

PREM 19/3433

Confidential Filing

Visit to the UK by Life President Banda.

MALAWI

July 1979

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
				See Relations / Int Sit			
23.7.79		22.4.85					
24.7.79		27.5.81					
7/11/79		26.5.88					
14.9.79		13.6.88					
5.11.79		7.5.91					
2.3.81							
15.6.81							
17.7.81							
20.8.81							
27.8.81							
22.2.81							
15.1.85							
22.2.85							
15.2.85							
6.3.85							
7.3.85							
18.3.85							
18.4.85							
4.5.88							

CLOSED

PREM

19/3433

CONFIDENTIAL



file

*MEETING RECORD
cc MASTER*

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

17 June 1991

Dear Sir,

CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER BY PRESIDENT BANDA
OF MALAWI: 17 JUNE

Thank you for your letter of 14 June with briefing for the Prime Minister's meeting with President Banda, which took place this afternoon. The President was accompanied by Miss Cecilia Kadzamira (the official hostess), Mr W.B. Deleza (Minister of Labour), Dr. Ntaba (Minister of Health), Mr John Tembo (Party Treasurer) and High Commissioner Kandiero.

President Banda is indeed frail and my heart sank at the beginning of the meeting when it looked as if he was not registering what was said to him. But he actually took in more than at first appeared and, with a little help from his (rather reticent) ministers we got through.

The main points made by the President were:

- Malawi had been hailed by the FAO as the number one country in Africa.
- Four to five years ago the IMF/IBRD had described Malawi as a star performer on the basis of Malawi's reserves. Now Malawi's reserves were seven times that level and still growing. The price of cotton and tobacco was going up. Maize was doing well. So were tea, coffee and sugar. The President had had five Ministers of Agriculture but none of them had done the job properly, so he had taken on the job himself. He was the country's number one farmer.
- He was enormously grateful for everything Britain had done to help Malawi, in the medical field, and education and in development. Britain had done more than he could express gratitude for.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

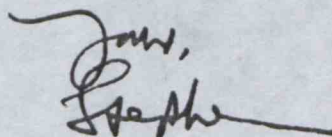
- He hoped the Prime Minister would visit Malawi as Mrs Thatcher had done. She had made a public speech praising Malawi and saying how she had been misled before her visit.
- President de Klerk of South Africa was much more liberal than any of his predecessors. Banda had been struck by his statement saying that apartheid, like communism, was something that was not acceptable inside South Africa.
- De Klerk was under pressure from diehard Afrikaaners but was standing up to them. De Klerk was following the policy of South Africans of British descent i.e. a liberal policy. (This led to a brief historical diversion about the liberal policy of Cecil Rhodes when he was Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. For wider strategic reasons Lloyd George (who was very close to Smuts) had allowed the Boers to pursue a more repressive policy without complaint. Fortunately, even the Boers were now changing).

The Prime Minister said he hoped that there would be a constitution in South Africa to determine the way forward. We wanted to be able to remove all sanctions and to bring South Africa back into the community of nations. President Banda commented that he had been pleasantly surprised by the lack of bitterness in Nelson Mandela.

The Prime Minister asked whether President Banda would go to CHOGM in Harare. President Banda said he would definitely go. Her Majesty The Queen would be there and so he must be there too. It would be an unforgivable crime not to go when The Queen was so near at hand. The Prime Minister said he hoped we would make some progress on South Africa before and at the meeting and that other African countries would take a similarly enlightened view to that of Malawi.

Elsewhere in the conversation, which was not very structured, Mr Deleza described the problems which Malawi faced, particularly because of the pressure put on her by the one million displaced people from Mozambique who had crossed over to Malawi. Nonetheless, Malawi was self-sufficient in food. Dr. Ntaba commented that Malawi was trying to develop an industrial sector, particularly in textiles but they needed help.

The Prime Minister said he was pleased that progress had been made on forfeitures. I am not sure that the President registered the point, but his ministers will have done.


J.S. Wall

Simon Gass Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL



CCPC
[Signature]

Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

RESTRICTED COVERING CONFIDENTIAL

London SW1A 2AH

14 June 1991

[Handwritten signature]

Prime Minister
[Handwritten signature]

Malawi : President Banda's Meeting with the Prime Minister,
17 June,

The Prime Minister has agreed to receive President Banda at 1500 hours on 17 June. President Banda is in the UK for one month on a private visit. He is being received by HM The Queen on 14 June. Mrs Chalker and Mr Lang called on him on 29 May and 11 June respectively.

President Banda is now well into his nineties (his precise age is unknown). He maintains his grip on power in Malawi but he is becoming increasingly frail. President Banda will not be able to discuss technical issues at much length. Certain topics, e.g. Mozambique, were covered in Mrs Chalker's meeting with President Banda and need not be raised again. Our objectives in this meeting are accordingly:

- To honour an old friend of Britain
- To express support for Malawi's firm commitment to economic reform;
- To welcome progress made in Malawi so far on human rights and forfeitures;
- To enlist Malawian support for constructive discussion of South Africa at CHOGM in Harare.

Banda has given Malawi 26 years of stability but the price has been autocratic rule, extreme poverty and isolation. With no new ideas coming from the top or permitted from others, Malawi is stagnating.

Malawi has one of the lowest per capita incomes in Africa, estimated at \$180 in 1989. Its small, landlocked economy is based on agriculture, which accounts for 40% of GDP (1988) and 90% of exports, and supports 90% of the population.

/The

RESTRICTED COVERING CONFIDENTIAL



RESTRICTED COVERING CONFIDENTIAL

The high rate of population growth (average: 3.8% per annum 1980-87) has exacerbated already serious pressure on the land. Malawi's World Bank/IMF backed economic reform programme, although successful in macro-economic terms, has not reduced poverty.

Bilateral matters

Britain has been Malawi's principal bilateral aid donor since independence (over £30 million provided in 1990, including debt relief and Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) finance.) This reflects not only historical links but also Malawi's stance in being one of the few African countries to support dialogue with South Africa and to eschew the usual "African socialist" economic policies. We aim, through programme aid, to support the economic reform programme. In addition we are helping the Malawians to deal with the burden of about 940,000 Mozambican refugees. Malawi deserves more credit than it gets internationally for the hospitable way in which it has coped with an influx equivalent to over 10% of its population.

Amongst the negative features of Malawi are forfeitures. Since 1970 about 30 British nationals (of Asian origin), suspected of currency or other economic offences, have had their assets seized under the Malawi Forfeitures Act without any opportunity for legal redress. A compromise administrative settlement was agreed last year when Mr Fairweather went to Malawi as the Prime Minister's emissary. Malawi has been slow to implement the agreement but one case has now been settled and a mechanism appears to be in place for gradual settlement of all cases. Problems may yet arise over individual compensation claims.

We, together with our EC partners have also taken up with the Malawian government its human rights record. We have offered to help Malawi in fulfilling its human rights obligations. There have recently been real signs of improvement. All cases of detention without trial are being reviewed and so far 88 detainees have been released. Both forfeitures and human rights are neuralgic issues for President Banda and are best mentioned in a positive way.

The Prime Minister may wish to:

- Welcome Malawi's firm commitment to economic reform; admire Malawi's generous support of Mozambican refugees;
- Express UK willingness to continue to support Malawi in these efforts.

/- Recent

RESTRICTED COVERING CONFIDENTIAL



RESTRICTED COVERING CONFIDENTIAL

- Recent releases of detainees are very welcome. Understand review of cases continues. Such a demonstration of tolerance can only help Malawi's international standing.

- We are very pleased that the forfeitures business is now being cleared up. We hope that the matter will soon be settled entirely.

The Prime Minister will wish to know that, in response to an agreement Malawi has just reached with the World Bank on the next stage of the economic reform programme, we are about to announce a pledge of £5m programme aid. This is half last year's amount - partly because of concerns about human rights and good government. We do not suggest that the Prime Minister raise this. If by chance President Banda asks, the Prime Minister may like to reply that he is glad that agreement has been reached with the World Bank about the Agricultural Sector Adjustment Credit and that he believes that the Minister of Overseas Development hopes to announce a positive response shortly

South Africa

Alone among Southern African states, Malawi has, since independence, retained full diplomatic relations with South Africa and, while condemning apartheid, has pursued a policy of contact and dialogue.

The Prime Minister may wish to say:

- We have long agreed that change in South Africa can best be brought about by contact and dialogue. De Klerk has opened way. Vital that negotiations not delayed by violence.

- Sanctions should go. Transition needs economic underpinning; contracts should be renewed with sports which have achieved racial integration;

- We hope that these issues can be discussed in constructive way at CHOGM. UK would value Malawi's support. Do you plan to attend?

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

HIS EXCELLENCY NGWAZI DR H KAMUZU BANDA

Life President of the Republic of Malawi. Life President of the Malawi Congress Party.

Gives his date of birth as 1905: but it could have been earlier 1885; birthplace Kasungu: a Chewa.

After early schooling in the Kasungu area, he left Nyasaland, not to return for almost 40 years. He first worked as a medical orderly in Rhodesia and then walked to South Africa where he became first an underground water-boy and later an interpreter in the gold mines. With assistance from the African Methodist Episcopal Church he travelled to the USA in 1925 and attended Wilberforce Academy, Ohio. He then embarked on a degree course in history and political science at the Universities of Indiana and Chicago where he graduated in 1931. He entered medical college in Nashville, Tennessee and graduated as a doctor in 1937. Travelled to Britain and obtained further medical diplomas from Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities, becoming an Elder of the Church of Scotland.

He practised as a doctor in the north of England, then in Willesden, London from 1941-53. During this period he associated with other African political leaders and was outspoken against Federation. In 1953 he set up medical practice in Ghana. In 1958, following correspondence with Chipembere and other political leaders in Nyasaland he returned to Blantyre and was elected President-General of the Nyasaland African Congress. 1959 detained under the state of emergency. 1960 released and became President-General of the Malawi Congress Party and in 1961 Minister of Natural Resources and Local Government. After leading Malawi delegations through successive steps to self-government and dismantling of the Federation, he became, in July 1964, first Prime Minister of Independent Malawi and in 1966 President of the Republic of Malawi, becoming Life President in 1970.

President Banda led Malawi to independence, and has exercised autocratic power within Malawi ever since. As the only Malawian of his own generation who made good in the White Man's World, he bridges the gap between traditional Africa and the modern world. In some ways he is like an African Chief, and draws on the respect due to his age. He knows his people, their limitations and their needs, and he expects and commands the obedience which the people pay to their chief. But at the same time he is a politician, establishing and using his power through the techniques of modern African politics. He possesses the intellectual and administrative ability to handle complicated detail.

President Banda has taken a different path from many of his fellow African leaders, especially through his advocacy of the policy of dialogue with South Africa. If this has earned him the enmity of other black African leaders, he has lashed back with outspoken criticisms of them; he has prided himself for his pragmatism and realism. In recent years he has come closer to his neighbours. Malawi recognised the Mugabe Government immediately after the elections and has opened Missions in Harare, Maputo and Dar-es-Salaam. He remains firmly anti-Communist.

A man who, by any standards, has done a great service to his people, he is proud, intolerant and ruthless. His enmity is formidable and he can be cruel, and these unpleasant traits in his character were deepened by the revolt of the six Ministers in 1964, which made him determined to root out the slightest sign of opposition.

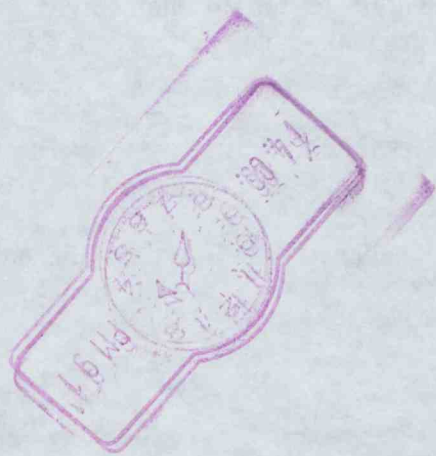
CONFIDENTIAL

President Banda knows Britain well and keeps himself closely informed of all that goes on there. His State Visit in April 1985 was a great success. He was made an honorary GCB after The Queen's visit to Malawi in 1979. During a month-long private visit to Britain in June 1988, President Banda called on HM The Queen, HRH The Prince of Wales, the Prime Minister and other members of the government. It was his first overseas visit since the State Visit in 1985 and reiterated the close personal ties President Banda enjoys with Britain. He supports the Commonwealth ideal, mainly because The Queen is its Head, and has chaired Commonwealth meetings. He attended the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting at Delhi in November 1983, but has not attended subsequent meetings.

With advancing years, he shows increasingly an old man's weaknesses for quick results, a distaste for bad news and for rambling on about the heroic past. There is no obvious successor in sight; this is a matter of his deliberate choice and judgement on the (sensible) grounds that a designated successor would be the target of all rivals. On the other hand, he had done his best to secure smooth succession by steering through clear constitutional provision for it, and as far as possible conditioning Army and Police Chiefs to regard themselves as guardians of the Constitution, not principals, and creating an influential and exclusive class of Malawians with an interest in maintaining the status quo.

For feminine company he relies on Miss Cecilia Kadzamira. Her Clan and that of the Tembos, both extensive, are closely interwoven.

The President is addressed as "Your Excellency", not President Banda or Dr Banda.



CONFIDENTIAL

L P R

PAUL TONY STEVEN KANDIERO

Malawi High Commissioner at London since 1990.

Born 21 March 1940 Nsanje District

After leaving school in 1965 he joined the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation. He was appointed General Manager in 1980 and held the post until he was appointed Malawi High Commissioner to Harare in 1988. He obtained an M. Phil in Management from the Management College at Henley in 1980.

He created a good impression on Ministers and Officials during his introductory calls in London.

He is married with five children.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

MISS CECILIA TAMANDA KADZAMIRA

Official hostess.

Born Dedza 1937; the present generation of her family have produced several extremely able members.

Trained as a nurse in Rhodesia. When President Banda returned to Nyasaland in 1958 and opened a surgery in Blantyre, she worked for him. Since then she has been private nurse, personal secretary and official hostess to the President.

Highly intelligent and probably ambitious. Elegant and charming, she performs her role with dignity. Since she makes appointments for, and passes messages to, the President, she has considerable indirect influence. As the President grows older, she plays an increasing role in public affairs, apparently in her own right. Engages in some business ventures. Uncertain what her role will be when the President leaves the scene. She and her uncle, John Tembo (qv), might still be at the top, although there is little tradition in Malawi of a woman leader. And President Banda stated publicly in July 1987 that she had no political ambitions, thus apparently scratching her from the race. Not a woman to be crossed.

Takes a great interest in recruiting staff for, and the general functioning of, Kamuzu Academy.

A great admirer, like President Banda (qv), of the Royal Family and British traditions. Accompanied President Banda to Britain in 1988 for month-long private visit.

Unmarried. Adviser to CCAM. Her 7 brothers and sisters are very influential, including Principal Secretary Community Services, Principal Chancellor College.

TEMBO, JOHN ZENAS UNGAPAKE

Treasurer General and Member, National Executive Committee, Malawi Congress Party. Chairman of the Council of the University of Malawi and of Blantyre Press and Printing Company.

Born 1932, Dedza. Ngoni/Chewa.

Educated Blantyre Secondary School; Roma University College, Basutoland 1955-58; UCRN (Salisbury), (Dip Ed) 1959.

Teacher, Dedza Secondary School 1959; Assistant Head, Kongwe Secondary School 1960; MP (Dedza) 1961; Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Finance 1963; Minister of Finance 1964; Minister of Trade and Industry 1969. Governor of the Reserve Bank 1971-April 1984. Chairman of Malawi/Mozambique Joint Security Commission. Accompanied President Banda to Britain in June 1988.

The sole member of Banda's Independence Cabinet to remain at the top. He owes this success to high ability, a ruthless streak, and great skill in handling the President. He now has great depth of experience in government, business and Party. His manipulative skills have ensured that many important positions are now occupied by his protégés. Although he is not a member of the government, Hon Tembo, as he is called, is consulted a all important matters. Without doubt he is the leading contender to succeed Banda. But he is feared rather than

CONFIDENTIAL

trusted by other Malawians, and could have difficulty operating a system which relies on affection as well as repression, and which is undergoing internal and external pressure for reform.

Reportedly difficult to work for and effective, rather than inspired as a public speaker, he is nevertheless charming and articulate in private, shrewd and alert in his observations and grasp of issues. His pragmatism appeals to the business world and he enjoys a tycoon's life-style (but, despite his many estates and directorships, he is reputed to be heavily in debt).

Enjoys his frequent visits to London and is well-disposed to Britain, but has nothing like Banda's emotional attachment.

Divorced in 1967; re-married in Lesotho 1969; present wife good company and equally ambitious. An uncle of Miss C T Kadzamira (qv).



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

7 May 1991

VISIT TO THE U.K. BY PRESIDENT BANDA
OF MALAWI

Thank you for your letter of 2 May.

The Prime Minister looks forward to
seeing President Banda at 1500 on Monday
17 June.

(J. S. WALL)

Simon Gass, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



Foreign & Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

RESTRICTED

2 May 1991

Prime Minister

you could see him at 1500 on 17 June. Agree?

Dear Stephen,

Visit to the UK by President Banda of Malawi

President Banda of Malawi plans to pay a private visit to the UK arriving on 18 May. He would like to call on the Prime Minister as well as HM The Queen.

This visit is not altogether welcome. President Banda is in his nineties, in poor health (he had a stroke last year) and is no longer capable of prolonged serious discussion. His regime, though strictly pursuing an IMF monitored economic reform programme, is autocratic and has a poor record on human rights.

Nonetheless, Banda is the Commonwealth's longest serving leader, he has great affection for Britain (and for the Royal Family in particular), and, in view of his age and health, this will probably be his last visit to the UK. Malawi is one of the world's poorest countries and is a major recipient of British aid. During the days of Rhodesian UDI and subsequently, Banda, alone in the region, supported our policies especially that of contact and dialogue with South Africa. Malawi's support would still be of use to us at CHOGM. There are, moreover, signs that international pressure on Malawi, eg on human rights matters, is starting to bring about change. By welcoming the recent release of 87 detainees and looking forward to further progress on human rights, the Prime Minister could deflect any criticism from human rights organisations.

On balance, the Foreign Secretary believes that the Prime Minister should therefore agree to receive President Banda for a short call, and that The Queen should be advised similarly. If the Prime Minister agrees to see President Banda, we intend to ask our High Commissioner to tell the Malawians that there is bound to be a certain amount of comment about the Malawi human rights record and about Malawi's slowness to provide compensation to British Asians there, and that it would therefore be helpful to have good news about compensation at the time of the visit.

/On

RESTRICTED

Reluctantly, yes

CEK

(1)

AG



RESTRICTED

On present plans, Banda will be in Britain from 21 May to 24 June (although he will be in Scotland from 1-8 June) and would no doubt be willing to call whenever the Prime Minister could see him.

S L Gass
(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

J S Wall Esq
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED
FM LILONGWE
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 107
OF 191245Z APRIL 91
INFO PRIORITY ODA

CM
JI

PRESIDENT BANDA: VISIT TO BRITAIN

SUMMARY.

1. BANDA PLANS TO MAKE A FOUR WEEK PRIVATE VISIT TO BRITAIN, ARRIVING 18 MAY. HE WOULD LIKE TO CALL ON HM THE QUEEN AND THE PRIME MINISTER.

