

7/11/78

Report on my trip...

1. First week ..

I arrived Oct. 12 and was met by RL and Frelimo. I had hoped to leave the following Monday, on the once-a-week flight to Rome, or at the latest the Monday after, Oct. 23. However it soon became clear that it would be impossible to leave even on Oct. 23.

On Sept. 23, there was the "Matola incident". RL had arrived a few days before but no one met him at the airport. When he went to Frelim's villas at Matola, outside Maputo, he was told by Leonel Andrade, the new DRET Ambassador to Mozambique, that he had to hand over his passport and that he would be arrested. (JRH, MA and RR were overseas). He refused and when he saw friends in Frelim's ~~presence~~ he was told that X Mari etc. had accused him (RL) of being a traitor and had asked Frelim to arrest him. Frelimo was instead investigating the total situation. RL then handed over a report to Frelim accusing MA, JRH and RR of being traitors, with documentation for claims.

RL then reacted in a rage. He organised an ambush at Matola with his "security group" of Frelim militants, on Oct. 23. They surrounded Andrade and other supporters of MA, including MA's wife. They told them they were under arrest. However, Leonel Andrade who knows judo, told the others to run away and tried to grab the machete carried by one of RL's X "security" Mario. Mario knew karate and in the fight, Mario slashed the side of Andrade's face, broke his arm and fingers with the machete. It came close to killing him but he is now ok, with a big scar which will go with plastic surgery. The others were held under arrest, tied up and slapped around a bit. However Mozambique police soon released them and arrested Mario. The two groups were then separated into two houses in Maputo, and Matola placed under police guard. Both groups were allocated police and security men.

It was a stupid act by RL carried out in one of his blind rages, when he loses all control.

MA immediately returned from New York as his wife was in a nervous state and he also saw the political advantage from the big error that RL committed. RL was in fact as guilty as hell under Mozambican law, for conspiracy to commit murder.

This was all before the first message from AF to JRH. We sent that to RL on Sept. 30, and he immediately informed Frelimo. This put a new complexion on the situation. Top priority was to get Horta back. Frelimo also decided to get all the Frelim leaders back to hear all accusations and to decide what to do about RL's crime. Roque soon came back from the UN, while Jose Luis Guterres, Ambassador to Angola, arrived back the next week. Abilio was waiting for RL to settle some questions he had promised to settle in Mozambique, but of course this was very difficult after the Matola incident.

Things remained from Sept. 23 to October 12 when I arrived in suspension. When I came I found RL ~~literally~~ literally off his brain, in a state of extreme nervous tension. He was raging like a lunatic. Guterres ('Lagu) was very ~~calm~~ calm and clear sighted, but also very tense. Lagu and myself both tried to calm Rogerio, but with little effect. On the second or third day I was there, Rogerio went into one of his rages, in the hearing of Frelimo security comrades, shouting at the top of his voice how he was going to kill Mari, Horta and all of them. Not surprisingly, the next day he was placed under

house arrest by Frelimo. Things looked very bad and I just hoped that Abilio would be able to talk some reason into the raging RL. However there was one bright spot: on October 19 Horta arrived from New York at the request of Mari. There was no danger then that he could now support AF. Abilio however was delayed and did not arrive until October 23. It became clear from then on that Frelimo, after studying all the evidence basically supported the accusations against Horta and Mari. Abilio took control, with Lugu, and RL returned to "normal" -- no more stupid rages. Frelimo asked me to stay to take part in a meeting in which both sides would present their accusations and hopefully some resolution would result. However the meeting was delayed until October 28 as two top level Frelimo Ministers were not free until then.

2. The all-in meeting

as "presidium"

On Oct. 28, two Mozambican Ministers, myself and RL, Abilio and Lugu (on one side of room) and Mari, Horta and Roque on the other began the meeting. Mari opened to put their accusations which consisted of one main point: an attempt to link "Operation Skylight" with "Operation Isaac" (which was the plan to arrest all Mari group). They also stressed the "criminal attack" at Matola and demanded arrest of the counter-revolutionaries RL and Abilio as responsible for the attack.

