)

The President: The refugees are under RENAMO control, or outside the country, or both? (Ø)

President Chissano: Both. One million are in neighboring countries. They are not in RENAMO control. We are coordinating with the UN to feed and take care of them. In Mozambique, we have 1.6 million displaced persons, removed from their areas of origin. We also have some 3 million people who live in their places of origin, but are deprived of their belongings due to attacks or environmental problems. All of them are supported by external aid. A few are in pockets under the influence of RENAMO, which I don't think are the majority, but there are a good number of people in these areas. (Ø)

Due to the war, there has been lots of destruction. Schools, hospitals, bridges, factories, firms. All will need to be reconstructed. I joked with some representatives of some U.S. foundations in Maputo. I said you will help me, but I also said I would ask the President of the U.S. to draw up a Bush Plan. [laughter] Marshall is gone, so what we need now is a Bush Plan. (Ø)

Mr. President, I know the U.S. can't help us alone. We need to mobilize the world. The U.S. can help, but that is not enough. (Ø)

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Mr. President, I have some figure here which I would like to read to you. (U)

3,000 schools have been destroyed. (U)

900 health centers. (U)

36 boarding schools. (U)

44 farms and factories, including two big sugar factories, and ten tea factories. (U)

1000 shops. (Although they are "against communism," they have destroyed private property.) (Ø)

The President: All destroyed by war? (U)

President Chissano: The war consists of destruction. Bridges, power poles, power lines. We have power lines from Cabora Bassa in the central west to South Africa, and a line from South Africa to Maputo. These are two main targets. (Ø)

All this amounts to \$15 billion worth of losses. We are losing through the decline of exports and imports to South Africa, since the railroads are targets. Two railroads are paralyzed completely. (Ø)

My worry is that we will come to terms with RENAMO, but will they be able to stop the ravages? They have become accustomed to war and looting. We will have to continue to make efforts to defend the people, and use escort convoys for goods. You may want to think about this, and convince Congress to let you give us some help. (Ø)

The President: There are some legislative restrictions. These differences can be overcome if these negotiations happen. It is not a question of the Administration being less appreciative. We are. We have some Congressional problems. At some point, maybe we can make some progress. It will need progress on the negotiating front, though. (Ø)

President Chissano: We are trying to put the emphasis on civilian protection. For instance, the maize you are giving us won't get through without protection. (Ø)

The President: The problems you outline are tragic. I can understand (U)

President Chissano: If you allow me, perhaps I could make some specific requests. (Ø)

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We spoke about the democratic process. We have organized a discussion in our country, but it needs money. We would like to get some support to organize the discussion of the constitution, and to organize elections. To pay for the expenses of the electoral commission. (Ø)

Second, the process of peace, as we discuss with RENAMO, involved lots of travel, and a lot of expenses. If we finish quickly, it won't be too expensive. We asked Mugabe to fix a date for a meeting with RENAMO, after March 23 and Namibian independence. First, we want to try and talk in Malawi, privately and quietly. This is because the Kenyans have some very complicated behavior. We want to try some things of our own. We may involve them later. But we don't understand some of their behavior. The letter I read was kept from Mugabe for one month. (Ø)

Secretary Baker: Who had it? (Ø)

President Chissano: President Moi. (Ø)

Ambassador Wells: The second letter? (Ø)

President Chissano: The first letter. It was handed to Mugabe, but later an official from Kenya promised to go to meet with Mugabe and with me. He still hasn't turned up. Then, they say that Mozambique is delaying the talks. (Ø)

We would also like to ask your help for construction of some housing for university students. This is important since we have to hand back to the church institutions which were taken unlawfully from them. They have to be returned, but we can't do it without creating new problems, since students are now occupying the former seminaries. In the countryside, teachers are occupying priests' residences. The church used to be responsible for education, and we needed someplace to house teachers when we took it over. But it was wrong to take them, and we want to correct this, but we have to build housing for the teachers. We need housing for our students. There is only one university in Mozambique, in Maputo. Students come from far away, sometimes thousands of kilometers, and they need places to live. (Ø)

We would also like training for our cadres in the U.S., particularly in health, agriculture and management. (Ø)

The President: Graduate students? (Ø)

President Chissano: Yes. Undergraduates, too. But I was talking about graduates and post-graduates. (Ø)

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The President: You said health, agriculture and management? (U)

President Chissano: These are main areas. Another area is military training. (Ø)

The President: Do our requirements prevent officer training? (Ø)

Ambassador Cohen: Yes, it is against the law. (Ø)

The President: It is very much in our interest to see that this is changed. We do find this military training program beneficial, and for you as well. The underpinning of the training would be military, of course. But your officers would get a taste of how our country works, a taste of democracy. (Ø)

Ambassador Cohen: This prohibition dates from the days when Mozambique was considered to be Marxist. (Ø)

President Chissano: Regional (Ø)

Secretary Baker: Excuse me. If I could just clarify exactly what you were asking for. You mentioned housing, technical training, military assistance, and there was one other thing. (Ø)

The President: Organizing elections and the costs of the constitution, and travel to discuss the peace process. To pay for experts. (Ø)

Secretary Baker: Are you interested in financial or technical help for the constitutional process? (Ø)

President Chissano: Financial. We have had some contacts in the U.S. already on the technical side. (Ø)

On regional issues, we appreciate U.S. help on Namibian independence, and the changes in South Africa. We hope this can be continued, since we are very interested in peace and democracy in South Africa. We have been trying to help all these processes. During the discussions with the Angolans and the Cubans, we tried to help.

I myself have been in touch with P.W. Botha, when he was President of South Africa, and with F. W. de Klerk. We are very interested. South Africa without apartheid will be very important for development in our region, although we will still have to reduce our dependence. We want interdependence, but South Africa will be important for development in the area. We will work for good neighborliness with South Africa, and maintain contact with de Klerk. I have sent Minister Veloso there, beginning at the time of the discussion of the Nkomati agreement.

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We have also tried to convince the South African military side. They have been most stubborn. Now, however, we see some movement. Military assistance to RENAMO is very decreased, and we have no proof that it is continuing. But there are forces inside South Africa -- maybe the White Wolves, forces who are against de Klerk -- that are trying to help RENAMO.

The President: This is a good point for a break. I think that chef will be very angry with us if we don't show up. You and I, Mr. President, can go back into the Oval Office to wash up, while the rest go along to the White House. I'd like to continue this discussion over lunch, and talk about Angola and South Africa.

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