DETAIL

2. PRINCIPAL SECRETARY, EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, SUMMONED ME TODAY TO INFORM ME THAT BANDA PLANS TO VISIT BRITAIN IMMEDIATELY AFTER KAMUZU DAY CELEBRATIONS IN MID MAY. HE PLANS TO FLY DIRECT ARRIVING LONDON ON 18 MAY (STAYING AT CLARIDGES), MOVING TO SCOTLAND TWO WEEKS LATER FOR A WEEK, THEN RETURNING TO LONDON FOR ABOUT ANOTHER WEEK. HE WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY MAMA KADZAMIRA AND BY A NUMBER OF MINISTERS YET TO BE CHOSEN. (SEE ALSO MY TELELETTER TO DALES OF 8 MARCH)

3. KAMBAUWA SAMPLED OUR ASSISTANCE IN ARRANGING AN AUDIENCE WITH HM THE QUEEN AND A CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER. HE WOULD ALSO WELCOME A CHANCE OF MEETING TRH THE PRINCE OF WALES AND THE PRINCESS ROYAL AGAIN.

4. I UNDERTOOK TO CONVEY THESE REQUESTS, MAKING THE POINT TO KAMBAUWA THAT, IF A CALL ON THE PM PROVED POSSIBLE, THE PRESIDENT WOULD NEED TO BE BRIEFED TO DISCUSS THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES OUTSTANDING FROM MRS THATCHERS VISIT HERE IN 1989.

5. GRATEFUL INSTRUCTIONS.

WENBAN-SMITH

YYYY

Storham
Ta v. m.
ugh! Hm
Sandra still at Windsor?
18-19 is weekend
21st CBI speech
23/4
S.
Be warned
AS

DISTRIBUTION

80

MAIN

80

LIMITED
CSAD
PROTOCOL
INFO
NEWS
CSAD/ODA
PUSD

PS
PS/MRS CHALKER
PS/PUS
MR LANKESTER
MR FAIRWEATHER
MR HUDSON
MR HEMANS

NNNN

SUBJECT
CCmaster



file Shw
bc:pc

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

14 June 1988

See dyn.

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT OF MALAWI

The Prime Minister had a meeting this morning with President Banda of Malawi. The President was accompanied by one of the Misses Kadzamira, but whether the Official Hostess or the Official Private Secretary I am unable to say. The President was very sprightly, indeed in much better shape than at the time of his State Visit.

The Prime Minister commiserated with the President over the burden put on the Malawi economy by refugees from Mozambique. The President estimated these at over 700,000. They came because Malawi had food and Mozambique did not. But there was a long history of tribal movement in the area. During colonial days there had been many migrants from both German and Portuguese East Africa.

The President said that Mozambique's real problem was that it was too big.

The President said that Malawi's agriculture was doing well, and maize production had reached record levels. The maize was being bought by the United States and others as food aid for poorer countries. Tobacco was also doing well. The FAO had named Malawi as the number one agricultural country in Africa. The Prime Minister commented that it was a pity the President did not run Zambia as well. This sally convulsed President Banda to the point where proceedings had to be temporarily halted.

The President said that the Prime Minister's policy of opposing sanctions against South Africa was absolutely right. Sanctions would only make the pain worse for black South Africans. He agreed that the long-term solution lay in a federal state of South Africa, a return in fact to the Union.

We then embarked on a tour of Southern African leaders:

Mugabe -	"doing his best"
Museveni -	"lawless"
Kaunda -	"it's all beyond him"
Angola -	"don't know anyone from there"

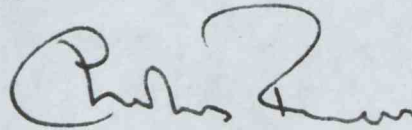
followed by an account of some historic tribal conflict in Malawi in which the Ngoni had been worsted. The President

CONFIDENTIAL

or his ancestors - the two not unnaturally merge in his mind - had played a major part, which had inspired him as President to heal Malawi's tribal rivalries.

As the President was leaving the Official Hostess (or Official Private Secretary) said that he had meant to invite the Prime Minister to visit Malawi but had forgotten. The Prime Minister said that she would very much like to go.

your niece.



C D POWELL

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT BANDA

You are to see President Banda at Noon tomorrow. He will be accompanied by the Official Hostess, Mama Cecilia Kadzamira, and her sister (the Official Private Secretary).

The most recent estimate of the President's age puts him somewhere in his 90s. He is increasingly inclined to off days and we shan't know until we get him here what form he is in. He is also getting very deaf so you will need to speak quite loudly. The President is in theory here on a private visit but has already met The Queen, Mr. Rifkind and Mrs. Chalker.

The main points you might make are:-

- Recall his very successful State Visit.
- Express sympathy with some of the difficulties experienced by the Malawi economy over the last year or two. The main causes are maintaining large numbers of refugees from Mozambique and increased transport costs. Malawi now has a Stand-By Arrangement with the IMF and agreement with the Paris Club to reschedule its foreign debt. You might compliment him on Malawi's sensible recourse to the International Financial Institutions.
- You might also ask him about relations with Mozambique. Malawi troops have been deployed there to help protect the Nacala railway line with a little bit of financial help from us, and we hope they will stay. But there are a number of bilateral problems between the two countries, for instance an incident on 2 June when Mozambique aircraft fired on a Malawi village. But President Chissano is due to visit Malawi next month and this may help smooth things over..

RESTRICTED

- You might express admiration for the way Malawi has coped with nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ million Mozambican refugees. We have been able to provide some aid towards this.
- You will want to seek his assessment of the situation in South Africa.

We have increasing problems with Malawi's Forfeiture Legislation which is causing increasing discontent here and may lead to questions in Parliament. But you said earlier that you would prefer not to have to raise this with him.

The President is of course increasingly infirm. If the meeting is to be held upstairs, you will certainly want to take him up in the lift. But you may feel it is kinder to talk in the Cabinet Room.

C.D.P.

C. D. POWELL
13 June 1988

KAYAEX

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

CCFA
CGBup.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 June 1988

Dear Charles,

Call on the Prime Minister by President Banda:
14 June 1988

President Banda is due to call on the Prime Minister at noon on Tuesday, 14 June. He will be accompanied by the Official Hostess, Mama Cecilia Kadzamira and her sister Miss Mary Kadzamira (the Official Private Secretary). President Banda is paying an extended private visit to Britain (23 May - 21 June), including 10 days in Edinburgh. He has already met The Queen, Mr Rifkind and Mrs Chalker.

The Foreign Secretary believes this meeting provides a useful opportunity for the Prime Minister to encourage President Banda to continue to support President Chissano's Government in Mozambique through the commitment of Malawian troops to the defence of the Nacala line. She might also welcome Malawi's recent efforts to restructure the economy with the assistance of the International Financial Institutions (IFIs). Although now possibly into his early 90s, President Banda remains politically dominant. He is in reasonable health, although his mental alertness varies from day to day (he can ramble and lose track, and is somewhat hard of hearing). The most likely candidate to succeed Banda is John Tembo, his long time lieutenant, who is also uncle of the very influential Official Hostess.

Over the past 2 years the Malawi economy has been undermined by a number of factors, notably increased transport expenses and the cost of maintaining Mozambican refugees. Malawi was granted a Stand-By Arrangement with the IMF in March and reached agreement with the Paris Club to reschedule its foreign debt in April. It is expected shortly to apply for an Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility.

Our relations with Malawi are generally good. Britain is Malawi's second most important trading partner (after South Africa), and third largest bilateral aid donor (£23 million, 1987-88) behind West Germany and Japan. Malawi has consistently supported HMG over the Falklands and sanctions issues at the UN General Assembly. Malawi's seizure of the assets of a number of

RESTRICTED



British nationals under its Forfeiture legislation is however beginning to create problems. Pressure from the forfeitees for us to take action against the Malawians is building up. (At least one family have said they may try to have the matter raised in the House of Commons.) But the Foreign Secretary agrees that we will gain nothing from raising the issue directly with Banda. Instead Mrs Chalker will take it up with John Tembo when she sees him on 16 June.

Because of its recognition of South Africa, Malawi has been kept at arm's length by most other African states. However, relations with her neighbours, especially Mozambique, have improved substantially over the past year, following the deployment of Malawian troops in Mozambique to help protect the Nacala railway line from Renamo. In support of this deployment, we have provided a £³/₄ million package of non-lethal military equipment to Malawi. Banda made clear to Mrs Chalker when she saw him on 26 May the esteem in which he holds Chissano. Banda may however refer to Malawian dissatisfaction (shared by us) at the failure of the Mozambicans to abide fully by ICAO regulations in establishing an enquiry into the Air Malawi Skyvan crash in November 1987. He may also mention an incident on 2 June when Mozambican aircraft strafed a Malawian border village suspected of harbouring Renamo terrorists.

Malawi faces a major problem resulting from the influx of refugees from Mozambique. Over 500,000 are now living in Malawi, equivalent to 8-9% of the population. Out of pride in Malawi's self-sufficiency Banda initially insisted on feeding them from Malawi's own resources, but the scale of the influx has grown to such an extent that the Malawians have had to seek international assistance. This year we have provided £355,000 bilateral aid and £1½ million multilateral aid towards helping these refugees (and the Malawians who live and work alongside them). The Foreign Secretary suggests that the Prime Minister might express admiration for the way Malawi has coped with this problem (President Reagan has congratulated President Banda - copy of letter attached). The Prime Minister might go on to express her satisfaction at the improvement in relations with other countries of the region and especially Mozambique. This will be demonstrated by a visit to Malawi next month by President Chissano. She may wish to probe his likely attitude to a Mozambican request for increased Malawian military involvement on the Nacala line.

RESTRICTED



The Prime Minister might also wish to seek President Banda's views on the situation in South Africa. Banda has been outspoken in the criticism of those African and other countries proposing the imposition of sanctions without consideration of their effect on the front line states.

I am copying this letter to Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,
A C Galsworthy

(A C Galsworthy)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1988

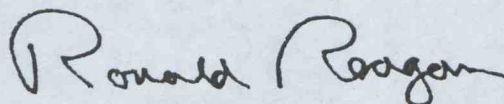
Dear Mr. President:

The continuing flow of refugees from Mozambique into Malawi has been the subject of much interest and concern in the United States. Working directly with your government and through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, we will continue to do our utmost to assist Malawi to meet the tremendous challenge which this has placed upon you and your country.

While the Malawian relief workers continue their heroic, day-to-day efforts to sustain the lives of these refugees, I thought it important also to express my personal admiration and that of the American people for the extraordinary generosity which you and the Malawian people have demonstrated in providing sanctuary for nearly 500,000 Mozambicans. Recent reports concerning the level of violence and depredation of civilians in Mozambique underline again the vital life-saving role which your country continues to play in ameliorating the suffering caused by the tragic circumstances in Mozambique.

Please accept my profound admiration and respect for the protection which you have extended to these innocent victims.

Sincerely,



His Excellency
Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda
Life President of the Republic of Malawi
Lilongwe

13.VI
9
P1188



PRIME MINISTER

VISIT OF PRESIDENT BANDA ON 14 JUNE

There is a remote possibility that his visit may not come off on grounds of his age, but should things go as planned, would you like to give him a gift when he visits you? We don't have a huge amount in stock which is why I wanted to ask you now in case we need to order anything.

It is a personal visit, and Charles does not feel it strictly necessary that you should give him anything. But could you indicate whether you do wish to or not.

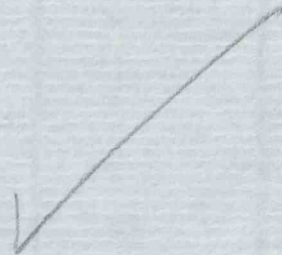
Tessa

He will almost certainly
Come with something. May we have
a word?
mk

TG

6 glasses.

26 May, 1988.



CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

4 May, 1988.

PRIVATE VISIT BY PRESIDENT BANDA

BF 11 Thank you for your letter of 3 May about President Banda's private visit to the United Kingdom. The Prime Minister would be able to see him at 12 noon on Tuesday, 14 June.

As regards the reply to our representations about seizure of the assets of twelve British Overseas Citizens, the Prime Minister is inclined to the view that we shall not get anywhere by tackling Banda head-on, and that we should best continue to work behind the scenes for a solution.

(C.D. Powell)

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

File to

bu. P.C

[Handwritten mark]

CONFIDENTIAL

Charles

12. noon

Tuesday 14 June ?

①

RC



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

3 May 1988

Prime Minister

Dear Charles,

Two points:

Private visit by President Banda

① Agree to tell
President Banda?

As you know, President Banda is planning a private visit to Britain from 20 May to 25 June. He will spend much of that time in Scotland. He has formally sought a call on the Prime Minister on a convenient date between 12 and 25 June; he has also sought an audience of The Queen on a date between 23 May and 4 June, and meetings with the Prince of Wales and with Mr Rifkind (the latter presumably because Mr Rifkind, in his then capacity as Minister of State at the Foreign Office, visited Malawi in 1984).

② Agree to proposed reply on

the forfeiture case?

CAF

3/5.

I understand that The Queen, who normally sees Commonwealth Heads of State, particularly if they request a call, is likely to receive President Banda provided a convenient date can be found. The Foreign Secretary considers that the Prime Minister should also agree to see him. However the Prime Minister will wish to know that to date no progress has been made in resolving the forfeitures issue about which one of her constituents, Mr Patel, wrote to her in May last year. He has since asked to see the Prime Minister. (I shall respond separately to Miss Robilliard about this.)

① 1/2 no

In all about twelve British Overseas Citizens (all of them of Asian origin) have had their assets seized since 1986 (under the Malawi Forfeitures Act) without due process of law. The Foreign Secretary has written twice to President Banda asking him either to compensate the individuals concerned or to give them an opportunity to defend themselves against specific charges in a court of law. The High Commission has also actively pursued the issue with the Malawi authorities. President Banda has now sent an apparently final reply (copy attached) to the Secretary of State's last letter. Clearly we cannot allow matters to rest there. Equally it would not serve our overall interests in the region to precipitate a major row with President Banda, especially bearing in mind that our difficulty is essentially with him, that he is now a very old man, and that the question of the succession in Malawi is coming increasingly to the fore.

On hand

point -

I think it will do no

good to

take this

head on.

Belles

behind the

& carry

no

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



In the circumstances the Foreign Secretary proposes, if the Prime Minister agrees, to send a short reply to President Banda making it clear that the British Government cannot regard this matter as closed and that the Prime Minister will wish to discuss it with the President when they meet. We would then of course provide a full brief for the Prime Minister nearer the time.

Lowes

L Parker
(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

17th March, 1988.

The Right Honourable Sir Geoffrey Howe,
Secretary of State for Foreign and
Commonwealth Affairs,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
London, SW1A 2AH,
ENGLAND.

Honourable Secretary of State,

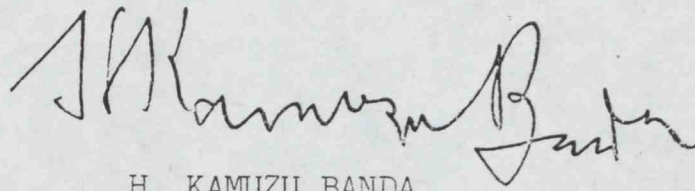
Please, permit me to acknowledge the receipt of
your letter of 24th of February.

I am glad to note that the Honourable Lynda Chalker
was pleased with the way she was received and treated
here. On our part, we were very happy to have her here.
This, more so, among other reasons, because she had
never been here before, and she was a Minister from the
United Kingdom. To us here, people from the United
Kingdom, from Ministers downward, are always most welcome.

On the question of forfeiture, I regret to have to
disappoint you. To us here, this question is finished
and done with. It cannot be reopened, whatever the
consequences, if only as a stern warning to all traders
in Malawi, Africans, Indians, Europeans.

= 2 =

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'H. Kamuzu Banda'. The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

H. KAMUZU BANDA



High Commissioner for the Republic of Malawi

33 Grosvenor Street
London, W1X 0HS
Telephone: 01-491 4172/7
Telegrams: Kwachacom, London
Telex: 263308 Kwacha G

23rd May, 1985

Mr. C. Powell
The Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

Dear Mr. Powell,

I have been asked to forward to you for onward transmission to The Right Honourable the Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, the enclosed envelope addressed to her by His Excellency Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, my Head of State.

Yours sincerely

C.M. Mkona

C.M. Mkona
HIGH COMMISSIONER

Enc.

22 May 1985

Thank you for your letter of 23 May enclosing a message for the Prime Minister from President Banda. I shall ensure that this is laid before the Prime Minister promptly.

(CHARLES POWELL)

His Excellency Mr. C.M. Mkona

kw



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

22 April 1985

During his visit to the UK, President Banda presented the Prime Minister with a picture of tea plantations. The Prime Minister wrote to thank him.

Subsequently, some doilies or possibly place mat covers arrived with a card from him. I do not think it is necessary for the Prime Minister to write to him again, not least because of the uncertainty as to exactly what they are. But I should be grateful if an appropriate expression of the Prime Minister's thanks for this further gift could be conveyed to the President's office.

CHARLES POWELL

His Excellency Mr. A. H. Brind, C.M.G.

LOZ ACE
MP

A handwritten signature in the bottom right corner of the page, appearing to be 'ALB'.



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 71/85

cc FCO
cc Master
Ops.
18 April 1985

Dear Mr. President,

It was a very great pleasure to be able to welcome you to 10 Downing Street for lunch yesterday. May I take the opportunity of thanking you more formally for the splendid picture of Tea Plantations near Mount Mulange. It was most kind of you to present me with this and it will bring something of Malawi into my life until the day when I am able to take up your kind invitation to pay a visit.

With warm best wishes,

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

His Excellency Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, G.C.B.

ECL



10 DOWNING STREET

BM
file
Ce Master

From the Private Secretary

17 April 1985

Dear Colin,

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT BANDA OF MALAWI

The Prime Minister held a brief meeting with President Banda this morning. The meeting started as a tete-a-tete and was subsequently expanded to include the Foreign Secretary, our High Commissioner in Lilongwe and two members of the Malawian suite.

The Prime Minister reported that she and President Banda had discussed how to help President Machel overcome his problems with Renamo. President Banda had suggested that the only course was to go on making representations to South Africa to withdraw their support for Renamo. He had also said that efforts were being made to stop arms reaching Renamo from neighbouring countries. President Banda added that, once the situation in Mozambique was more peaceful, President Machel would need help with his railways. At present he had neither adequate technical staff to run them; nor was he able to protect them militarily.

The Prime Minister referred to encouraging signs of movement in South Africa. She recalled that when President Botha had visited the United Kingdom, she had pressed him hard on forced removals and the South African Government had recently agreed to defer these. Now they had also taken the decision to repeal the racial marriage laws. In her view, this was the beginning of the end for apartheid. But she understood President Botha's need to take things a step at a time and not to get too far ahead of his party. President Banda agreed with this assessment.

The Prime Minister asked the President's assessment of developments in Zimbabwe. President Banda said that Mr. Mugabe was doing better than he had expected even though a large number of whites had now left the country. Relations between Malawi and Zimbabwe were good.

The Prime Minister complimented President Banda on the success of Malawi's agriculture. President Banda said that Malawi was able to feed its people and have sufficient for export. A number of European countries were buying maize from Malawi to use as food aid in other African countries.

The Prime Minister said that she wished President Banda could encourage President Mengistu to follow similar policies of agricultural development in Ethiopia.

The Prime Minister said the new Government in Sudan appeared to be settling down although we did not have much information about it. It seemed that General el Dahab and his colleagues had acted to pre-empt a coup by more junior officers. The new regime had been in contact with the Saudis who had given them three months' supply of oil.

In reply to a question from the Prime Minister, President Banda confirmed that there were no problems between Britain and Malawi. The meeting ended at 1255 hours.

Yours sincerely
Chris Rull

(C.D. Powell)

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT BANDA

He is coming at 1210 on Wednesday and wants to start tete-a-tete with note-takers only. I have therefore invited the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary to come at 1230 when Malawian Ministers might also join the discussion. You need to break just before 1300 for lunch.

CDP

CHARLES POWELL

15 April 1985

SP1 ABX

PRIME MINISTER

LUNCH FOR PRESIDENT BANDA

I attach some notes for a speech at your lunch for
President Banda on Wednesday.