Although RL and Abilio had prepared a very detailed series of accusations they both went into rages at being accused of being "counter-revolutionaries". RL with much chest beating (literally!) went through his role in the counter-offensive etc. Abilio could hardly speak he was so enraged ... it was only Lugu who present a calm and devastating attack on Mari and Horta.

After more of the same, Frelimo then summed up main accusations: gross indiscipline to the Frelimo CC and treason. They took the indiscipline question first. Abilio had cooled down a bit and made a series of accusations of which Frelimo already had the proof. The main points were: Mari group had set up a "mini CC" in Maputo, establishing the "external front" as autonomous from the CC, and second, that they had begun "negotiations" with the Indonesians against CC decision and without any control, with signs of preparing betrayal. Frelimo didn't take long to dismiss the Skylight-Isaac link, and to show their agreement with these charges against Mari etc.. They then went on to ask the causes for this gross indiscipline but RL and AA continued to provide further evidence against MA etc., until finally AA mentioned that Mari was "ambitious", wanting to become President of the Republic of the External Front. Frelimo agreed and the heat was on Mari. Horta had cracked earlier, after evidence of his contacts with Indonesians etc, and said he had "objectively" betrayed because of this and asked to be sent to a "re-education camp" (!) Mari made eventually a "self-criticism". But this was on Sunday afternoon. Frelimo Ministers had to go to another meeting and so things were wrapped up quickly. Frelimo said there was clear evidence of at least "objective" treason. The question was then posed who would be the liaison between Frelimo in Maputo and Frelimo and us. Frelimo said they could not obviously accept Mari, that also Rogerio was guilty of a social crime and was unacceptable. They did not want Abilio as he was indisciplined also, but this was as of "Oct. 29" although they said they might change their view later.

In fact they were saying they wanted Lugu as the contact, but it took a while before this logical conclusion came to the others. Finally Roque proposed Lugu and all agreed.

I should mention that Frelimo also found all guilty of indiscipline, particularly as RL and Lugu had signed the document on negotiations last April. Frelimo were also very critical of them all for their egos (Lugu is the only one who has signs of modesty). Second, I made a statement based on our experiences concerning censorship of CC statements after my visit to Maputo last April, and of the order from Mari to send all materials from AF through Maputo. This was particularly devastating and was influential in Frelimo's view.

3. The anti-climax

After the meeting ended, both groups shook hands (AA, RL, ~~KCM~~ Lugu, JRH, MA and RR) and walked out of building together. They spoke briefly to the assembled militants of both groups who had been waiting since Sat. morning. It was planned that the militants should also present their views, but as Frelimo ministers had to go to another meeting they did not have chance. Lugu joined us at the presidium and all others made statements -- supposedly to be "self-criticisms" by MA and JRH but in fact none was delivered. The six Frelim leaders (?) then went to a meeting at one of their houses to work out what to do at the UN. I went home to sleep!

On October 30, I was visited by the Frelimo liaison men, who told me, to my great surprise that the six leaders had decided that Horta, Abilio and Olimpio Branco (a Frelim militant to be from now on Frelim rep. at UN) would leave that night for the United Nations. I got him to drop me at the home of RL, Abilio etc.. I told them I thought they were crazy sending Horta to the UN to give him the chance to betray. They stooped me and said they had taken "collective responsibility". I saw ~~the~~ Mozambican Minister soon after and he was furious, said Frelimo had taken risks getting Horta back, now they were going to give him the chance to betray. He said they were all ambitious etc.. I could only agree. That night, fortunately (or was it arranged) the plane to Rome was delayed for 24 hours. I had a meeting with the Six to discuss situation here, what to do with Santos Wes etc.. and how to handle AF betrayal. I played it cool, to judge what was happening. In fact, it was Mari and Horta who did all the talking. Horta even said that we should not attack AF as a traitor but only as someone who had wanted a neo-colonial solution!