CHARLES POWELL

15 April 1985

MR. PRESIDENT,

LET ME FIRST OFFER YOU A VERY WARM WELCOME ON
BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT ON THIS YOUR STATE
VISIT TO THE UNITED KINGDOM.

I DOUBT THAT THERE CAN EVER HAVE BEEN A STATE VISITOR
WHO KNOWS OUR COUNTRY BETTER.

FOR YOU LIVED MANY YEARS HERE, INDEED, YOU
ARE REALLY ONE OF US.

YOU HEEDED THE ADVICE OF THAT ANCIENT
PROVERB:

"HE THAT WILL ENGLAND WIN

MUST WITH SCOTLAND FIRST BEGIN."

YOU WENT FIRST TO GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH TO
COMPLETE YOUR STUDIES, THEN WON OUR HEARTS IN
ENGLAND, WHERE SO MANY PEOPLE IN LIVERPOOL,
IN NORTH SHIELDS AND IN HARLESDEN STILL
REMEMBER YOUR SKILL AND KINDNESS AS A DOCTOR
MINISTERING TO THEM.

YOU ALSO BECAME AN ELDER OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, A
TITLE SO FEARSOME AS TO MAKE ORDINARY MORTALS
SOUTH OF THE BORDER QUAKE.

BUT EVEN MORE THAN THAT, MR. PRESIDENT, YOU ARE ONE OF
THE MOST REMARKABLE FIGURES IN AFRICA, A MAN
WHO HAS DONE OUTSTANDING SERVICE TO HIS

PEOPLE.

AND IT IS ABOVE ALL FOR THIS THAT WE WELCOME
YOU BACK AMONG US TODAY.

WE HAVE FOLLOWED WITH GREAT ADMIRATION THE ACHIEVEMENTS
OF YOUR COUNTRY SINCE INDEPENDENCE.

MALAWI IS A COUNTRY AT PEACE.

I WELL REMEMBER HOW, AT THE TIME OF
FEDERATION, WE WERE CONCERNED BECAUSE MALAWI
HAD THE LEAST PROMISING SOIL.

BUT NOW, THANKS TO YOUR DECISION TO
CONCENTRATE ON RAISING STANDARDS OF
HUSBANDRY, MALAWI IS NOT ONLY SELF-SUFFICIENT
IN FOOD BUT HELPS TO FEED ITS NEIGHBOURS.

MALAWI HAS NO EASY SHORT CUT TO PROSPERITY.

BUT SECURITY, STABILITY AND WISE GOVERNMENT
HAVE PROVIDED THE FRAMEWORK UNDER YOUR
LEADERSHIP.

SELF-RELIANCE, HARD WORK AND INDIVIDUAL
ENTERPRISE HAVE BEEN THE GALVANISING FORCES.

MALAWI'S ACHIEVEMENT IS A MESSAGE OF HOPE AND

ENCOURAGEMENT TO THOSE UNFORTUNATE PARTS OF
THE CONTINENT NOW SUFFERING SO DREADFULLY
FROM HUNGER.

IT SHOWS WHAT CAN BE DONE WHEN AGRICULTURE IS
PROPERLY NURTURED, WHEN THE INDEPENDENT
FARMER IS ENCOURAGED WHETHER HE WORKS A
SMALL-HOLDING OR A LARGE ESTATE, AND WHEN

ENTERPRISE IS REWARDED.

THE THRIVING STATE OF MALAWI'S AGRICULTURE
ALSO REFLECTS YOUR OWN CLOSE IDENTIFICATION,

MR. PRESIDENT, WITH THE PEOPLE ON THE LAND.

IF MORE COUNTRIES HAD FOLLOWED YOUR EXAMPLE
OF CONCENTRATING ON GOOD HUSBANDRY, I BELIEVE
THAT WE SHOULD HAVE FEWER PROBLEMS IN AFRICA
TODAY.

WE IN BRITAIN HAVE BEEN PLEASED TO BE ABLE TO

CONTRIBUTE TO YOUR SUCCESS.

MALAWI IS ONE OF OUR CLOSEST FRIENDS.

MANY BRITONS WORK IN MALAWI AND FEEL AS AT
HOME THERE AS I HOPE THE MANY MALAWIANS IN
THIS COUNTRY FEEL HERE.

WE ARE THE LARGEST CONTRIBUTOR TO YOUR
DEVELOPMENT - SOME £150 MILLION SINCE
INDEPENDENCE AND YOUR LARGEST EXPORT MARKET.
BUT IT HAS BEEN THE EFFORTS OF YOUR PEOPLE
THEMSELVES IN THE CAUSE OF THEIR COUNTRY'S
DEVELOPMENT WHICH HAVE BEEN CRUCIAL: AND IT
HAS BEEN YOUR ROLE, AND ONE WHICH YOU HAVE
PERFORMED WITH OUTSTANDING SUCCESS, TO
CHANNEL THE UNITED EFFORTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE
OF MALAWI INTO THAT WORK.

WE AGREE ON MANY INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AND I SHOULD LIKE
TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY, MR. PRESIDENT, TO
THANK YOU FOR YOUR GOVERNMENT'S STEADFAST
SUPPORT FOR US OVER THE ARGENTINE INVASION OF

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

MR. PRESIDENT, I KNOW THAT BEFORE YOU BECAME A DOCTOR

YOU WERE AN HISTORIAN, WITH A PARTICULAR
INTEREST IN CLASSICAL HISTORY.

YOU HAVE TAKEN INTO YOUR OWN POLITICAL
PHILOSOPHY THE CIVIC VIRTUES OF ANCIENT ROME:
UNITY, LOYALTY AND DISCIPLINE.

AS AN HISTORIAN YOU HAVE THE CAPABILITY TO
SEE PROBLEMS IN CONTEXT, TO UNDERSTAND THE
LONG TERM.

IT IS THIS WHICH HAS LED YOU TO SUPPORT
DIALOGUE EVEN WITH THOSE WHOSE POLICIES YOU -
AND WE - OPPOSE, AS A CONTRIBUTION TO A
PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS.

THAT TAKES COURAGE, MR. PRESIDENT, A COURAGE
WHICH WE SALUTE.

WE KNOW IN YOU, TOO, A WISE LEADER IN THE
COMMONWEALTH WHERE YOUR CONSTRUCTIVE
CONTRIBUTIONS ARE ALWAYS HEARD WITH ATTENTION
AND RESPECT - AND WE HOPE THAT WE SHALL HAVE
THE BENEFIT OF THEM AT THE NEXT COMMONWEALTH
HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN THE BAHAMAS.

MR. PRESIDENT, YOU ARE A DEAR AND HONOURED FRIEND OF
THIS COUNTRY, AND YOUR VISIT IS A VERY HAPPY
MOMENT IN THE RELATIONS OF WARM FRIENDSHIP
BETWEEN MALAWI AND BRITAIN TO WHICH YOU HAVE
CONTRIBUTED SO MUCH.

I RAISE MY GLASS TO THE HEALTH OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE
LIFE PRESIDENT, NGWAZI DR. KAMUZU BANDA, AND
TO THE PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS OF OUR
FRIENDS, THE PEOPLE OF MALAWI.

Filed at Malawi July 79. Visit to the UK by Life Pres. . . .

Banda.



JA

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

15 April 1985

State Visit by President Banda of Malawi

Thank you for your letter of 12 April. I agree that the Foreign Secretary and our High Commissioner to Malawi should attend the talks on 17 April.

(Charles Powell)

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'KHO'.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

12 April 1985

Dear Charles,

State Visit by President Banda of Malawi

In your letter of 18 March you asked us to establish who from the Malawi side would join the talks with the Prime Minister and President Banda on 17 April. Mr Mkona, the Malawi High Commissioner, has assured us that only he and Mr S M Kakhobwe, Secretary for External Affairs, will attend. We therefore suggest that the Foreign Secretary be accompanied by Mr Brind, our High Commissioner to Malawi, who is a member of the British suite for the State Visit and will be accompanying the Malawians to No 10.

Could you let me know whether this is acceptable to the Prime Minister?

Yours ever,

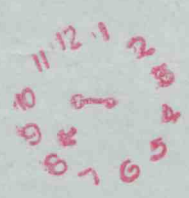
(P F Ricketts)
Private Secretary

Peter Ricketts

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

SECRET
1975-1977

112 APR 1985



CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

12 April 1985

Dear Mark,

Prime Minister
CDP
13/4.

State Visit of President Banda: 16-19 April

The Prime Minister is seeing President Banda for talks at 1215 on 17 April followed by lunch.

I now enclose:

1. — (i) a brief, together with a background note on Southern Africa and fact sheet on Malawi;
2. — (ii) a despatch from the British High Commissioner Lilongwe on President Banda and his Malawi;
3. — (iii) personality notes on President Banda and the leading members of his official suite, and a guide on forms of address and pronunciation;
4. — (iv) speaking notes for the toast at the Prime Minister's luncheon.

The brief suggests that the only major issue recommended for raising with President Banda is the need to cut off outside support for the Renamo guerrillas within Mozambique. In addition, it would be useful if the Prime Minister could briefly mention expropriation under the Forfeiture Act, but this is a delicate issue and might best be done during the tete-a-tete or over lunch.

President Banda's main interest will be simply to enjoy this State Visit for which he was waited so long. His contributions to the discussions may therefore not contain much substance. He would respond well to reference to his own role (e.g. the lead he has given over dialogue with South Africa, his concentration on agriculture which has led to food self-sufficiency and export surplus).

Colin Budd wrote on 3 April recommending that the case of Orton and Vera Chirwa should not be mentioned to President Banda.

Yours ever,

(P F Ricketts)
Private Secretary

Peter Ricketts

Mark Addison Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

PRESIDENT BANDA OF MALAWI

WEDNESDAY 17 APRIL

1210 hours

No. 10



PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT BANDA OF MALAWI ON
17 APRIL 1985 AT 1215

OUR OBJECTIVES

- (a) To stress the importance of ensuring the success of the Nkomati Accord and the need to prevent help from Malawi for Renamo guerrillas operating in Mozambique (a major objective);
- (b) To seek Malawi's continuing support over the Falklands;
- (c) To remind President Banda of the importance of Malawi adhering to the current IMF agreement;
- (d) To make (low key) representations about the effect of the Forfeiture Act on British citizens in Malawi;
- (e) To urge Malawi to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty;
- (f) To encourage President Banda to attend the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting 16-22 October, Nassau.

ARGUMENTS

Mozambique/Nkomati Accord

(a) Importance of success of Nkomati for rolling back Soviet influence in Africa and for Malawi's transit routes across Mozambique. Machel under pressure and needs results (meeting with Prime Minister in Moscow 13 March). Vital to stop outside help for Renamo. Appreciate President Banda's support for Nkomati, but Mozambicans suspect sympathisers within Malawi still help Renamo. Could there be any truth in this?

Falklands

(b) Grateful for staunch support hitherto and welcome assurance to Mr Rifkind (visited September 1984) that we can count on it continuing.

/IMF

IMF

(c) Adherence to IMF programme essential for international confidence. Appreciate difficulties over transport but continued adjustment necessary particularly to restrain public expenditure. UK largest donor of bilateral aid - given in support of IMF and IBRD programmes.

Forfeiture Act

(d) No wish to interfere in Malawian internal affairs, but always interest here in forfeiture cases involving British passport-holders. What can we say in response to this concern?

Non-Proliferation Treaty

(e) Most successful arms control treaty in existence; would be even more effective if membership universal. Anxious to widen membership before September 1985 Review Conference. Accession by Malawi would strengthen moral pressure on other African states.

HIS OBJECTIVES

His overriding objective will be simply to enjoy the State Visit; but he may have the following subsidiary aims:

- (a) To persuade us that Malawi not supporting Renamo in Mozambique;
- (b) Possibly to seek UK intervention in support of Malawi at the forthcoming IMF Review of the Extended Fund Facility (EFF);
- (c) Possibly to seek further aid to help overcome transit transport problem;
- (d) To rebut strongly any criticism over Forfeiture Act;
- (e) Exchange views on South Africa's internal affairs and on Namibia/Angola negotiations.

/(f)



(f) Possibly to invite the Prime Minister to visit Malawi.

YOUR RESPONSE

Nkomati/Mozambique

(a) Understand difficulty of controlling long border with Mozambique; but can more be done to deter Renamo sympathisers and to demonstrate Malawi's support for Machel?

IMF

(b) Sympathise with difficulties and shall continue to be helpful to Malawi at IMF and other international financial institutions. But our influence is limited. Important for Malawi that their negotiations with IMF are successful.

Aid/Transport Problem

(c) Appreciate problems caused by dislocation of traditional transit links through Mozambique. Admire way Malawians overcome problems through private enterprise. Glad Britain able to help with upgrading road north to Tanzania. [If raised]. We are already studying Malawi's need for pool of lorries to be provided under aid. [If raised]. Proposal for oil pipeline from Mozambique coast (Nacalá) to Malawi raises difficulties; it would be vulnerable to sabotage in Mozambique and construction would be difficult in present circumstances.

Visit

(d) Accept invitation in principle but not possible to indicate a date.

Press Line

The Prime Minister had talks today with President Banda of Malawi, who is here on a State Visit, and then hosted a luncheon in his honour. The two leaders recognised the close ties and warm relations between the two countries. Discussions covered regional issues including the Nkomati Accord and Namibia negotiations, as well as topics of bilateral interest. Defensive. Chirwas case NOT raised.

BACKGROUND

1. Prime Minister last met the President at the New Delhi CHOGM in 1983.

Ministerial Visits

2. Mr Raison visited Malawi in February 1983 and Mr Rifkind in September 1984.

State Visit and the Chirwas

3. Original invitation issued by the Queen in 1982, but offer of firm date delayed by sentencing to death for treason of Orton Chirwa, a former Malawian Minister of Justice, and his wife Vera. We joined Community appeal for clemency in February 1984. After visit of special emissary, Sir Roger du Boulay, in March 1984 Banda commuted sentences to life imprisonment and way was open for State Visit to be arranged. There will be appeals and small demonstrations for release of Chirwas during State Visit. A subject to be avoided with President Banda.

Mozambique/Nkomati

4. Malawi/Mozambique relations improving since Nkomati Accord of March 1984 between Mozambique and South Africa and official visit by President Machel to Malawi in October 1984. Both governments have common interest in securing Malawi's traditional transit routes through Mozambique. But still much mutual distrust. Malawians justifiably sceptical about Machel's ability to control Renamo insurgents and open transit routes. Mozambicans suspect elements in Malawi still allow Renamo to use Malawian territory and realise problem of long border. Not clear to what extent Banda does still help Renamo. He claims he gives no aid but likely he is less than wholehearted in preventing unofficial assistance. May feel he has to keep lines open to both sides.

/Aid/Transport Problem

Aid/Transport Problem

5. Malawi one of largest recipients of British aid in Africa. Britain largest bilateral donor to Malawi, having provided £150m in aid since independence: currently about £13.6m a year divided almost equally between technical cooperation and capital aid. Substantial British aid also reaches Malawi through World Bank and European Community.

6. Landlocked Malawi traditionally depended on rail links through Mozambique to sea at Beira and Nacala. In 1982 Renamo guerrilla activity began; Beira line closed October 1983 and Nacala line December 1984. Malawi must use expensive road and rail link routes to South African ports through Zimbabwe via Tete (Mozambique), via Lusaka in Zambia and through Tanzania to Dar es Salaam. This adds enormously to cost of imports and exports.

7. We have number of transport projects in Malawi including upgrading railway, and EC will surface northern road route to Tanzania. But our main effort in Mozambique is on southern railway link with Zimbabwe and not more northerly links with Malawi. Several other Western countries helping with Nacala line though we have agreed management consultancy. Security situation in Mozambique gravely impeding these projects.

8. Malawi wishes to reduce dependence on outside hauliers and we expect request for up to 100 lorries under aid and possible assistance to help establish road haulage organisation. Cannot forecast response without more information.

9. For some years President Banda has expressed hope of an oil pipeline connecting Malawi to sea. Vulnerability of such a pipeline to sabotage by guerrillas in Mozambique rules it out.

/IMF

IMF

10. IMF 3 year Extended Fund Facility (EFF) for SDR 100 million agreed in 1983. Currently suspended due to large current account deficit. Review in May. It is expected that agreement will be reached on measures to strengthen programme and payments should be resumed.

11. In September 1984 Mr Rifkind was asked for help in encouraging IMF to be more flexible in view of Malawi's transport difficulties. We shall continue to be generally helpful towards Malawi in IMF. But not our policy to intervene in negotiations, and we aim to defend IMF disciplines. Malawians are sensitive about what they see as UK Executive Director's hostile criticism of Malawi at early 1984 IMF Programme Review, though this was in fact directed at programme not Malawi. ?!

Forfeiture Act

12. The 1966 Act provides for the seizure of property and assets of persons whose conduct is alleged to be prejudicial to the safety or economy of Malawi. Forfeiture Orders are issued by President Banda personally and there is no legal redress against them. Majority of Forfeiture cases (about 16) involving UK citizens occurred in early 1970s but two orders were made in 1983. Most were British Asian passport-holders who lost business assets. Little or no compensation paid despite repeated appeals by individuals concerned. President Banda likely to dismiss representation as interference with internal affairs.

Non-Proliferation Treaty

13. We are anxious to widen membership of NPT before Review Conference in September 1985, to counter criticism that Treaty is moribund. We approached Malawians in 1979 but were told they saw no advantage in acceding. We are conducting coordinated lobbying exercise of Malawi, some Front Line States and South Africa.



Visit

14. Malawi is not a country of high priority for a visit by the Prime Minister.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
April 1985

BACKGROUND BRIEFSOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA/ANGOLA

(Can be used except where otherwise stated).

i) South Africa and Neighbours

1. Malawi's policy of contact with South Africa now increasingly adopted by neighbours. We strongly support.

2. Nkomati process of major importance for whole region. (See main brief).

3. Namibia/Angola: US actively pursuing negotiations for Namibia's independence and Cuban troop withdrawal. Best hope for reducing Soviet influence. Important both dos Santos and South Africa show flexibility. UNITA strength an obstacle for Cuban troop withdrawal. (NOT FOR USE.. Americans are working hard to find common ground between Angola and South African proposals on Cubans. In meetings in Cape Verde (18-19 March) and Cape Town (21 March) they put to both sides a "synthesis" proposal. The Angolan reaction was initially reasonably positive but later more negative, the South African very cautious. The gap between the two sides remains wide. Malawi not involved in negotiations and has no influence on any of the Parties.)

Other Neighbours

4. South Africa's relations with Botswana and Lesotho have improved recently. Efforts to achieve Nkomati-style agreement with Lesotho and Botswana have failed, although informal security arrangements with both states continue. A security agreement with Swaziland was signed in 1982. In general, South Africa's policies are still viewed with considerable suspicion by neighbouring countries. Zimbabwe, in particular, remains deeply sceptical about the Nkomati Accord.

ii) South Africa: internal

5. We have condemned tragic events at Uitenhage. But despite continuing violence there have been encouraging signs

(PW)



(P W Botha's speech of 25 January, suspension of forced removals, leasehold for blacks in Western Cape). Violence underlines need to use all our influence to press South African Government to introduce major reforms. Disinvestment will not help - bad for whole region, including Malawi. Black South African opinion divided on this. Seek Banda's views on how best to influence the South African Government.



MALAWI

FACT SHEET

Political

- Capital : Lilongwe
- Independence : 6 July 1964
- System of Government :
- Republic. Life President: Ngwazi Dr Kamuzu Banda.
 - President Banda is also Minister of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Works and Supplies, Agriculture, Internal Affairs and Justice.
 - One Party State under the Malawi Congress Party (MCP). President Banda is also Life President of the MCP.

Demography

- Population : About 6+ million
- Population Growth : 3% per annum
- Distribution : Approx 92% of the population live in rural areas while 50% live in the Southern Region, 38% in the Central Region and 12% in the Northern Region
- Religions : Christian, Animist, Muslim
- Language : Official languages are Chichewa and English. National language is Chichewa

Geography

- Area : 45,747 square miles, of which one quarter is water (Lake Malawi)
- Neighbours : Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia
- Rivers and Lakes : Lakes: Malawi
Rivers: Luangwa, Shire, Ruo
- Regions : Northern, Central and Southern

Economy

- Basis : Agriculture
- GDP : US\$ 1 billion (1984)
- GNP Per Capita : US\$ 210



Balance of Trade 1984 : - (minus) US\$ 70 million
 Balance of Payments on Current Account 1984 : - (minus) US\$25-30 million (Malawian estimate)
 Gross Official Reserves 1984 : US\$57 million (not including gold)
 Budgetary Deficit 1984 : - (minus) US\$ 50 million
 Real Growth on GDP 1984 : + (plus) 7.6%

Trade

Principal Exports : Tobacco, tea, sugar, maize
 Principal Imports : Oil, machinery, transport equipment, basic materials

Trade with Britain

	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>
Exports to Britain	: £35.2m	£42m	£42m	£65.3m
Imports from Britain	: £21.5m	£21m	£18m	£23m

UK Aid

UK is Malawi's biggest bilateral aid donor and has provided over £150 million of aid since independence. We have pledged £55 million in aid over period 1980/85.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

April 1985



PRESIDENT BANDA AND HIS MALAWI

SUMMARY

1. Banda the creator of modern Malawi. Born in the 19th century, he left Nyasaland during World War 1 to continue his education, in South Africa, the United States, Britain. After qualifying as a doctor, he practised for 15 years in Britain and the Gold Coast. He returned to Nyasaland in 1958 to lead the fight against the Central African Federation. After a year in prison, he became Prime Minister, then President. (Paragraphs 1-8).

2. Soon after his return, Banda established his dominance over his colleagues. He holds most portfolios himself, every decision is his. Opposition is ruthlessly suppressed. Problems which this one-man style of government raise as President ages. Refusal to discuss the succession. (Paragraphs 9-13).

3. Discipline, obedience, loyalty, unity the corner-stones of Banda's internal policies. The achievement in terms of law and order, lack of tribal feuding. Malawi a predominantly agricultural country; the success in securing increased production, mainly in the private sector. (Paragraphs 14-17).

4. Banda's pragmatic foreign policies, showing little patience with rhetoric about African unity, and willingness to have relations with South Africa, for long left him isolated. Recent developments in Southern Africa have led to more cordial



relations with his neighbours. Dislike of communism, pro-Western, and particularly pro-British, stance. (Paragraphs 18-22).

5. Banda's Malawi an orderly, hardworking country. Because he has dominated it for a quarter of a century his departure from the scene will leave a vacuum, although the transition will probably be peaceful in the short term. (Paragraph 23).

6. Banda a complicated man, with a puritanical streak, a great interest in history, and a strong liking for having his own way. A lonely, isolated figure, who has outlived most of his contemporaries. The feeling that it is time for a change. (Paragraphs 24-30).

British High Commission
PO Box 30042
Lilongwe, Malawi

26 February 1985

The Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe GC MP
London

Sir

PRESIDENT BANDA AND HIS MALAWI

1. I choose the title of this despatch with deliberation. President Banda, after spending more than 40 years abroad, during which time he never once set foot on his native soil, returned, at an age when most men are thinking of retirement, to lead his country to independence and to dominate it for more than a quarter of a century. Malawi in 1985 is very much his creation.

Banda: The First 60 Years

2. Kamuzu ('little root') Banda was born near Kasungu in the Central Region of modern Malawi. The date of his birth is uncertain: Who's Who gives it as 1905, but it was most certainly earlier than that, probably before the turn of the century. Although born only a few years after Nyasaland became a British Protectorate, Church of Scotland missionaries were already active and he received his first education at their hands. (The name Hastings was adopted from one of them.) After his primary education he became a pupil teacher and hoped to attend a teacher training college. When this did not prove

practicable he went, with the objective of continuing his education, and mostly on foot, first to Southern Rhodesia, where he worked in a hospital, and then to South Africa, where he worked in the mines. In Johannesburg he became associated with the African Methodist Episcopalian Church, who agreed to pay his fees to continue his studies in the United States.

3. Banda stayed in America for 12 years - from 1925 to 1937 - continuing his education, in later years supporting himself by work on linguistics and by speaking engagements. His first degree, from Chicago, was in history and political science; he then moved south and qualified in medicine in Tennessee. These qualifications were not recognised in Britain or its dependencies, so in 1937 he migrated to Scotland and in 1941 qualified as a doctor in Edinburgh. During the war years he practised in the north of England, and in 1945 he moved to London, establishing a practice in Harlesden and a house in Brondesbury. For eight years he was a successful general practitioner, held in high esteem by his local patients.

4. In his years in America he had maintained only tenuous links with Nyasaland, although it was his intention to return there when he had completed his education. With the move to Britain his contacts increased, not only with Nyasas but with people from other African countries. In his London years he was a friend and associate of future leaders such as Nkrumah and Kenyatta, and became increasingly involved in politics, particularly in opposition to the proposed Federation of

Central Africa on the grounds that such a federation would be dominated by whites in Southern Rhodesia and that Nyasaland's future in it would be bleak.

5. August 1953 saw two significant events: the coming into being of the Central African Federation and Banda's move to the Gold Coast. The latter may in part be explained by his disillusionment at the failure of the campaign to stop federation, but perhaps more significant was the fact that shortly before Banda had been cited as a co-respondent in divorce proceedings taken against his (English) receptionist by her (English) husband. Whatever the cause, Banda appeared in his Gold Coast years to wash his hands of politics and concentrate on his practice in Kumasi (where he lived with his English receptionist).

6. As the 1950s progressed, his practice did not prove successful; at the same time pressure from his own country for his return increased. The Nyasaland African Congress, founded in 1942, was divided and ineffective and in the run-up to the review of the federation it needed strong leadership. It was considered that Banda, a man with considerable experience of life and of the politics of exile and one who had made good in the white man's world, would be the man to dynamise the Party. Consequently, on 6 July 1958, after an absence of more than 40 years, Banda returned to Nyasaland.

From Return to Nyasaland to Life President

7. Henceforth it is impossible to divorce the story of Banda from that of his country. It might have been thought that a man who had been away so long and who had become so westernised in his habits and thought (three piece suit, homburg hat, affecting to have forgotten his mother tongue) would not make a great impact. The reverse proved to be true. He was received as a saviour - a sort of Deus ex machina who would right all his country's ills. He was an extremely effective and popular speaker, although he spoke only in English. His first aim was to build up a well organised and disciplined party, of which he became President. His attention to detail appeared early on - all party cheques were signed by Banda personally. The keynote of his public speeches was opposition to the federation. The tone was peaceful but the situation deteriorated into widespread disorder. On 3 March 1959 an emergency was declared - Banda was arrested and he spent the next 13 months in prison in Gwelo in Southern Rhodesia.

8. During this period the situation in Nyasaland remained tense until changes in British colonial policy led to Banda's release, and amendments to the constitution. While he was in prison the name of the party was changed to that of the Malawi Congress Party (which it has remained ever since). In 1961 he was appointed Minister for Natural Resources; in 1963 Prime Minister. Malawi achieved independence in 1964; it became a republic in 1966 with Banda as its first President; five years later he became Life President.

Government by Fly Whisk

9. It had probably been the intention of those who pressed Banda to return to his country to use him as a spearhead for the achievement of independence and thereafter relegate him to the position of figurehead. This was not an unreasonable line of thought, given Banda's age and long absence. Matters did not fall out that way. From the beginning Banda had distanced himself from the other popular leaders. There was never any question of him being primus inter pares: he was the leader and they were his "boys". Fairly soon after independence the Cabinet made a stand, demanding changes in policy and a greater say in the running of the country. From the Cabinet crisis of 1964 Banda emerged triumphant and most of the Cabinet went into exile. Attempts inspired by its members to raise rebellion petered out in the late 1960s and there was never subsequently a serious challenge to Banda's authority.

10. Banda's style of government is autocratic and dictatorial. From the moment of his return he was regarded with adulation. His successive triumphs enhanced this and jokes about "one man Banda" are not without foundation. At present, in addition to being President, he is his own Minister of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Justice, Internal Affairs, Agriculture and Works; the only important portfolio he does not hold is Finance. He has said repeatedly over the years that Kamuzu knows best what Malawi needs, and all decisions, even the most minor, are his. Everyone knows the consequence of opposition to his wishes: dismissal, house arrest, even death. There has been a gradual relaxation over the years, partly because after more than 20 years of

supreme power people have either come to terms with Banda or have gone into exile. There is now little need for him to crack the whip, although the deaths of four prominent figures in May 1983 may have represented a last flickering of opposition to his wishes.

11. This style of government was all very well when Banda was relatively young, but a man well in his 80s, however fit, naturally begins to run out of stamina and new ideas. It is no longer possible for him to take every decision himself and he is perhaps not equipped to deal with the changing economic and political problems of Southern Africa of the mid-1980s. The consequence is that either decisions are not taken at all, or that they are taken in his name.

12. Along with this supreme power goes a degree of sycophancy and humiliation which is disagreeable to a westerner, although it must be seen in the African context of reverence to the old and wise. When, on my arrival, I was paying my first calls I asked one Cabinet Minister what were the main problems facing his Ministry. He replied in all seriousness that, thanks to the wise policies of the Life President, there were no problems facing his Ministry. It is sometimes obliquely hinted that the fact that, unlike its neighbours, Malawi has suffered no drought in recent years is again because of the wise policies of the Life President.



recently any mention of family planning was anathema.
48% of the population is under 15.

17. Banda has more than once told me that he is neither a communist nor a capitalist but an individualist. This is reflected in his approach to the economy. Collectivisation forms no part of his philosophy and the role of the parastatal bodies is less prominent than in many African countries. Agriculture is mainly in private hands, either the smallholder or the big estates. Almost all the tea and much of the tobacco is produced on such estates, many of which are in expatriate - mainly British - hands.

Banda's Foreign Policy

18. As I have said above, Banda returned to his country to fight the Central African Federation. He was at that time in the main stream of African policies and the early years of independence were full of the appropriate noises - and in some cases actions - about pan Africanism. However, disillusionment set in and pragmatic Banda became bored by the rhetoric of African nationalism, so at variance with the facts. He became increasingly disenchanted with the OAU and United Nations: when the latter passed a resolution demanding that member states sever all links with South Africa in 1968, he said "when are the Africans and Asians going to ... become statesmen, instead of high school debating boys? ... Only a high school boy who does not know the realities of this world can even think of debating a resolution of that kind."

19. This habit of Banda's of pointing out the transparency of the emperor's new clothes did not endear him to the main body of African thought, while the readiness of some of his neighbours, particularly Tanzania, to provide refuge and a base for Malawians who had fled their own country increased Banda's dislike of them. Even worse, from the point of view of most Africans, was Banda's readiness to have relations with colonial Portugal and with South Africa. Relations with Portugal were of enormous importance to Malawi since her routes to the sea ran through the then Portuguese colony of Mozambique. Relations with South Africa were also determined by realism - the fact that there were a large number of Malawians working in South Africa's mines, that she was a significant trading partner and that she was willing to pay for acquiring African friends. Malawi was the first black African country to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa (1967) and the quid pro quo was that there has been substantial South African investment here, and that to a large extent South Africa footed the bill for moving the capital to Lilongwe.

20. The consequence of these policies was that for many years Malawi and Banda were pariahs in the eyes of most African countries, and relations with her neighbours were bad. Recent years have seen a marked change. As other countries have been forced into dialogue with South Africa, Malawi has mended its fences with its neighbours and relations with Zambia and Zimbabwe are cordial. Relations with Tanzania are still cool

and relations with Mozambique are complicated by the fact that the Maputo government has so little control over the country - particularly those parts of it which form the 1400 km boundary with Malawi. The notion that Malawi is the odd man out in the African scene has diminished and one now hears tributes to Banda as the breaker of the federation, who set the scene for the independence of this part of the continent. He is in fact on the way to becoming one of the grand old men of Africa, if only because he has outlived all his contemporaries.

21. Turning to wider horizons, Banda's policies have been pro-Western. He has long been highly suspicious of the Soviet Union and China. He abhors communist methods, and remarked at the time of independence that the only difference between Stalin and the Tsars was that the latter were nakedly extending their empire while Stalin and other communist leaders pretended to be spreading a form of social justice. Malawi has no relations with any communist country except North Korea, and the Lilongwe diplomatic corps includes Ambassadors from Taiwan, Israel and South Africa.

22. Banda's policies are pro-Western and above all pro-British. He has been a staunch friend to us over the years and has supported us on occasions very few other Commonwealth African countries have. This derives in large measure from his affection for Britain, which he visits in a private capacity most years. In many ways the Britain he admires is a Britain of the past - the Britain that existed in the '30s, '40s, and



'50s when he was a medical student or in practice. From time to time he bemoans the falling off of standards of discipline, dress and social behaviour and the decline in the teaching of the classics in modern Britain. But it has not substantially diminished his affection and admiration for things British. At the head of the list of British institutions he admires is the monarchy.

Malawi in 1985

23. Banda's regime is a paternalistic and autocratic one. He decides what the country needs. Law and order prevail, the people work hard, the country feeds itself with a surplus for export, it is a country which by Third World standards works reasonably well. Tribalism and corruption are less rampant than in most African states; I should be surprised if Banda has a numbered Swiss bank account. The principal hazards on the economic side are over population and external factors over which the government has no control, such as the disruption of the normal routes to the sea through Mozambique. More general difficulties arise from the fact that power has been concentrated in one man's hands and criticism has been stifled for so long that it is difficult to see what will happen when that one man leaves the scene. There is a school of thought, which one might describe as the apres moi le deluge school, which argues that Banda has kept the lid so tightly on Malawi for a quarter of a century that there will be an eruption when he goes. I do not myself subscribe to this

school, but it remains a fact that a generation has grown up in Malawi which knows no leader other than the Ngwazi and which has never taken a major decision because he has taken them all for them. It is the danger of any dictatorship, particularly one that lasts for a quarter of a century, that there will inevitably be a vacuum when the dictator disappears. I am optimistic that when the time comes the transition will be peaceful and reasonably smooth, at least in the short term. This does not mean that there will not be grave problems in filling the gap which the President will leave.

Banda the Man

24. The President is a complex, perhaps devious, man. He is small in stature and he has many of the characteristics of the little man who is determined to make his mark. This may account for the streak of ruthlessness with which in the early years he eliminated his opponents, and the arrogant attitude he adopts both in public and in private.

25. There is also a puritanical streak in Banda. This may arise from his early education, but whatever the cause he has throughout his life been prudish and strict, in a Victorian way. Not for nothing was he made an elder of the Church of Scotland in his Edinburgh days. The practical result is strict censorship, mini skirts and trousers for women are definitely out, as is long hair for men. He finds the idea of men and women dancing together disagreeable (although at all rallies he descends to join the groups of dancing women).



26. Before he qualified in medicine Banda's first degree was in history. He has retained this interest and likes to see problems of contemporary Africa in an historical context - although some of his generalisations would cause professional historians to raise an eyebrow. He is particularly interested in classical history and this sometimes leads to bizarre statements. I once congratulated him on the excellence of the Malawi Rifles' performance at his birthday parade, to which he replied "we learned it from you and you learned it from the Romans" - a convenient ignoring of 1,000 years of history.

27. The President likes deference and flattery, although he can see through false flattery from strangers. This, together with his refusal to brook any opposition, comes naturally to someone who has enjoyed absolute power for more than twenty years.

28. Whether Banda has ever married is a moot point. It is thought that he did marry the English receptionist referred to in paragraph 5 above, and with his puritanical attitude I find it difficult to believe that he lived in sin with her in their Gold Coast days. Be that as it may, when he returned that lady did not come with him. Since his return his constant female companion has been Miss Kadzamira, now the Official Hostess, but originally another nurse/receptionist. There are rumours that they are secretly married, but I am sceptical about the truth of these. It seems certain that he has no children.



29. Has Banda any friends? He suffers the fate of all men of his age that so many of his contemporaries are now dead. He has few friends among other African leaders because his policies were for many years inimical to them. He values his links with those he knew in Britain at the time of independence: there are roads named after Iain MacLeod, Lord Devlin and the last Governor. In Malawi certainly he has no close intimates: he is the leader and everyone else is his servant.

30. Is Banda popular? Some have shown their opinion by going into exile - but this was years ago. Among educated Malawians there is respect for his achievements. At the same time one senses a feeling that it is time for a different style, more in tune with the mid-1980s, and that this arrogant old man must allow others more - or even some - say in the way the country is run. Not that such people are likely to move against Banda; the Malawians are a phlegmatic people, prepared to wait the natural course of events. It is more difficult to say what the man in the fields thinks about Banda - if he does. When one lives a life of grinding poverty, with high infant mortality, to hear Banda talking of how the standard of living has risen must seem far from reality; still more remote must seem his discourses on the value of a classical education. Yet the popular aspect of the President's style of government, with its regular progresses through the country, brings an occasional moment of relief from the monotony of peasant life.

I am, Sir
Yours faithfully

A H Brind



BANDA, NGWAZI DR H KAMUZU

Life President of the Republic of Malawi. Life President of the Malawi Congress Party. Speaks good English. Unmarried. Miss C Tamanda Kadzamira, the Official Hostess is his constant companion.

Gives his date of birth as 1905 but was almost certainly born earlier, perhaps in 1898. Birthplace Kasungu; a Chewa.

After early schooling in the Kasungu area, worked as a medical orderly in Rhodesia and then in the gold mines in South Africa, studying at night school. From his savings travelled to the USA in 1925 and with assistance from the African Methodist Episcopal Church, he attended Wilberforce Academy Ohio, then studied history and political science, graduating from the University of Chicago in 1931. He graduated as a doctor in 1937 in Nashville, Tennessee. Travelled to Britain and obtained further medical diplomas from Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities, becoming an Elder of the Church of Scotland.

After studying tropical medicine at Liverpool in 1941 he became an assistant medical officer there in 1943. Practised as a doctor in North Shields 1943-45, and then in Willesden (now Brent) London from 1945-53. During this period



he associated with other African political leaders such as Nkrumah. In 1953 he set up medical practice in the Gold Coast. In 1958, following correspondence with political leaders in Nyasaland he returned to Blantyre and was elected President-General of the Malawi Congress Party and in 1961 Minister of Natural Resources and Local Government. After leading Malawi delegation at various constitutional conferences in London through successive steps to self-government and dismantling the Federation, he became, in July 1964, first Prime Minister of Independent Malawi and in 1966 President of the Republic of Malawi, becoming Life President in 1970.

President Banda led Malawi to independence, and has exercised autocratic power within Malawi ever since. As the only Nyasa of his own generation who made good in the White Man's world, he bridges the gap between traditional Africa and the modern world. In some ways he is like an African chief, and draws on the respect due to his age. He knows his people, their limitations and their needs, and he expects and commands the obedience which the people pay to their chief. But at the same time he is a politician, establishing and using his power through the techniques of modern African politics. He works hard and has a phenomenal memory. He possesses the intellectual and administrative ability to handle complicated detail.

President Banda is one of the most remarkable figures in Africa. He has taken a different path from many of his fellow



African leaders especially through his advocacy of the policy of dialogue with South Africa. If this has earned him the enmity of other black African leaders, he has lashed back with outspoken criticisms of them: he has prided himself on his position as a lone wolf. Recently, however, there are indications that he is listening to advice to mend fences especially with Malawi's socialist neighbours. Malawi recognised the Mugabe government immediately after the elections and opened Missions in Harare and Maputo. But he remains firmly anti-communist. On the domestic front his policy has been to channel the united efforts of all the people of Malawi into the work of development.