I should mention that in the morning, Rogerio asked my view of a proposal made by Horta (after they had agreed he go to the UN), in which H Horta proposed that after the UN Horta divorce his pregnant wife in Maputo, go to Australia, marry one of his girlfriends, get the right to stay and work under "our supervision (ie CFA" in Sydney!!!! I was dumbfounded, particularly as Rogerio put it forward as a possibly serious possibility!

Mari made an interesting comment during the discussion on Mon. night. He said that we should say AF was a traitor because "he released the traitor Xavier". Then looked a round and smiled! I thought it was strange and that night it suddenly dawned on me what was happening. Mari was in fact saying that E

in fact that AA, RL and Lugu were traitors because they were letting the traitor JRH escape. I didnt sleep that night thinking what to do.

4. THE ANTI-ANTI-CLIMAX

I decided when I went around the Tuesday (October 31) I would break off personal relations with all of them and make a very hard attack. They sent a car at 10.30 am as arranged (so I could read the telex from Andrew) and I found the Six in meeting. I didnt shake hands and asked immediately to see Lugu. I then told Lugu that I was breaking personal relations, that I considered them all traitors for letting Horta go to the UN, that they had no right to make that decision (as only the CC can let a traitor go) and that they were setting up a new "mini-CC of the Republic of the External Front", they were all ego-trippers who thought they were great men, "veterans" etc.. Lugu said he had opposed Horta going but had been outvoted. He agreed Horta could not go that night. We both then rushed out the house with the other five open-mouthed. I was dropped off at my house and Lugu went to see Frelimo, who told him it was for Fretelin to resolve.

A half hour later Rogerio sent a message asking me to come immediately. I sent back a note addressed "Your Excellency" and said I would only recognise Lugu as contact. Then a few minutes later Abilio arrived. I addressed him as "Your Excellency", sat him down, and with the Frelimo security man listening launched the bitterest attack I've even given to anyone, as Abilio is politically the strongest and I could understand his actions. He ended up bursting in tears, said he accepted criticism and that RL was also in tears... An hour or so later Lugu came and took me to the house where I (calmly) reiterated to them all what I had told Lugu and AA... They agreed Horta must not go and said they had acted "emotionally" in accepting Horta etc. in the name of "unity". Horta (and AA and Olimpio) did not go on the plane to the UN (which had been adjourned discussing EF until December). I got the plane, landed in Rome, found that it was a holiday, and on the Thursday found all flights booked for a week ahead to Sydney. I then went on Friday to Hong Kong, and almost got stranded there on Saturday until I bullied the British Airways guy so much he squeezed me on board a flight. I arrived here on Sunday last!

5. SITUATION NOW ON "DIPLOMATIC FRONT"

It seems Abilio and Olimpio left for UN yesterday (6/11/78) and Horta is still in Maputo. Other than that I do not know what is happening. The big question is why the "anti-climax" -- letting Horta go after only a few hours before they were raging at him (with some justice) as a traitor? What does it mean that they became "emotional"? Here are a few tentative observations: 1) AA, RL and Lugu are politically inexperienced. Fretelin was not, before the invasion, really a party. They have no "party experience", including how to handle people like MA, JRH etc. For them unity means all together and no rocking boat. 2) they all (except for the moment Lugu) have complexes of being "great men" and "veterans" who because of what they've done in the past cannot be criticised. 3) they are all old pals. RL I am sure had to go into a rage to think of arresting/killing MA, Horta etc. Once there was some chance of "reconciliation" then all the old pals were back together! 4) they've all been under psychological strain, and wanted to get down to work of exposing AF. 5) the life has been easy.. Frelimo has accepted them as Ministers, given them good living conditions, access to top leaders etc.. This has gone to their heads. They think they are the greatest, have no modesty etc..

Hopefully, the anti-anti-climax was a big enough shock and the knowledge that Fret

Frelimo was totally disillusioned with them, will mean they will seek help from Frelimo in getting some "party experience" and guidance on how to handle these questions. But this is more ~~and~~ hope than a certainty.