A man who, by any standards, has done a great service to his people, he is proud, intolerant and self-righteous. His enmity is formidable and he can be cruel, and these unpleasant traits in his character were deepened by the revolt of the six Ministers in 1964, which made him determined ever since to root out the slightest sign of opposition. He despises European-based methods of administering justice on the ground that their "technicalities" often lead to the acquittal of guilty men.

President Banda knows Britain well (his latest visit was a private one in September/October 1982, following his attendance at the Royal Wedding in July 1981) and keeps



himself closely informed of all that goes on there. He was made an honorary GCB after The Queen's visit to Malawi in 1979. He has been on terms of personal friendship with many British leaders over many years. He supports the Commonwealth ideal, partly because The Queen is its Head, and has chaired Commonwealth meetings. He attended the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Delhi in November 1983.

With advancing years, he has less stamina to deal with every detail of government, and tends to ramble on about the heroic past. There is no obvious successor in sight; this is a matter of his deliberate choice and judgement on the grounds that a designated successor would be the target of all rivals. On the other hand, he has done his best to secure a smooth succession by conditioning Army and Police Chiefs to regard themselves as guardians of the Constitution, not principals, and creating an influential and exclusive class of Malawians with interest in maintaining the status quo.



KADZAMIRA, MISS CECILIA TAMANDA

Official Hostess. Speaks good English. Born 1937.
Unmarried.

Trained as a nurse in Rhodesia. When Dr Banda returned to Nyasaland and opened a surgery in Blantyre in 1958, she worked for him. Since then she has been private nurse, personal secretary and Official Hostess to the President.

She is from an able family: her brother, Zimani David Kadzamira, is Principal of Chancellor College; one sister is Private Secretary to the Life President and another Chief Nursing Officer. Her uncle, John Tembo, was Governor of the Reserve Bank until April 1984 and remains a member of the National Executive Committee of the Malawi Congress Party and is interpreter for the President at all public rallies.

Highly intelligent and probably ambitious. Elegant and charming, she performs her role with dignity. As the President gets older she plays an increasing role in public affairs, both behind the scenes and in public. Takes a great interest in recruiting staff for, and the general functioning of, Kamuzu Academy.

KADZAMIRA, MISS MARY

Private Secretary to the Life President. Sister of the Official Hostess. Born 1940. Single.

Taught in primary schools and in youth leadership until 1965. Attended Saint Godric's College, London, 1966-67, obtaining foreign student diploma for proficiency in English and secretarial subjects, and University of Cambridge English Proficiency Certificate. No public role until late 1970s (Malawi Government staff list shows her as an un-allocated shorthand typist), when she became involved in the production of Hansard and in helping her sister Cecilia in the President's private office. Officially appointed private secretary to the President in March 1981.

A roly poly sort of person, the perfect foil to her dignified sister. A non-stop talker, often very amusing. Intelligent and shrewd, but with little influence.



DELEZA, MP THE HONOURABLE WADSON B

Minister of Transport and Communications since January 1985. Member of the National Executive Committee. MP for Chiradzulu North. Speaks good English. Married with children.

Born 1936. Educated at Zomba Catholic School 1952-57; BSc in Agriculture, Haile Sellassie University, Addis Ababa 1964; MSc in Agriculture at Southern Illinois University, USA 1966.

Served in the Department of Agriculture from 1966-71. Nominated MP for Chiradzulu 1971. Minister of Labour and later also Minister of Transport and Communications 1972. Failed to gain a seat in the 1976 Parliamentary elections but given portfolio of Organisation of African Unity Affairs. Labour portfolio added 1976. Returned unopposed in 1978 elections and given Labour portfolio which was withdrawn in 1982.

Small, and aggressive when roused, he appears to lead a charmed life in his relations with the President, whom he frequently accompanies on visits abroad. A lucid speaker. Can be cordial and appears well disposed to Britain, although he is unpopular in expatriate business circles, who regarded him as unhelpful when he was Minister of Labour.



HARA, MP THE HONOURABLE STEVEN CHIMWEMWE

Minister of Trade, Industry and Tourism since January 1985. MP for Mzimba South. Speaks good English. Married with six children.

Born 1936, Mzimba South (Northern Region). Tumbaka. Educated mostly in Malawi. BA in Social Science at forerunner of Chancellor College in Zomba. Three month attachment to Hertfordshire Education Authority in 1974 studying school administration.

Teaching, leading to headmaster of Mzimba South Secondary Day School 1975-76. Member of Parliament for Mzimba South since 1976. Minister of Trade, Industry and Tourism 1978-80. Appointed Minister of Education and Culture January 1982, Minister of Youth July 1983, Minister of Transport and Communications April 1984.

Bland and obliging, he seems to be intelligent and well-informed. Mr Hara speaks well of Britain and its aid over the years and was obviously influenced by his three months' attachment in 1974.



MTENJE, MP THE HONOURABLE POULTON CHAMDIMBA

Minister of Forestry and Natural Resources since 1985. Speaks good English. Born 1945. Married, eight children.

Obtained a Diploma in Journalism from the University of Nairobi in 1965. Worked for Malawi Broadcasting Corporation from 1964-70. Moved to private business from 1977-80 when he worked for the Mutual Insurance Company. Elected as Member of Parliament in 1983. Appointed to present position in 1984 and was re-appointed in recent Cabinet reshuffle.



TEMBO, THE HONOURABLE JOHN Z U

Member, National Executive Committee, Malawi Congress Party; Chairman of the Council of the University of Malawi. Uncle of the Official Hostess. Speaks good English. His present (second) wife is Lesothan.

Born 1932. Ngoni with Chewa connections from Dedza. Began career as a teacher, but went into politics at the time of Independence. Since then, has never been far from the centre of the political stage in Malawi. Virtually alone among those who span the time from the first independent Malawi Cabinet to the group of political managers who now run the country. Was Governor of the Reserve Bank for 12 years until 1984, the statute being amended to allow this. Since then has been given no new major appointment. Regarded as one of the front runners among contenders for the succession. Has shown considerable ruthlessness in removing principal rivals to the succession over the years.

Great charm when he wishes to exercise it. Highly regarded as a Central Banker. Not a popular man - disliked and feared by many.



KAKHOBWE, MR SAMSON MARTIN (SAM)

Principal Secretary, External Affairs, since January 1983. Speaks fluent English. Married to a Lesotho citizen, two young children.

Born 1940 in Lilongwe. BA from University of Botswana. Joined Administrative Service in 1968. After a year in Transport and Communications, moved in 1973 to External Affairs. Ambassador to Federal Republic of Germany 1973-75; High Commissioner to Zambia 1975-78 and to Britain 1978-79, from where he was withdrawn prematurely to be Principal Secretary for Agriculture for one year. Appointed Principal Secretary to Treasury November 1980 until March 1982, when appointed Ambassador to Ethiopia and OAU.

Friendly, intelligent and personable. There has been a marked improvement in the efficiency and helpfulness of External Affairs since his arrival. Carries a heavy load with apparent ease. Often employed by the President as an emissary abroad.



MKONA, HIS EXCELLENCY MR CALLISTO METELLENYA

Malawi High Commissioner in London since 1981. Born 1930, Lomwe. Speaks fluent English. Married with children.

After leaving school studied for the priesthood. Obtained a Doctorate in Canon Law and a Diploma in Social Sciences in Rome. After ordination, Secondary School teacher 1962-64. Education Secretary-General for Roman Catholic Schools in Malawi 1964-67. Left the priesthood 1967. Appointed Education Attache at the Malawi Mission to the UN in New York 1967. First Secretary (Education) Washington 1968-70. First Secretary London 1970-71. Ambassador to Ethiopia 1971. Minister in Washington 1972-73. High Commissioner to Zambia 1973-75. Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany 1975-78. Deputy Secretary at the Ministry of External Affairs 1978-79. Principal Secretary to Minister without portfolio 1979-80.

An intelligent, competent man, who was an impressive Principal Secretary. Unusually frank and outspoken. In his working environment he takes life seriously. Socially, both he and his wife, Helen, an attractive and articulate lady not always, however, in the best of health, are good company. Left for Salisbury in 1980, designated as Malawi High Commissioner, but, before he had presented his credentials, was recalled and nominated by President Banda to his present post.

STATE VISIT OF PRESIDENT BANDA: 16-19 APRIL 1985

Pronunciation Guide and Forms of Address

FULL NAME	PRONUNCIATION	ABBREVIATED FORM OF NAME FOR USE IN CONVERSATION	STANDARD OF ENGLISH
His Excellency the Life President of the Republic of Malawi, Ngwazi Dr H Kamuzu Banda	Ban as in " <u>band</u> " da as in " <u>dark</u> "	Your Excellency	good
Mama/Miss Cecilia Tamanda Kadzamira Official Hostess	Kad as in " <u>cad</u> " zam as in " <u>Zambia</u> " ira as in " <u>era</u> "	Miss Kadzamira	good
Miss Mary Kadzamira Private Secretary to the President	as above	Miss Kadzamira	good
The Honourable Wadson B Deleza MP Minister of Transport and Communications	Del as in " <u>delicate</u> " e as in " <u>way</u> " za as in " <u>Zambia</u> "	Mr Deleza or Minister	good
The Honourable S Chimwemwe Hara MP Minister of Trade, Industry and Tourism	Ha as in " <u>happy</u> " ra as in " <u>ran</u> "	Mr Hara or Minister	good
The Honourable P C Mtenje MP Minister of Forestry and Natural Resources	M as in " <u>mmm</u> " ten as in " <u>ten</u> " je as in " <u>jelly</u> "	Mr Mtenje or Minister	good

FULL NAME	PRONUNCIATION	ABBREVIATED FORM OF NAME OR USE IN CONVERSATION	STANDARD OF ENGLISH
The Honourable J Z U Tembo Member of the National Executive Committee of the Malawi Congress Party	Tem as in " <u>tem</u> ple" bo as in " <u>bo</u> "	Mr Tembo	good
Mr J R Ngwiri Secretary to the Life President and Cabinet	N as in " <u>thin</u> " gw as in " <u>Gwent</u> " iri as in " <u>erie</u> "	Mr Ngwiri	good
Mr S M Kakhobwe Secretary for External Affairs	Ka as in " <u>cap</u> " khob as in " <u>cob</u> " we as in " <u>way</u> "	Mr Kakhobwe	good
His Excellency Mr Callisto M Mkona Malawi High Commissioner in London	M as in " <u>mmm</u> " ko as in " <u>kohl</u> " na as in " <u>nap</u> "	High Commissioner	good
Mrs Helen V Mkona	as above	Mrs Mkona	good
Dr H M Ntaba BA MD Doctor in Attendance	N as in " <u>thin</u> " ta as in " <u>tab</u> " ba as in " <u>bad</u> "	Dr Ntaba	good
Mr W P Jumbe Chief of Protocol	Jum as in " <u>jump</u> " be as in " <u>bay</u> "	Mr Jumbe	fair

FULL NAME	PRONUNCIATION	ABBREVIATED FORM OF NAME FOR USE IN CONVERSATION	STANDARD OF ENGLISH
Miss A Kananji BA Protocol Officer and Personal Assistant to Official Hostess	Ka as in " <u>car</u> " nan as in " <u>nanny</u> " ji as in " <u>Jehovah</u> "	Miss Kananji	good
Lt Col Charles D E Kalumo ADC to the President	Ka as in " <u>cat</u> " lum as in " <u>loom</u> " o as in " <u>oh</u> "	Col Kalumo	good



CONFIDENTIAL

CALD



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

(2)

JEN 015/1.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office		
3 April 1985		
10 APR 1985		

Dear Mark,

Letter from Mr R Lefley to the Prime Minister

As requested in your letter of 25 March, I enclose a draft reply to Mr R Lefley of the Camden Human Rights Group about the campaign on behalf of Orton and Vera Chirwa.

Orton Chirwa is a Malawian opposition leader in exile who, together with his wife, was sentenced to death on grounds of treason in 1983. We took part in a joint demarche for clemency by the Ten in February 1984. We also sent a special envoy, Sir Roger du Boulay, on a confidential mission in March 1984 to make clear to President Banda that there could be no State Visit until commutation of the death sentence. Shortly thereafter, the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and this opened the way to an invitation to the State Visit. It was always inevitable that some sectors of British public opinion would use the Visit to press for the release of the Chirwas.

Their trial by traditional court fell far below our standards of justice and a life sentence was almost certainly excessive (Orton Chirwa did publicly threaten to use force against Banda but we know of no actual plot). Nevertheless, this is an internal matter, and having obtained commutation of the death sentence there are insufficient grounds for us to intervene further. Moreover, it is an issue on which President Banda is acutely sensitive. Any hint of readiness on our part to intervene would be publicised by the Camden Human Rights Group and would gravely damage the State Visit. Indeed, the Foreign Secretary considers that the matter should not be raised with President Banda at all.

Yours Sincerely,
Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

Mark Addison Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

MWJ AFM



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

18 March 1985

State Visit of President Banda

Thank you for your letter of 18 March about the arrangements for President Banda's visit.

I am sure that the Prime Minister would have no objection to beginning her talks with President Banda tête-à-tête and then widening the discussion. It will of course be all right for members of the President's suite to wait in No.10 until the lunch begins. It would be very helpful if the Department could get established precisely with the High Commission in advance who will and will not attend the talks with President Banda. Too often I find myself doing a Lars Porsena act on the stairs, physically preventing hoards of accompanying retinue from flooding the talks.

Charles Powell

Len Appleyard Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

le



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

18 March 1985

Dear Charles,

State Visit by President Banda: 16-19 April

Your letters of 14 December 1984 and 15 January confirmed President Banda's meeting with the Prime Minister on 17 April at 12.15 followed by lunch at 13.15

The Malawians have told us that President Banda would like part of his talks with the Prime Minister to be tête-à-tête, apart from note-takers. We therefore suggest that the Prime Minister might spend 20-30 minutes in closed session with the President, and that the Foreign Secretary and one or two officials should then join them, together with one of the Malawian Ministers accompanying the President to London (probably Mr Deleza, Minister of Transport and Communications) and the Malawi High Commissioner.

The Lord Chamberlain's Office propose that most of the other members of the President's Suite who will also be attending the Prime Minister's lunch should arrive at No 10 with President Banda, even though they will not be involved in the talks. I understand that this is usual practice during State Visits.

I should be grateful to know whether this is acceptable to the Prime Minister. We shall of course submit briefing nearer the time and notes for the Prime Minister's speech at her luncheon.

Yours ever,

Lee Appleyard

(L V Appleyard)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

MMAW: Visit by President Banda
July 79



18 MAR 1985

10 11 12 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

[Faint, illegible handwritten text]

[Faint, illegible handwritten text]

PRIME MINISTER

noted in
day - please
file - CR.

State Visit of President Banda:
16-19 April

You asked last night what time he is due to arrive.

His ETA is 12 noon but you are asked to be in Home Park at Windsor between 1130 and 1145.

Can I have your decision please on whether you wish to go by helicopter.

CR.

It would be
too expensive
no

Caroline Ryder

7 March 1985

PRIME MINISTER

State Visit of President Banda:
16-19 April

You ought to be aware that President of Banda of Malawi arrives at Windsor Castle on Tuesday, 16 April. Unfortunately, the State Banquet is also at Windsor Castle that evening.

This means 4 hours in a car for the one day.

Would you consider going to and from Windsor for the arrival ceremony by helicopter?

What time is *St.*
he due to arrive?
mt

6 March, 1985.

su

MR. THATCHER

You ought to be aware that the State Banquet in honour of President Banda of Malawi on Tuesday, 16 April, is at Windsor Castle, so you will have to leave Downing Street at about 1830.

er

6 March, 1985.



10 DOWNING STREET

Detectives

I attach all the relevant papers
for the State Banquet at Windsor
Castle on Tuesday, 16 April, in
honour of President Banda.

er

6 March, 1985.

PRIME MINISTER

ls
file

State Visit of President Banda:
16-19 April

You ought to be aware that President of Banda of Malawi arrives at Windsor Castle on Tuesday, 16 April. Unfortunately, the State Banquet is also at Windsor Castle that evening.

This means 4 hours in a car for the one day.

Would you consider going to and from Windsor for the arrival ceremony by helicopter?

er

6 March, 1985.

PRIME MINISTER

please file
CR
25/2

State Visit of the Life President of
the Republic of Malawi Arrival

16 April 1985

You have to go to Windsor to meet
President Banda. It is a dreadful nuisance
but we have no alternative but to agree.

CR.

25 February 1985



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

25 February 1985

State Visit of the Life President of
the Republic of Malawi Arrival
16 April 1985

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 25 February.

I confirm that the Prime Minister will be at Home Park between 1130 and 1145 on Tuesday 16 April to greet President Banda. Mrs. Thatcher will be starting her journey from 10 Downing Street.

Caroline Ryder

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Johnston,
KCVO, MC.

1010
From: Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Johnston, KCVO., MC.

ccjc



LORD CHAMBERLAIN'S OFFICE,
ST JAMES'S PALACE, S.W.1.

25th February, 1985

My dear Prime Minister,

State Visit of The Life President of the Republic of Malawi
Arrival - 16th April, 1985

I have the honour to inform you that The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh will be present at the Royal Pavilion in the Home Park (Public) Windsor to meet The Life President of the Republic of Malawi upon his Arrival there at the beginning of the State Visit at 12 noon on the 16th April next.

The Queen wishes you, as Prime Minister, to be present on this occasion and to arrive at the Home Park (Public) by Gate No. 1 between 11.30 a.m. and 11.45 a.m. A map of the Home Park showing this entrance will be sent to you with your Ceremonial.

Day Dress with hat will be worn.

I shall be grateful if you will be so good as to acknowledge this letter and let me know the address from which you will start your journey to Windsor, so that a route and windscreen label may be provided to facilitate your arrival.

Yours sincerely,
John Johnston

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher, MP.,
10 Downing Street,
London,
S.W.1.



hwe

67

cc. PC

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

22 February, 1985

STATE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF MALAWI

Thank you for your letter of 19 February asking whether the Prime Minister will wish to attend the Corporation of London's Banquet in honour of the President of Malawi.

I am confident that the Prime Minister will not wish to attend this and agree with your suggestions for those to whom the invitations should be extended.

(C.D. Powell)

C R Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

A handwritten signature in the bottom right corner of the page, appearing to be 'C.R. Budd'.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

19 February 1985

Dear Charles,

State Visit of the President of Malawi: Guildhall
Banquet: 17 April

The Corporation of London will offer a reception and banquet at the Guildhall in honour of the President of Malawi on 17 April at 1930. We have been advised that two Cabinet Ministers and two Junior Ministers will be invited to attend, together with their wives.

The Prime Minister will have entertained the President to lunch earlier in the day. It would be helpful to know whether she would wish to attend the evening function as well, though the Foreign Secretary does not think she need feel under any obligation to do so. The Foreign Secretary will have already been present at the arrival at Windsor Gate, the State Banquet and the Prime Minister's lunch and would not propose to attend the Guildhall Banquet. We propose to suggest that invitations should be extended to Mr and Mrs Biffen, Mr and Mrs Rees, Mr and Mrs Butcher and The Hon Michael and Lady Ancram - all of whom have said they would be willing to attend.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

1000
1000



1000
1000

199 FEB 1005



JE K

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

15 January 1985

State Visit by President Banda

Thank you for your letter of 14 January about the timing of the Prime Minister's talks with President Banda.

I note that the President will arrive at 1210 for talks at 1215.

(C.D. POWELL)

C.R. Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

14 January 1985

*OK sub
4/c
1) BB to note
2) Back to me
GD
14/1*

Dear Charles,

State Visit by President Banda: 16-19 April

You wrote to Len Appleyard on 14 December confirming that the Prime Minister would receive President Banda for talks at 10 Downing Street on 17 April at 12 noon, followed by lunch at 1315.

To allow sufficient time for President Banda to complete an earlier engagement and to travel to London from Windsor, the Lord Chamberlain's Office now suggest that President Banda should arrive at No 10 at 1210 for talks at 1215, followed by lunch as agreed earlier. The Malawians can agree. I should be grateful for your confirmation that this change is also acceptable to the Prime Minister.

I am copying this letter to the Lord Chamberlain's Office.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

MALAWI
Pres Banda

14 JAN 1985

12 3 4
11 10 9 8 7 6 5





file ELZAAAY

be PC

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

14 December 1984

State Visit by President Banda

Thank you for your letter of 13 December.

BF | I confirm that we have President Banda in the diary for talks on 17 April at 12 noon to be followed by lunch hosted by the Prime Minister.

I am copying this letter to the Lord Chamberlain's Office.

(C.D. Powell)

Len Appleyard Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

ECU



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 December 1984

*Can you please confirm this
CP
14/12*

Dear Charles,

State Visit by President Banda: 16-19 April 1985

A meeting between the Prime Minister and President Banda at 10 Downing Street is pencilled in your diary for 17 April at 12 noon to be followed by lunch hosted by the Prime Minister at 1315. I am now writing provisionally to confirm these arrangements subject to formal agreement by the Malawians.

I am copying this letter to the Lord Chamberlain's office.

Yours ever,

Len Appleyard

(L V Appleyard)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London, W1A 0AD

1775 DEC 1984



9 10 11 12 1
8 4 2
7 6 5

[Faint handwritten text]

[Faint handwritten text, possibly a signature or name]

CONFIDENTIAL

file BK

cc: C. Stephens.
B. Ingham.

cf. Zimbabwe: visits by
Mugabe: May 80

22 December 1981

Malawi.

Visits of Dr. Banda and Mr. Mugabe

Thank you for your letter of 18 December.

Following a discussion with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary this morning, the Prime Minister agrees that Mr. Mugabe may be invited to visit the United Kingdom from 18 - 21 May. However, the Prime Minister would wish to keep publicity for this visit within bounds.

A J COLES

Roderic Lyne, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

BIG

se. Zimbabwe: visits by
Mugabe: May 80

PRIME MINISTER

MUGABE

You minuted on the Foreign and Commonwealth Office letter below that you did not want to invite the above from 18-21 May.

I wonder whether we may not be getting into an awkward situation. With your agreement Lord Soames conveyed an invitation from you to Mugabe last March to visit Britain as a guest of the Government. Mugabe accepted the invitation. I can quite see that his visit will attract some criticism but, if the May date is missed, will it not be even more difficult later on? Would it not be better to get it over and done with?

Would you be willing to have a word about this with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary when he comes to see you about Poland tomorrow morning?

Yes mk

A.J.C. 21/12

21 December 1981

*cc. Zimbabwe: visits
by Mugabe: May 82*



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

18 December 1981

Dear John,

Visits of Dr Banda and Mr Mugabe

Our letter of 18 August confirmed that we had conveyed an invitation to President Banda of Malawi to make an official visit to Britain in 1982. We asked you to keep open the dates of 18-21 May in the hope that the President would accept our invitation.

The President has now indicated at a meeting on 2 December with the High Commissioner in Lilongwe, Mr Peters, that he does not wish to take up our invitation for a visit in May. His reluctance seems to stem from his continued hankering for a State Visit. The President has, however, asked that our invitation should remain on the table. We are considering the implications of this postponement, but it is now clear that the President will not be coming to the UK in May next year.

We have considered alternative uses of the slot made available by President Banda's refusal, and would wish to propose that the dates be offered instead to Mr Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe. You may recall that at the time of the ZIMCORD conference in Zimbabwe in March this year, Lord Soames conveyed an oral invitation from the Prime Minister to Mr Mugabe to visit Britain. Mr Mugabe accepted the invitation, but no dates have yet been agreed.

In his letter of 3 April, Francis Richards indicated that we should prefer the first half of 1982 for a visit by Mr Mugabe, if that were possible. Until now, no dates in that period have readily presented themselves. However, with the vacation of President Banda's slot, the way would now seem clear to offer Mr Mugabe the period 18-21 May. Mr Mugabe's visit would be an official one, the same status as that offered to President Banda. Little change in planning would therefore be required to accommodate Mr Mugabe.

*No - 1
do not think
there would be
a problem
at all*

Subject to your approval, we would now wish to instruct our Post in Salisbury formally to offer Mr Mugabe the dates of 18-21 May 1982 for his visit.

*Yours ever
Rodric Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

157

DEC 18 1961

11 12 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9



Malawi

RA

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

27 August 1981

Your Excellency

I am writing on behalf of the Prime Minister to thank you for your letter of 18 August, enclosing a message from His Excellency Ngwazi Doctor Banda to the Prime Minister.

I would be grateful if you could arrange for Mrs Thatcher's reply to be forwarded to Dr Banda in Malawi.

yours sincerely

William Rickett

His Excellency Mr C M Mkona

55



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

27 August 1981

Your Excellency,

I was very glad to have Your Excellency's letter of 17 August which I have read with much interest. I am passing on to Lord Carrington for his information your especially interesting remarks about Zimbabwe and your close relations with its leaders.

It is kind of you to express the hope that I might one day be able to visit Malawi, and it is a hope I sincerely share. I have heard so much about your beautiful country and the qualities of its people that I should be delighted if one day I were to have the opportunity of a visit.

It was a pleasure to see Your Excellency and Miss Kadzamira in London at the time of the Royal Wedding. My husband and I warmly reciprocate your and the Misses Kadzamira's good wishes.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

H.E. Ngwazi Doctor H Kamuzu Banda, GCB

*RH
2070*

JS



Pl type for you, but note X. Wm 2/8

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

20 August 1981

Dear Willie,

Thank you for your letter of 18 August, enclosing a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from the President of Malawi.

/ I enclose a suggested draft reply from the Prime Minister.

X I assume that you will ask the Malawi High Commissioner in London to transmit the Prime Minister's reply to Dr Banda in Malawi, since Mr Mkona delivered Dr Banda's letter to Mrs Thatcher. It would be helpful if, when you do so, you would also let us have a copy of the Prime Minister's reply so that we may send the British Acting High Commissioner in Lilongwe copies of both letters for his own information.

Yours ever,
F N Richards

(F N Richards)
Private Secretary

Willie Rickett Esq
10 Downing St



Faint, illegible text at the top of the page, possibly a header or title.

Faint, illegible text below the header, possibly a subtitle or address line.

1000
1000
1000
1000
1000
1000
1000
1000
1000
1000

12 0 AUG 1981

Registry
No.

DRAFT

LETTER

Type 1 +

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

- Top Secret.
- Secret.
- Confidential.
- Restricted.
- Unclassified.

To:-

His Excellency Ngwazi Doctor
 H Kamuzu Banda, GCB
 Life President of the Republic of
 Malawi
 State House
 Zomba
 Malawi

From

The Prime Minister

Telephone No. Ext.

Department

PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

I was very glad to have Your Excellency's letter of 17 August which I have read with much interest. I am passing on to Lord Carrington for his information your especially interesting remarks about Zimbabwe and your close relations with its leaders.

It is kind of you to express the hope that I might one day be able to visit Malawi, and it is a hope I sincerely share. I have heard so much about your beautiful country and the qualities of its people that I should be delighted if one day I were to have the opportunity of a visit.

It was a pleasure to see Your Excellency and Miss Kadzamira in London at the time of the Royal Wedding. My husband and I warmly reciprocate your and the Misses Kadzamira's good wishes.

CONFIDENTIAL

1. Campaign: to write 2. respond to me
~~Michael Alexander (or)~~ WH
LP. 1918 Michael Alexander (or)
I have told FRO this is OK
and that we will
Foreign and Commonwealth Office expect a
review in
January.



London SW1A 2AH

WH
19/8

18 August 1981

Dear Willie,

Malawi: Proposed Official Visit for President Banda in 1982

In response to Roderic Lyne's letter of 14 July the Prime Minister kindly agreed to sign a formal invitation to President Banda to pay an official visit to Britain in May next year.

During the President's recent extended stay in London for the Royal Wedding, it became clear from our informal enquiries that the Malawians were (despite our several earlier efforts to prepare the ground) still somewhat sensitive about the prospect of receiving an invitation for an official rather than a State visit (for which the President has long hankered). When Mr Luce called on him at Claridges on 7 August President Banda indicated that he was unlikely to want to make any foreign visits during 1982: Mr Luce had the impression that this was a diplomatic excuse for not taking up our proposal for an official visit next year. Mr Luce and the President therefore agreed that to save possible embarrassment for either side he would not for the moment hand over the Prime Minister's formal invitation but would keep it in reserve in case the prospects for a Malawian visit next year improved.

Despite the Malawians' reluctance to move forward on our offer of a visit we should still, for the sake of our bilateral relations, like to keep open the possibility of an official visit for the President next year. We therefore propose with your agreement to retain the Prime Minister's invitation on file here for possible future use; to keep our provisional reservation of 18-21 May 1982; and to review the situation again at the beginning of next year.

Yours ever,
Francis Richards

(F N Richards)
Private Secretary

William Rickett Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE



1961 JUN 6 11



File

OSJ

18 August 1981

I enclose a letter to the Prime Minister from Hastings Banda, President of Malawi, which was handed to me by the High Commissioner today.

I should be grateful if you could provide a short draft reply for the Prime Minister to send to Mr. Banda by close of play on 21 August, if possible.

WR

Francis Richards, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

5

pa. BF with Flo draft.
win
20/8

In reply please quote No. LC/2/2/7

Telephone: 01 - 491 4172/7

Telegrams: KWACHACOM, LONDON



33 Grosvenor Street
London, W1X 0HS

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER OF MALAWI

August 18, 1981.

Mr William Rickett,
Private Secretary to the Rt. Hon. Prime Minister,
10, Downing Street,
London SW1.

Dear Sir,

I have been instructed by my Head of State
to deliver the attached envelope to the Rt. Honourable
Prime Minister Mrs M. Thatcher.

I shall be grateful if the message could be
transmitted to its high destination.

Yours sincerely,

C.M. Mkona
HIGH COMMISSIONER

Att:

T 117/81

Prime Minister

2

I have asked FEA for a short
draft reply for you to send to this letter



STATE HOUSE, *WM*
ZOMBA, *18/8*
MALAWI.

Central Africa.
17th August, 1981.

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher, M.P., P.C.,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London, S.W.1.
ENGLAND.

mt

Prime Minister,

Please permit me to thank you, once again.
It was most kind of you to invite me and Miss Kadzamira
to the two functions. Miss Kadzamira and I enjoyed
both the lunch and the dinner, very much.

I know, Prime Minister, that you are very
busy at home there. It is not easy for you to get
away from Britain to visit countries outside of Europe.
But I sincerely hope that one day, it will be possible
for you to visit us here in Malawi. We would like,
very much, to see you here. I know that the people
here will be very, very happy to see you as they were
to see Her Majesty the Queen, His Royal Highness the
Duke of Edinburgh and Prince Andrew, two years ago.

Recently, twice, I have been to Zimbabwe.
First, I went there to attend the economic committee
meeting of Heads of State and Government of Southern
Africa, and then, on my way to Britain.

I am happy to say that I am less worried
about Zimbabwe now than I was a year or two ago.
Both Mr. Mugabe and his President, Rev. Banana, are
more or less following our policy here. One of them,
I think Mr. Mugabe himself, has made a public statement
to the effect that they will follow our policy here.
Certainly, they have not expelled Europeans any more
than we have done here. Although they talk socialism,
they have not embarked on anything drastic any more

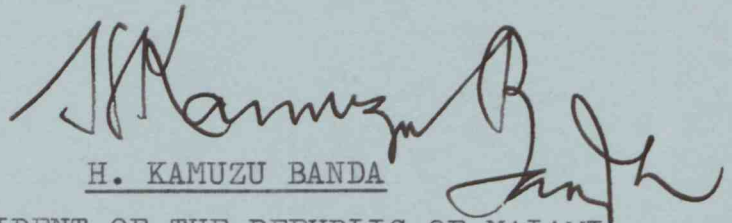
than we have done here. We have not interfered with private enterprise here, except that we have, as much as possible, abolished absentee landlordism. They are doing more or less the same in Zimbabwe.

Again, politically and socially, the leaders in Zimbabwe are keeping very close to us. On all occasions on which we have invited them, they have come. And there have been times when they have come here on their own initiative. What is even more significant, they have sent some of their men here to learn what we are doing in certain fields.

For example, they have sent some of their men here to study the system of village or smallholder agriculture. As you may have heard, we are one of the very few countries in Africa where village, as opposed to estate, agriculture has developed to a very high standard. What is even more important is that we are one of the very few countries in Africa that are self-sufficient in food. We feed ourselves in Malawi. Some of the most better off people in Malawi are the ordinary farmers in the villages. And this has attracted the attention of leaders in Zimbabwe. I have been told that they want to adopt our system of village agriculture for their own people there.

I hope this letter will find you and Mr. Thatcher well. It leaves the two Kadzamira sisters and me well.

Sincerely yours,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'H. Kamuzu Banda'. The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with some loops and flourishes.

H. KAMUZU BANDA

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALAWI

In reply please quote No. LC/2/2/7

Telephone: 01 - 491 4172/7

Telegrams: KWACHACOM, LONDON



33 Grosvenor Street
London, W1X OHS

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER OF MALAWI

August 18, 1981.

Mr William Rickett,
Private Secretary to the Rt. Hon. Prime Minister,
10, Downing Street,
London SW1.

Dear Sir,

I have been instructed by my Head of State to deliver the attached envelope to the Rt. Honourable Prime Minister Mrs M. Thatcher.

I shall be grateful if the message could be transmitted to its high destination.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'C.M. Mkona'.

C.M. Mkona
HIGH COMMISSIONER

Att:

Central Africa.
17th August, 1981.

SUBJECT
PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. 1117/81

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher, M.P., P.C.,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London, S.W.1.
ENGLAND.

Prime Minister,

Please permit me to thank you, once again. It was most kind of you to invite me and Miss Kadzamira to the two functions. Miss Kadzamira and I enjoyed both the lunch and the dinner, very much.

I know, Prime Minister, that you are very busy at home there. It is not easy for you to get away from Britain to visit countries outside of Europe. But I sincerely hope that one day, it will be possible for you to visit us here in Malawi. We would like, very much, to see you here. I know that the people here will be very, very happy to see you as they were to see Her Majesty the Queen, His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh and Prince Andrew, two years ago.

Recently, twice, I have been to Zimbabwe. First, I went there to attend the economic committee meeting of Heads of State and Government of Southern Africa, and then, on my way to Britain.

I am happy to say that I am less worried about Zimbabwe now than I was a year or two ago. Both Mr. Mugabe and his President, Rev. Banana, are more or less following our policy here. One of them, I think Mr. Mugabe himself, has made a public statement to the effect that they will follow our policy here. Certainly, they have not expelled Europeans any more than we have done here. Although they talk socialism, they have not embarked on anything drastic any more

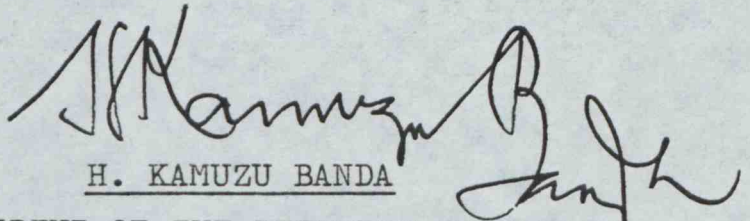
than we have done here. We have not interfered with private enterprise here, except that we have, as much as possible, abolished absentee landlordism. They are doing more or less the same in Zimbabwe.

Again, politically and socially, the leaders in Zimbabwe are keeping very close to us. On all occasions on which we have invited them, they have come. And there have been times when they have come here on their own initiative. What is even more significant, they have sent some of their men here to learn what we are doing in certain fields.

For example, they have sent some of their men here to study the system of village or smallholder agriculture. As you may have heard, we are one of the very few countries in Africa where village, as opposed to estate, agriculture has developed to a very high standard. What is even more important is that we are one of the very few countries in Africa that are self-sufficient in food. We feed ourselves in Malawi. Some of the most better off people in Malawi are the ordinary farmers in the villages. And this has attracted the attention of leaders in Zimbabwe. I have been told that they want to adopt our system of village agriculture for their own people there.

I hope this letter will find you and Mr. Thatcher well. It leaves the two Kadzamira sisters and me well.

Sincerely yours,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'H. Kamuzu Banda', is written over the typed name.

H. KAMUZU BANDA

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALAWI



Malawi

th

SUBJECT

file

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T105A/81

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

17 July 1981

Your Excellency,

On behalf of Her Majesty's Government may I extend to you a very warm invitation to make an official visit to Britain next year? I understand that a visit from 18 to 21 May in 1982 will be convenient to you and we should be delighted to receive you then.

Her Majesty The Queen is aware of the proposal that you should visit Britain. She expects to be in London during May and has asked me to let you know that She would be very pleased to invite you to either a luncheon or a dinner.

I look forward very much to your visit and to holding discussions with you then.

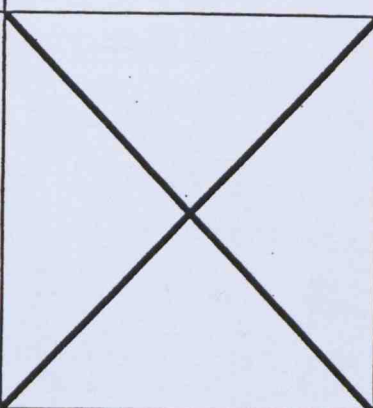
Yours sincerely,

(sgd) MT

His Excellency Ngwazi Doctor H. Kamuzu Banda, G.C.B.

B12

A The National Archives

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>3433</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: <i>Letter from Moore to Lyne dated 17 July 1981</i>	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>11 May 2017 A. Wayland</i>
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
NUMBER NOT USED	
MISSING (TNA USE ONLY)	
DOCUMENT PUT IN PLACE (TNA USE ONLY)	

Instructions for completion of Dummy Card

Use black or blue pen to complete form.

Use the card for one piece or for each extract removed from a different place within a piece.

Enter the department and series,
eg. HO 405, J 82.

Enter the piece and item references, .
eg. 28, 1079, 84/1, 107/3

Enter extract details if it is an extract rather than a whole piece.

This should be an indication of what the extract is,
eg. Folio 28, Indictment 840079, E107, Letter dated 22/11/1995.
Do not enter details of why the extract is sensitive.

If closed under the FOI Act, enter the FOI exemption numbers applying to the closure, eg. 27(1), 40(2).

Sign and date next to the reason why the record is not available to the public ie. Closed under FOI exemption; Retained under section 3(4) of the Public Records Act 1958; Temporarily retained; Missing at transfer or Number not used.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Type for P.N.'s signature

14 July 1981

Dear Michael,

Malawi: Proposed Official Visit by President Banda

Thank you for your letter of 15 June. Our informal soundings of the Malawians indicate that the May dates will be convenient and, with your agreement, we therefore propose to go firm on an official visit for President Banda from Tuesday 18 to Friday 21 May 1982.

To lessen Presidential disappointment at receiving an invitation for an official rather than a State Visit, we propose to try to dress up the arrangements for the programme and in particular to try to make as much as possible of Royal involvement. Her Majesty The Queen has already offered to give a lunch or dinner for the President.