The best thing that can be said is that Horta and Mari have been neutralised and will not be able to support AF. Nothing can be worse than it has been in past, and I'm sure Abilio will organise publications etc. and begin basic political education, as he did with very limited resources in Portugal. Lugu is a good comrade, but also has a complex about being the "junior" and also not being a veteran (altho in fact he was at the age of 18 one of the underground group before founding of Fretilin and was a founder). He also has a good political training (but no "party experience"). The most positive thing is that there will be an expansion of the "leadership group". Olimpio will be an Ambassador and therefore part of it. In addition, Augusto Yap will be a new Ambassador and will join the decision-making (he was horrified at decision to let Horta go) and maybe Estansilau. But I don't expect great things and there will be a continuing crisis. Moreover, they have a very autocratic attitude to the militants. When I suggested to RL that the militants should be given the opportunity to express their views and criticise the leaders he said very surprised: "Do you ~~ik~~ mean that the militants have the right to criticise the leaders?" !!!!!

6. SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR

As I hope you know, all the messages Turiscai has sent to AF since Sept. 30 have been messages prepared by Rogerio, as false messages from Horta, aimed at getting more information from AF and also at keeping him occupied while things were worked out (Horta back to Maputo, strategy for UN etc). It has been a very successful operation. AF has been told that "Horta" has "complete confidence" in Turiscai and us all -- and AF in his last message expressed his confidence in "Horta's" decision. But more on this later. Also he has spelt out very clearly that Nicolau Lobato is very aware of his ~~exit~~ plot but not perhaps all details. Also clear that NL and revolutionary CC members in full control in all other areas, with many of the anti-communists already arrested, dead, or escaped to Indonesians. In fact, we can assume almost all the main AF group - out of action. "Horta" in his last long message told AF that the Indonesians were being very hard-line and wanted his surrender. AF complained Indonesians very strong encirclement of his area of North-Centre Sector and he couldn't get out to contact his other supporters elsewhere. He says he doesn't want to surrender but in almost panic appeals to "Horta" to contact Indonesians for peace.

He also said that he (AF) has all the long-range transmitters and that NL etc have only small Portuguese radios.

7 CONTACTING NICOLAU LOBATO ETC

We have identified these small radios as Recal back-packs which have no long range. AW will fill you in on details. He has the partial list of frequencies that Frelimo has supplied of Recals they have which were used by Portuguese and are ~~xxxxxx~~ hopefully the same as those being used in ET. The re-establishment of contact with NL is our most important task now. AW will fill you in on details of the difficulties this imposes.

There is one difficulty, once we identify on what frequencies he is operating:

Frelimo claims they have evidence that while Nicolau Lobato cannot talk to us on 5270, he monitors all messages on 5270 (ie he can receive on that channel). That means he has heard all the false messages including the assurance from "Horta" that we are in support of Horta and AF! I have a tape with Rogerio's voice and we'll be able to use that as identification .. but still may be problems. Therefore, Turiscai should not go out any more to contact AF except in the unlikely possibility that there is another false "Horta" message. We also should remember that as we are supposed to be trusted by Horta, the tone should (if there is another false message) change, so no more "comrade" but only "brother" etc..) !!!

8. HANDLING AF EXPOSURE

We expect soon to have a public statement from Maputo exposing AF, 'Operation Skylight' etc.. Hopefully, we'll have time to alert the people such as Ken Fry etc.. beforehand. We will organise a broadcast on 3804 at RM time (AW will fill you in). Turiscai (renamed Kailaco) will have to go out as soon as possible with material of public statement etc (including in Portuguese) to send on 5270, in the hope that President NL will be listening and to give AF a big setback. You will probably get an angry response from AF of course. Unless it is decided that Turiscai-Kailaco should not be the voice (to keep AF guessing), cde Turiscai-Kailaco can feel free to abuse AF and tell him that he has been tricked! Say goodbye traitor! Tell him all messages from "Horta" in fact were prepared by Rogerio Lobato. It will be a big psychological blow. The broadcast on 5270 should be repeated at other times during the same day --not just at the usual time in case NL is listening them also. The security will not expect it and of course it should be done from different spots. In addition of course we hope the news will get through to NL etc from Radio Mozambique, Radio Australia etc..