// As part of the presentational exercise, we should like to take the opportunity of President Banda's visit to London at the end of July for the Royal Wedding to convey to him a formal written invitation for his official visit. Lord Carrington would therefore be grateful to know whether the Prime Minister would be willing to send an invitation on the lines of the enclosed draft. I also enclose the text of a proposed press release for issue at the time

THIS IS A COPY. THE ORIGINAL IS
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4)
OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT

yours ever

Roderic Lyne

Temporarily retained, Wayland, 11/5/17

(R Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander
Private Secretary
No 10 Downing Street

D 11 (Revised)

DRAFT: ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~
~~minute/letter/teletype/depasch/note~~

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

Reference

The Prime Minister

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

His Excellency Ngwazi
Doctor H Kamuzu Banda, GCB,
Life President of the
Republic of Malawi

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

on behalf of
[Your Excellency]
Her Majesty's Government

may

and I extend to you a very warm invitation to make an official visit to Britain next year? I understand that a visit from 18 to 21 May in 1982 will be convenient to you and we should be delighted to receive you then.

that should Her Majesty The Queen is aware of the proposal *at this time* for you to visit Britain, in 1982. She expects to be in London during May and has asked me to let you know that She would be very pleased to invite you to either a luncheon or a dinner.

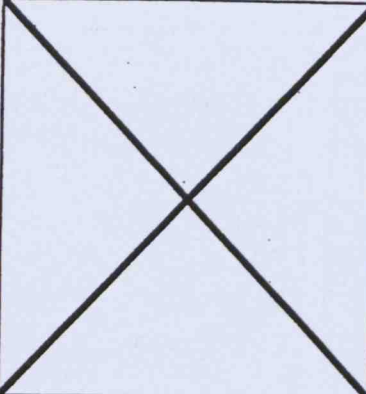
I look forward very much to your visit and to holding discussions with you then.

Enclosures—flag(s).....

PROPOSED PRESS RELEASE

During his current visit to the United Kingdom for the Wedding of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and Lady Diana Spencer, Her Majesty's Government have invited His Excellency Ngwazi Dr H Kamuzu Banda, GCB, Life President of the Republic of Malawi, to make an official visit to the United Kingdom from 18 to 21 May 1982. The Life President has accepted the invitation with pleasure. During his visit President Banda expects to meet Her Majesty The Queen and to have talks with the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and undertake other official engagements.

A The National Archives

DEPARTMENT/SERIES	Date and sign
..... <i>PREM 19</i>	
PIECE/ITEM (one piece/item number)	
Extract details:	
<i>Letter from Lyne to Moore dated 14 July 1981</i>	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>11 May 2017 Wayland</i>
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
NUMBER NOT USED	
MISSING (TNA USE ONLY)	
DOCUMENT PUT IN PLACE (TNA USE ONLY)	

Instructions for completion of Dummy Card

Use black or blue pen to complete form.

Use the card for one piece or for each extract removed from a different place within a piece.

Enter the department and series,
eg. HO 405, J 82.

Enter the piece and item references, .
eg. 28, 1079, 84/1, 107/3

Enter extract details if it is an extract rather than a whole piece.

This should be an indication of what the extract is,
eg. Folio 28, Indictment 840079, E107, Letter dated 22/11/1995.
Do not enter details of why the extract is sensitive.

If closed under the FOI Act, enter the FOI exemption numbers applying to the closure, eg. 27(1), 40(2).

Sign and date next to the reason why the record is not available to the public ie. Closed under FOI exemption; Retained under section 3(4) of the Public Records Act 1958; Temporarily retained; Missing at transfer or Number not used.

Malawi JS
15 June 1981

MALAWI: PROPOSED OFFICIAL VISIT BY
PRESIDENT BANDA

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 12 June and has agreed that we should proceed as you propose.

MODBA

Roderic Lyne, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

10



Prime Minister ①
Wanted that he proceed
on this basis?

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Yes no
12 June 1981

And
Dear Michael,

Malawi: Proposed Official Visit By President Banda

In your letter of 2 March you confirmed that the Prime Minister had agreed that President Banda should be invited to pay an official visit to Britain in the first half of 1982. We should now like to propose dates during the first half of 1982 to President Banda and I should be grateful if you could seek the Prime Minister's agreement to dates already provisionally discussed of 18-21 May 1982. If these dates are not convenient, possible alternative dates are 22-25 June. I understand that the Prime Minister will be in London over these periods.

The Secretary of State hopes that the Prime Minister will be able to participate in President Banda's programme (as President he carries out the functions of Prime Minister) and, apart from a formal session of talks, would be able to offer hospitality to the President during the visit. I understand that the Prime Minister might be free to do so on Wednesday 19 May (first choice) or Wednesday 23 June (fallback date).

President Banda is anxious that the Queen should be associated with his official visit. Her Majesty has already provisionally agreed to offer the President lunch or dinner during his visit. We are writing separately to Buckingham Palace to arrange a firm date.

President Banda is unmarried but it is established tradition and practice that official invitations to him (including that for the Royal Wedding in July) should also include Miss Cecilia Kadzamira who occupies the position of official Government Hostess in Malawi and for all formal purposes acts as Malawi's First Lady.

Yours ever
Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing St



11 JUN 1981



CONFIDENTIAL

jfh

Malawi

2 March 1981

Proposed Visit by President Banda

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 25 February and has agreed that President Banda should be invited to pay an official visit to this country in the first half of 1982.

MODBA

Roderic Lyne, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

9



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Prime Minister

London SW1A 2AH

*FCO set out the arguments
for an official visit by
President Banda. Suggested
timing is first half of
1982.*

25 February 1981

*Agree in principle that he
should be invited?*

Yes ml

Dear Michael,

MAR 26/2

Malawi Proposed Visit of President Banda

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary has recently decided not to recommend that President Banda of Malawi should be invited to pay a State Visit to the United Kingdom. Lord Carrington does not consider that the present standing of the President and his country justify the cost, effort and disruption involved and the demands on The Queen, the Prime Minister and senior Ministers; nor are there substantial direct commercial benefits to be derived from such a proposal.

There remains however a good case for inviting the President to visit Britain. President Banda is an elder statesman of the Commonwealth; he also has long-standing personal links with Britain where he lived from 1937 to 1953 and practised medicine. The President was host to Her Majesty The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh during The Queen's successful State Visit to Malawi in July 1979. Malawi is virtually run by President Banda. There is no obvious successor but the likely contenders are mostly in the Banda circle. An invitation to the President to visit Britain would therefore help to consolidate links with the present and probable future leadership. Malawi is traditionally moderate and anti-Communist. We need to preserve this position and cement links to the West as the country emerges slowly from its self-imposed isolation as the only African country with links to South Africa, and as the uncertain period of potential succession problems starts.

On the other hand President Banda is in his 80s and his personal and perhaps political powers may be on the wane. We can expect some demonstrations against Malawi's human rights record (which has however greatly improved in recent years) led by the Malawi Support Committee in London and the exiled Malawi opposition leader, Mr Mpakati, who has held meetings in Britain before. There may be accusations that Britain is favouring the only African country which maintains links with South

/Africa

CONFIDENTIAL



Africa. We also currently have a batch of consular cases involving several UK citizens in Malawi charged with various financial and accounting offences. Judicial and legal delays in these cases are causing some problems but we would hope these to be resolved by the time any visit took place.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary concludes that Malawi's role as a moderate African country, her traditionally good relations with Britain, coupled with President Banda's own personal links with the UK outweigh the few negative features. He therefore hopes that the Prime Minister will agree that the Prime Minister should be invited to visit Britain as a guest of the Government: and that she could hold talks with him and offer a lunch or dinner.

We know that President Banda has for some years hankered after a State Visit and it is therefore possible that he may react badly to the suggestion that he come as an official rather than as a State Visitor. The High Commissioner's preliminary view is that if we are able to build into an official visit as much colour and ceremonial as possible including perhaps attention by Her Majesty The Queen, any disappointment might be offset. If therefore the Prime Minister approves the recommendation for an official visit we shall ask Mr Peters in Lilongwe to discuss the proposed invitation first on an informal, confidential basis with close Presidential advisers to see how they think the President will react.

With three other African Heads of State visiting Britain in 1981 (Nigeria, Ghana and Camerons) and with the UK's Presidency of the EC later this year it looks as though the most convenient timing for a visit by President Banda will be in the first half of 1982.

Yours ever
Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL



9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
11 12 13

25 FEB 1961



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

5 November 1979

I am writing to thank you for your letter of 5 November enclosing a letter from President Banda to the Prime Minister.

I have of course brought President Banda's letter to the Prime Minister's immediate attention.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Mr. F.Y. Kalamula

KRY

SUBJECT



Malawi TW.
NB: No meeting record
cc/Fco made.

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

**PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T101C/797**

14 September 1979

Emulation,

It was a great pleasure to be able to welcome you to lunch here earlier this week. I hope you enjoyed the occasion as much as I did.

Thank you so much for the splendid gift you left with me. Your lioness - it is hard to think of it as a mere rug - is now on guard in the hall of my flat. She will be a permanent and vivid memento of your visit.

Warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely

Raymond Whelan

His Excellency Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda

6

Original in GR

M



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

7 September 1979

Dear Man,

I am sorry that your absence in Kenya will prevent you coming to lunch with Hastings Banda next week but glad to know that you will be available to help over Rhodesia if needed.

Thank you for your postscript about my visit to Northern Ireland. I felt that I had no choice but to go.

Yours ever

The Right Honourable
The Viscount Boyd of Merton, C.H.

JS



Telephone : 01-491 4172/7
Telegrams : KWACHACOM, LONDON
Telex : 263308 Kwacha G

In reply please quote No. LC/2/2/7

MALAWI HIGH COMMISSION

33 Grosvenor Street
London, W1X OHS

November 5, 1979.

The Principal Private Secretary,
Prime Minister's Office,
10, Downing Street,
London SW1.

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith a letter addressed to The Rt. Hon. Prime Minister, Mrs. M. Thatcher, M.P., which was sent to me from the Ministry of External Affairs in Malawi.

I should be very grateful if you could kindly hand over the letter to the Rt. Hon. Prime Minister.

Yours faithfully,

(F. Y. Kalamula)

ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER

Encl:



T
SUBJECT
STATE HOUSE,
ZOMBA,
MALAWI.

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

20th October, 1979.

SERIAL No. T123E/79T

Prime Minister,

It was most kind of you to write as you did.

In fact, it is I, who must thank you and Mr. Thatcher very much. I enjoyed the luncheon very much. So did those of my people I brought with me.

I am glad you like the lioness.

I take it for granted that you know we have some Members of your Parliament here now. We are very happy to have them here. I can only hope that one day, you will follow their example and pay us a visit here.

With warm personal regards,
Sincerely yours,

Kamuzu Banda

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher



10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER

I think that you have in fact not yet decided where, if anywhere, to place Dr. Banda's rug. But it might be better, in thanking him, to say that it is on display.

14 September 1979

PRIME MINISTER

Visit of President Banda

I attach the brief for President Banda's call on you at 1230 on Tuesday, 11 September. President Banda hopes that his talk with you can be tête-à-tête. I will attend to take a note. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary will hope to arrive a few minutes before lunch in order to brief you and President Banda about progress at the Constitutional Conference.

I also attach the final guest list for your lunch for President Banda. The outturn seems to be more than acceptable.

If you are content with the speaking notes (Brief No 1) I will have them put on a card.

Ph...

7 September 1979

Ph...

GUEST LIST FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S LUNCH FOR PRESIDENT BANDA
TUESDAY, 11 SEPTEMBER 1979 AT 1.00 P.M. FOR 1.15 P.M.

Accepted (33)

The Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher
His Excellency Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda
Miss Celia T. Kadzamira
Miss Mary Kadzamira
HE The High Commissioner for the Republic of Malawi and wife
The Hon Gwanda Chakuamba MP
Mr. Wadson B. Deleza, MP
Mr. David Baza Kaunda, MP

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Carrington KCMG, MC and Lady Carrington
Mr. R. N. Luce, MP and Mrs. Luce
The Rt. Hon. D. H. Ennals MP and Mrs. Ennals
Mr. D. L. Crouch MP and Mrs. Crouch
Lady Macleod of Borne
Lord Harlech KCMG and Lady Harlech
Baroness Faithfull OBE
[Mr. Michael Alexander]

Sir Bryan Roberts KCMG QC JP and Lady Roberts
Mr. P. Meinertzhagen CMG and Mrs. Meinertzhagen
Sir Robert Armitage KCMG MBE and Lady Armitage
Sir Michael Palliser GCMG and Lady Palliser
Mr. Ian Gow MP and Mrs. Gow

MR. ALEXANDER

SEATING PLAN FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S LUNCH FOR PRESIDENT BANDA OF MALAWI IN THE STATE DINING ROOM AT 10 DOWNING STREET ON TUESDAY, 11 SEPTEMBER 1979 AT 1.00 P.M. FOR 1.15 P.M.

Mr. Ian Gow

Mr. D. L. Crouch

Mrs. Meinertzhagen

Lady Armitage

Sir Bryan Roberts

The Rt. Hon. David Ennals

Lady Palliser

Mrs. Luce

Mr. David Baza Kaunda

Mr. Wadson B. Deleze

The Baroness Macleod
of Borne

The Lady Harlech

The Rt. Hon. Lord Carrington

His Excellency the High Commissioner
for the Republic of Malawi

Miss Celia Kadzamira

THE PRIME MINISTER

MR. DENIS THATCHER

His Excellency Ngwazi
Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda

Kankhobwe
Miss ~~Mary~~ Kadzamira

The Lady Carrington

The Rt. Hon. Lord Harlech

The Hon. Gwanda Chakuamba

Mrs. ~~Kankhobwe~~ *Ray Kadzamira*

The Baroness Faithfull

Mr. Richard Luce

Sir Michael Palliser

Mrs. Ennals

Lady Roberts

Sir Robert Armitage

Mr. P. Meinertzhagen

Mrs. Crouch

M

Mrs. Gow

Mr. Michael Alexander



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 September 1979

*Dear Michael,**for [unclear]*

Prime Minister's Meeting and Lunch with President Banda of
Malawi: 11 September 1979

As requested in Bryan Cartledge's letter of 23 July, I enclose briefs for the Prime Minister's meeting and lunch with President Banda of Malawi on Tuesday 11 September. The Malawi High Commissioner has been informed that the talks will be at 1230 hours followed by lunch. The briefs include speaking notes for the Prime Minister to draw on in proposing the President's health at lunch.

You will wish to note that the President likes to be addressed as President Banda (not Dr Banda).

*yours ever
Roderic Lyne*

R M J Lyne

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street



CONFIDENTIAL

BRIEF NO 1

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING AND LUNCH WITH PRESIDENT BANDA
OF MALAWI: 11 SEPTEMBER 1979

MALAWI: SPEAKING NOTES

1. The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh much enjoyed visit to Malawi. Appreciated President Banda's hospitality and chance to see Malawi's development, especially in agriculture. Hope President has enjoyed his visit to Britain. Congratulations on his Honorary Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons.

2. Great pleasure to have His Excellency the Life President as guest of honour at our table and see him in the company of so many old friends of both the President and myself.

[Valuable to us to hear the President's wise views on developments in Africa.]

3. President Banda's enormous contribution to the peaceful development of his people. Guided country to increased prosperity despite lack of natural resources. Principal export crops, tobacco and tea, have done particularly well. Malawi's economy on a firm footing with every prospect of further progress.

4. Glad UK has been able to play a significant part in this encouraging picture through our aid programme.

5. Sorry that Mr Kaḱhobwe is leaving after less than a year as Malawi High Commissioner in London. Congratulations on his appointment as Principal Secretary for Agriculture - one of the most important posts in the Malawi Civil Service.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

for
Rush
- 11/3

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING AND LUNCH WITH PRESIDENT BANDA OF
MALAWI: 11 SEPTEMBER 1979

STEERING BRIEF

1. We wish to:

- (a) demonstrate to President Banda that he is recognised by HMG as an elder statesman whose views on African affairs are valued;
- (b) persuade him to support our efforts to reach a Rhodesian settlement in his contacts with African leaders (particularly the Rev Sithole, with whom he has close ties).

2. There are no matters regarding our bilateral relations which need to be raised. Speaking notes for the luncheon, which is mainly a courtesy gesture to President Banda, are at Brief No 1.

3. Rhodesia is likely to be the main subject of discussion (Brief No 2).

4. Rumours of a severe cut in aid may need to be dispelled (Brief No 3).

5. The Prime Minister may wish to emphasise to President Banda (who is the only African leader who has overt relations with the South African Government) that, with other members of the Five, we are continuing to make serious efforts to resolve the Namibian dispute (Brief No 4).

6. Biographical notes are attached (Brief No 5).

7. Mr Luce will pay a courtesy call on President Banda on 10 September.

Southern African Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
5 September 1979

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

MALAWI: BACKGROUND

General

1. Relatively densely populated small country; population 5.5m. Per capita GNP only \$140. Main exports: tobacco, tea. Well managed free enterprise economy.

Internal Policy

2. President Banda rules Malawi virtually single-handed. There is only one party and the Life President personally vets all appointments. Parliamentary elections were held last year and for the first time the electorate had a choice of candidates although they were all from the Malawi Congress Party (MCP). Opposition is not tolerated but Malawi's human rights record has much improved in the last few years.

Visits

3. The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh visited Malawi at President Banda's invitation from 22-25 July. The visit was an outstanding success. President Banda visits Britain privately nearly every year as a break from his duties at home. During his current visit (11 August-13 September) he received an Honorary Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons at Edinburgh.

Foreign Affairs

4. President Banda determines his foreign policy by reference to Malawi's interests. He has a high regard for Britain, some for the Commonwealth and little for the OAU. He is a staunch anti-Communist. He has no inhibitions about active relations with South Africa. This makes him a conspicuous odd man out among the radical Africans but he is unworried by this.

Relations With the UK

5. The close ties between the UK and Malawi derive from long historical association and the long time that Dr Banda

/spent

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

spent in Britain. We are giving aid worth £26m for the current 3-year period (mainly for agricultural projects) and UK exports to Malawi in 1978 were worth £22.3m; we took £47.7m of Malawian goods. We also help to train and equip the Malawian army.

[Defensive: Admission of Exiled Malawi Leader for Medical Treatment]

6. In August the UK admitted Dr Mpakati for a short visit to Britain for medical treatment for injuries to his hands received when a letter bomb exploded at his home in Mozambique. The originators of the bomb are not known but Dr Mpakati claims it was sent by the Malawi Government. He is a leading opponent of President Banda and the decision to admit him was made on humanitarian grounds. He is accompanied by his Russian wife. The Malawi Government were informed of this decision. To date Dr Mpakati has kept an undertaking he made not to seek publicity for his cause or embarrass HMG during his stay.

Southern African Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
5 September 1979

CONFIDENTIAL



BRIEF No 2

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING AND LUNCH WITH PRESIDENT BANDA OF MALAWI,
11 SEPTEMBER 1979

RHODESIA

POINTS TO MAKE

Constitutional Conference

1. Value of Commonwealth's endorsement of British approach. Lusaka an important step on the way to the Constitutional Conference.
2. First day's proceedings. Lord Carrington's address. Government making a wholehearted effort to bring both sides to agree because this would provide the best possible basis for Rhodesia's future if it could be achieved.
3. Seek agreement first on the Constitutional framework (comparable to other independence constitutions) and then on a full Constitution. Essential to proceed step by step. If agreement can be reached on the destination (independence constitution) HMG are committed (at Lusaka) to hold new elections under our supervision, with Commonwealth and other observers present.
4. Agreement on Constitution, if obtainable, should generate political will to agree on (a) elections (b) separation of the forces.
5. Patriotic Front must realise that for them this may be the last chance of participating peacefully in the country's political
/life.



life. Salisbury Administration should see that this is the way to gain international acceptance, the lifting of sanctions and a reduction in the conflict. Hope President Banda will use his influence in support of this approach.

Sanctions (if raised)

6. Consider what action to take on UK legislation in the light of circumstances when Section 2 of the Southern Rhodesia Act comes up for renewal in mid-November.