9/ HANDLING WES, SANTOS and Scott

I saw in Maputo, from the files of Mari that were captured by Rogerio, a copy of a telex sent from ~~XXXXX~~ AA 33570 TRACT -- the telex of Trade Action, a subsidiary of Community Aid Abroad in Melbourne. The message was dated 7/7/78, to Mari and signed "David (Scott)". It was in fact from Chris Santos and gave the full text of a message sent to NL by NL of 5/7/78 in code. In other words at least since early # July, Wes has been taping messages, sending them to Santos, who has been giving them to David Scott to send to Mari in Maputo. This spy network was established after Santos visit to the Mari group in Maputo. It followed our request to the CC to clarify whether we should do as Mari requested and censor messages and only send them messages in code passed through Mari. As you know the CC told us to do as before and after that all messages were marked "directly to .." in other words not to be sent first to Maputo.

Santos is to be dismissed by all -- Mari even said he was a thief. He has received the following money from Mari/Horta: March 78 : \$US 500 from Horta in NY ; April 78 : \$US 400 from Horta via Scott ; April 78 : \$US 3000 I brought for him from Maputo ; May 78 : \$US 2500 from Maputo after his trip (not including costs of fares) -- including \$700 to ~~purchase~~ buy a film from ABC of Timor and \$1500 to produce an alternative to East Timor News!!! He of course has done nothing with this \$US 6400 -- it has all gone, he claims.

He also got \$Aust. 2000 from the Australia Party in Melbourne to get Arsenio Horta out of Dili to Australia !!! In six months he has got over \$8000 Australian -- and is demanding more. The person is a confidence trickster -- he has also tricked Mari etc., who were desperate. He is guilty of fraud against the Australia Party. The way to handle him is to tell him with a letter from Fretilin (all including Horta/Mari) that he is dismissed and if he says one word, then all his fraud will be publicly exposed. I don't think there will then be any trouble with this rat.

As for Wes: I think that first, just before the public exposure of AF, he ~~must~~ should be shown the first "Saturno" message and told the content of the rest. Tell him all are now together again on the external front, united in their determination to fight AF betrayal, and there has been "self-criticism" from all of them. Tell him the full story of Mari's attempts at "censorship" and that we know of the Wes-Santos-Scott-Mari spy network and that Mari has told us and apologised and made self-criticism. Ask him to not rat, to support the CC and not to ~~xxx~~ support AF.

That is my view -- I will let you know the day before the public exposure. You can then talk to him and others (such as Laurentino) and get Wes to phone me.

Of course, you will have to judge how to handle Wes. The main thing is to try, even by being very sympathetic and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ conciliatory, to stop him publicly supporting AF. That is very important -- our main strategy must be to stop anyone from supporting AF. Other things can be settled later.

I do not know how much Wes knows already -- Santos has the Flexa code and may have told him a lot. But maybe he is an innocent victim. I think you should also at the same time as you fill him in on the above, expose Santos to him -- and quote the money he has embezzled.

AW will give his views and our old man his own later ... but you will have to judge on the spot...

As for Scott, it is a bit tricky. He is a big wheel, certainly with links with security cops here. However, he would be very embarrassed if we published his use of the CAA telex! I expect he'll keep quite when he understands how much we know.

Well that is about all for the moment, and hopefully the agony will soon be over and everything out in the open re: AF and we can then get it out of the way and start to mobilise against the sell-out and the deals Fraser etc are making. Hopefully, there will be a big improvement of work coming out of Maputo.

They have very good friends in Frelimo -- I was tremendously impressed it is really a marxist party and their leaders have a very high consciousness. An African Cuba but much more independent of China and Soviet. CPA now has very good relations!

Finally, I hope cde. Turiscai can survive the boredom and the miseries of Darwin's wet. AW will give some views and encouragement etc.... Thanks from all here and in Maputo. It is a very difficult time and historic turning point -- a second, real revolution inside and hopefully on the "diplomatic front" of DRET.

We'll keep you both informed -- must end to go to telex .. yours D