7. If we can reach a settlement at the Conference, there should be no difficulty over our lifting sanctions.



CONFIDENTIAL

Polio Campaign

5. Save the Children Fund (SCF) has applied to Overseas Development Administration for financial assistance, under £ for £ Scheme, in establishing a country-wide polio immunization programme in Malawi. Aim of project is eradication of disease which is major problem in Malawi; annual recurrent cost is £128,000. Campaign has support in principle of Minister for Overseas Development; but £ for £ Scheme has no funds available at present to enable new projects to be co-financed. However once programme has been formally cleared by the Government of Malawi and when additional money becomes available, SCF's request will be favourably considered.

Future Timetable

6. New Aid Talks to discuss project aid for triennium 1981-1984 due to take place mid-1980.

Impact of Expenditure Cuts [not to be disclosed]

7. Final aid allocation for Malawi programme for 1979/80 still under consideration at time of writing. Likely that small reduction in the expected level of training and supplementation awards will be necessary and that committed project and expenditure will need to be phased over 4 years rather than three. Malawi Government not yet advised of this. No figure can be put on future aid commitments; if raised Dr Banda should not be led to believe that next triennium Grant will be bigger than present £26m.

Central and Southern Africa Department
Overseas Development Administration
4 September 1979.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

BRIEF NO 4

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING AND LUNCH WITH PRESIDENT BANDA OF
MALAWI: 11 SEPTEMBER 1979

Namibia

Points To Make

1. Five still firmly committed to their Settlement Proposal: only an international solution can guarantee genuine independence.
2. We have made some progress as a result of Sir James Murray's trip to Pretoria. The South African response to the proposals he took with him was positive, but cautious.
3. The Five, with the UN Secretariat, are now drawing up a more detailed formulation of the proposal for a Demilitarised Zone; we hope to negotiate this with the parties soon.

CONFIDENTIAL



BACKGROUND

1. President Banda told the Prime Minister at Lusaka he wants Britain to take a clear lead in determining the terms of a Rhodesian settlement.

2. The President opposes violence for political ends and has not allowed guerrillas into Malawi. His policy is to avoid taking sides in the dispute but Malawi would stand to benefit from a settlement and opening of borders.

3. He has been sympathetic to the Reverend Sithole and although he recognises that the Elections signalled a real change he does not regard the present constitution as an adequate basis for recognition. He closed the Malawi Government Office in Salisbury when Bishop Muzorewa became Prime Minister. This may have been to avoid the embarrassment, before the OAU meeting, of being the only black African country to have permanent representation, although unofficial, in Salisbury.

Rhodesia Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

5 September 1979



CONFIDENTIAL

MALAWI: AID

BACKGROUND

1. One of the world's 25 least developed countries. Lacks any special natural resource yet has achieved remarkable and sustained economic growth since independence in 1964, concentrating on agricultural and other rural development.

2. UK has provided about £140m of aid to Malawi since independence. Latest capital aid grant (1978/81 triennium) is for £26m and is spread over large number of individual projects of which at least half are in the agricultural/rural sector.

3. Major projects are:

a) National Rural Development Programme:

We are providing £4.2m to enable people in rural areas to raise agricultural output and standard of living. Part of larger programme in which World Bank, EEC, United Nations Development Programme, and Americans, Canadians and Germans are also participating.

b) Viphya Forestry Project:

We are providing £2.4m for planting and maintenance of pulpwood plantations (which we have been supporting for many years).

c) Lakeshore Road:

£3.15m currently allocated for the reconstruction of the Nkhotakota-Dwangwa section of the road.

d) Blantyre Water Board:

We have allocated some £2m to help increase the capacity of the water supplies to Blantyre.

4. Technical cooperation programme mainly concerned with supplementing the income of 450 British staff currently serving in Malawi and the training of about 200 Malawians in Britain each year.

/Polio

CONFIDENTIAL



BRIEF NO 3

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING AND LUNCH WITH PRESIDENT BANDA OF MALAWI:
11 SEPTEMBER

MALAWI: AID

POINTS TO MAKE

Impressed by remarkable growth achieved by Malawi since Independence.
Glad that British aid has been able to contribute to this.

UK will maintain a substantial aid programme in Malawi.

What does Dr Banda see as the key developmental priorities over coming years, for Malawi itself and the region?

[Defensive: aid cuts] Existing capital aid commitments to Malawi will be met although some rephrasing of project expenditure may be necessary.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

Background (Can be freely used)

1. The two outstanding problems delaying implementation of the UN Plan concern:

(a) the monitoring of SWAPO camps in Angola and Zambia; and

(b) the suggestion that SWAPO guerrillas in Namibia should be restricted to two camps within the territory following the ceasefire.

South Africa wants the UN to have access to SWAPO camps in Angola and Zambia so that they can monitor SWAPO's adherence to the terms of the ceasefire. However the Angolan and Zambian Governments have not agreed to this: as an alternative President Neto has suggested the establishment of a Demilitarised Zone (DMZ) on the northern border of Namibia. The Zone would extend 50 kilometres north and south from the frontier, and it would be policed by UN ground and air patrols.

2. In his talks with the South African Government (13-23 August) Sir James sought from the South Africans agreement in principle to the proposal for a Demilitarised Zone. In accordance with his brief, prepared by the Five, Sir James presented the DMZ as a framework and would not enter into discussion of detail until South Africa had indicated its willingness to consider the DMZ as a substitute for UN monitoring of SWAPO bases in Angola and Zambia.

3. The South Africans replied that the idea of a DMZ was a positive step but that in order to consider whether it could be a substitute for monitoring, they would need more details and "satisfactory assurances". Sir James Murray responded that the Five were disappointed that the South Africans had not gone further; but that they believed adequate arrangements for a DMZ could be worked out that would meet South African concerns; they would decide on how to proceed when Sir James Murray reported back to them in New York.

/NOT TO BE REVEALED

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

[NOT TO BE REVEALED]

4. On the question of SWAPO camps within Namibia, Sir James Murray was able to tell the South Africans of a message from President Nyerere to Dr Waldheim to the effect that SWAPO had agreed, under pressure from the Front Line States, to drop their insistence on these bases if this proved to be the only problem holding up the UN Plan. VF

5. The Five, with their own military experts, are now working out with the UN Secretariat a detailed operational plan for the DMZ which can then be negotiated with the Angolans and Zambians, and the South Africans. This would be done either through separate bilateral contacts, or at a conference under UN auspices attended by all parties.

Southern African Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
5 September 1979

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

HIS EXCELLENCY NGWAZI DR H KAMUZU BANDA

Life President of the Republic of Malawi. Life President of the Malawi Congress Party.

Born:

Gives his date of birth as 1906, but there are some grounds for thinking that it could have been as early as 1898: birthplace Kasungu: a Chewa.

Education:

After early schooling in the Kasungu area, worked as a medical orderly in Rhodesia and then walked on to South Africa where he became first an underground water-boy and later an interpreter in the gold mines, studying at night school. From his savings he travelled to the USA in 1925 and with assistance from the African Methodist Episcopal Church, he attended Wilberforce Academy Ohio. He then embarked on a degree course in history and political science: the first two years were spent at the University of Indiana (who accorded him an hon degree in 1978) but the course was then transferred to the University of Chicago where he graduated in 1931. He then entered medical college in Nashville, Tennessee and graduated as a doctor in 1937. Travelled to Britain and obtained further medical diplomas from Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities becoming an Elder of the Church of Scotland.

Career:

After studying tropical medicine at Liverpool in 1941 he became an assistant medical officer there in

/1943.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

1943. Practised as a doctor in North Shields 1945-9, and then in Willesden, London from 1949-53. During this period he associated with other African political leaders such as Nkrumah, and with Harry Nkumbula wrote a memorandum protesting against the Federation.

In 1953, having been refused entry to Northern Rhodesia, set up medical practice in Ghana. 1958, following correspondence with Chipembere and other political leaders in Nyasaland he returned to Blantyre and was elected President-General of the Nyasaland African Congress. 1959 detained under the state of emergency. 1960 released and became President-General of the Malawi Congress Party and in 1961 Minister of the Natural Resources and Local Government. After leading Malawi delegation at various constitutional conferences in London through successive steps to self-government and dismantling the Federation, he became, in July 1964, first Prime Minister of Independent Malawi and in 1966 President of the Republic of Malawi, becoming Life President in 1970.

Character Assessment:

President Banda led Malawi to independence, and has exercised autocratic power within Malawi ever since. As the only man of his own generation who made good in the White Man's world, he bridges the gap between traditional Africa and the modern world. In some ways he is like an African chief, and draws on the respect due to his age. He knows his people, their

CONFIDENTIAL

/limitations



CONFIDENTIAL

limitations and their needs, and he expects and commends the obedience which the people pay to their chief. But at the same time he is a politician, establishing and using his power through the techniques of modern African politics. He works hard and has a phenomenal memory. He possesses the intellectual and administrative ability to grasp complicated detail.

President Banda is one of the most remarkable figures in Africa. He has taken a different path from many of his fellow African leaders especially through his advocacy of the policy of dialogue with the countries of Southern Africa. If this has earned him the enmity of other black African leaders, he has lashed back with outspoken criticisms of them: he has prided himself on his position as a lone wolf. Recent events have confirmed his belief in the wisdom of his policies. He is firmly anti-Communist and will not allow an Arab to enter the country. On the domestic front his policy has been to channel the united efforts of all the people of Malawi into the work of development.

Although, by any standards, a great man who has done a great service to his people, he is proud, intolerant and self-righteous. His enmity is formidable and he can be cruel, and these unpleasant traits in his character were deepened by the revolt of the six Ministers in 1964, which made him determined ever since to root out the slightest sign of opposition. He despises European-based concepts of justice on the ground that their "technicalities" often lead to the acquittal of guilty men. He devotes a lot of time and effort to business ventures, partly in order to show the way to his fellow Malawians, and partly to assist development. But in the process he has at times acted unfairly with little if any regard to the rights of individuals, and his tendency to do this is becoming stronger.

President Banda knows Britain well (his last visit was in April 1978) and keeps himself closely informed of all that goes on there. Indeed, his interest in Britain and

CONFIDENTIAL

/British



CONFIDENTIAL

British history seem at times almost obsessive. He has been on terms of personal friendship with many British leaders over many years. He fully supports the Commonwealth ideal and has now become something of a Commonwealth elder statesman, Malawi having hosted the 18th Annual Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in October 1972.

With advancing years, he shows increasingly an old man's weakness for rambling on about the heroic past, but his grip on affairs and his ruthlessness have in no way diminished. There is no obvious successor in sight and he will not tolerate discussion of the subject.

For feminine company he relies on Miss Kadzamira.

The President likes to be called President Banda and not Dr Banda.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

MISS C T KADZAMIRA

Official Government Hostess and Personal Secretary to the President.

Born: 1937, Dedza. Chewa/Ngoni tribe.

Education: Trained as a nurse in Rhodesia.

Career: Nurse for President Banda when he opened surgery in Blantyre on his return to Nyasaland in 1958. Since then private nurse, official hostess and personal secretary to the President.

Personal Status: Unmarried. Her brother Zimani David Kadzamira is a history lecturer at the University of Malawi and her uncle, John Tembo is Governor of the Reserve Bank.

Character Assessment:

Elegant and charming she performs her ambiguous role with dignity. Since she makes President Banda's appointments and passes messages to him, she has a considerable indirect influence, and when she turns her mind to it can influence the President on minor appointments. She is also in a position to get people into trouble. She has engaged in some business ventures in her own right. Said to have been hostile to Aleke Banda, and is a firm supporter of her uncle John Tembo. Muwalo had a good working relationship with her. Rumour has it that she has requested, on various occasions, to step down from her post and get married but President Banda has refused. Whether her relationship with President Banda goes beyond what protocol demands is a subject of constant speculation, but occasional rumours that she has married, or will marry, the President are probably unfounded. A more

/likely

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

likely tale is that one of her duties is to treat the President for diabetes. Frequent rumours that she is beginning to dominate the President are almost certainly untrue as a general statement. But there are undoubtedly occasions when she does.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

THE HON GWANDA CHAKUAMBA MP

Minister of Youth and Culture and Minister for the Southern Region. National Commander, Malawi Young Pioneers. Member, National Executive Committee, Malawi Congress Party. Chairman, Disciplinary Committee of the MCP National Executive. MP for Nsanje North.

Born: 1935, Nsanje District.

Education: Zomba Catholic Secondary School (Cambridge School Cert) and Solusi Mission College, Bulawayo. Commercial Course in Zaire.

Career: Organising Secretary, Lower Shire Valley, Nyasaland African Congress; detained under state of emergency 1959; MP 1961; visited Ghana 1962; Minister of Community and Social Development 1964; Minister of Education 1967; Minister of National Resources 1968; and Agriculture 1969; Minister of Southern Region 1969-71; Minister of Youth and Culture 1973. Re-appointed to the same portfolio in the new Cabinet June 1976. Retained portfolio after being re-elected unopposed in June 1978 and also re-appointed Minister for the Southern Region.

Personal Status: Married, wife seldom appears in public.

Character Assessment:

Energetic, shrewd, intelligent and a powerful speaker. He was responsible for many of the excesses in the campaign against the Jehovah's Witnesses (1972). He is known in other cases to have employed violence to extract confessions.

/According

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS IS A COPY. THE ORIGINAL IS
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3 (4)
OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT

Temporarily retained, Off Wayland, 11/5/17

He

is much feared within the Party of whose Disciplinary Committee he is Chairman. In that capacity he was probably mainly responsible for the downfall of Aleke Banda from which he benefitted by gaining control of the Malawi Young Pioneers. Early in 1973 he was appointed to the newly-created Ministry of Youth and Culture and gave up his responsibility for the Southern Region. The move put him in even firmer control of the MYP and other youth activities.

By reputation a sinister figure, with a power base in the Lower Shire Valley, whose name sometimes comes up in rumours of plots against the regime. He speaks with an air of modesty, eschewing claims to intellectual powers in favour of the common touch. Accompanied President Banda on visits to Zambia and the UK in 1975 (with John Tembo and Wadson Deleza) reputedly because the President would not risk leaving him in Malawi in his absence. He was deputy to President Banda at the CHGM in London in 1977 and was described then by Banda (to Mr Callaghan) as the senior Minister in the Malawi Government. Accompanied President Banda on visit to UK and US in 1978. A likely front runner in the succession stakes. From time to time, there are rumours that Chakuamba is kept under surveillance and has fallen from grace, but there is no real evidence to substantiate this.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

WADSON B DELEZA MP

Minister of Labour. Member of the National Executive Committee. Nominated MP from Chiradzulu North.

Born: 1936, Chiradzulu. Yao. Presbyterian.

Education: Zomba Catholic School 1952-57. BSc in Agriculture, Haile Selassie University, Addis Ababa 1964; MSc in Agriculture at Southern Illinois University, USA 1966.

Career: Principal Agricultural Officer, Crop Development 1966; Acting Director Extension Aids 1969; nominated MP for Chiradzulu December 1971. Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour, January 1972; Minister of Labour February 1972; Minister of Transport and Communications April 1972. Dropped Labour portfolio May 1974. Ministry of Labour portfolio returned to him September 1974 and, in addition appointed Minister of Transport and Communications. Deputy Chairman of MCP Southern Region 1975. Failed to gain a seat in 1976 Parliamentary elections but was given portfolio of Organisation of African Unity Affairs in the new Cabinet. Added Labour portfolio in August 1976. Returned unopposed in June 1978 elections and given Labour portfolio. Formerly Deputy Secretary General and Deputy Administrative Secretary of MCP.

Travel: USA, Ethiopia and Britain.

/Personal

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

Personal Status: Married with children.

Character Assessment:

He was one of the few civil servants actively to associate himself with the Party. Although he was not elected in the 1976 Parliamentary Elections, he was appointed by President Banda as Minister for OAU Affairs in the new Cabinet.

Small, aggressive, sneaky, and not too bright, he bears a charmed life in his relations with the President. He has few admirers amongst the expatriates in Malawi. He could play a role in some future political free-for-all but probably not a lasting one. Apparently a close associate of Gwanda Chakuamba.

Accompanied President Banda in 1976 on visits to Zambia and UK (with John Tembo and Gwanda Chakuamba) and to the UK in 1977. Also accompanied President on visits to UK and US in 1978 (again with Tembo and Chakuamba).

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

DAVID BAZA KAUNDA MP

Minister of Local Government, MP for Nkhata Bay Central.

Born: 1942 Nkhata Bay.

Education: Luwazi Primary School, 1953 to 1961.
Malamulo Secondary School, Thyolo, 1961
to 1966. Domasi Teacher Training
College, Zomba, 1967 to 1969.

Career: Teacher 1969-71. Malawi Young Pioneer
instructor 1972 to 1978. In 1958,
became a member of the then Nyasaland
African Congress. First elected to
Parliament as member for Nkhata Bay
Central in June 1978. Appointed
Minister of Local Government in
January 1979.

Personal Status: Married.

Character Assessment:

Is said to have been rewarded for loyalty and long service to
the Party and the Young Pioneers by being given a Ministerial
appointment.

Not impressive on first acquaintance and his Ministerial
capabilities have yet to be proven.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

SAM M KAKHOBWE

High Commissioner in UK since November 1978 (due to depart shortly to take up new appointment as Principal Secretary for Agriculture)

Born

1940

Education

BA (University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland)

Career

Joined Administrative Service in 1968. Under Secretary, Ministry of Transport and Communications April 1972. Seconded to Foreign Service and appointed Under Secretary MEA 1973. Ambassador to Federal Republic of Germany late 1973. High Commissioner in Zambia April 1975. High Commissioner in UK November 1978.

Personal Status

Married. Three young children.

Character Assessment

Friendly, intelligent, personable and well-dressed with a high reputation for efficiency. He was helpful and efficient while with Transport and Communications, and no less so when seconded to the MEA: during his short time there, there was a marked increase in the Ministry's efficiency and in the cordiality of their relations with foreign missions. Not a political figure but rising high in the Civil Service. His wife, Justina Majele, is a lively lady from Lesotho with a bright, outgoing personality.

CONFIDENTIAL



Miss Hopkins ✓

cc Sue Goodchild Malawi

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Ben
13/8

Bryan Cartledge Esq
10 Downing Street

15 August 1979

Dear Bryan,

As requested in your letter of 23 July, I enclose a proposed guest list for the Prime Minister's lunch for President Banda on Tuesday, 11 September.

President Banda likes to look back on earlier days when he was in much more active touch than he is now with British policy and we believe it would give him pleasure to meet those on the proposed list.

! ||

We have not suggested the inclusion of anyone from the media or the trade union movement as President Banda is unsympathetic to both.

Yours wv,

Maureen Howley ✓

Maureen Howley
(Social Secretary)



PROPOSED GUEST LIST FOR PRIME MINISTER'S LUNCH FOR
PRESIDENT BANDA ON TUESDAY, 11 SEPTEMBER

1. The Prime Minister and Mr Thatcher
2. His Excellency Ngwazi Dr H Kamuzu Banda, Life President
of the Republic of Malawi

Official Party

(All: C/o High Commission for the Republic of Malawi
33 Grosvenor Street
LONDON W1 Tel: 491 4172)

3. Miss Celia T Kadzamira, Official Government Hostess and
Personal Secretary to the President
4. Miss Mary Kadzamira, The President's Personal Secretary
5. HE The High Commissioner for the Republic of Malawi,
Mr Sam M Kakhobwe and Mrs Kakhobwe
6. The Hon Gwanda Chakuamba MP, Minister of Youth and
Culture and for the Southern Region
7. Mr Wadson B Deleza MP, Minister of Labour
8. Mr David Baza Kaunda MP, Minister of Local Government
and Deputy Administrative Secretary General of the
Malawi Congress Party.
9. The Rt Hon The Lord Carrington KCMG MC and
Lady Carrington
10. Mr R N Luce MP and Mrs Luce
11. Mr N Marten MP and Mrs Marten
12. The Rt Hon D H Ennals MP (Lab) and Mrs Ennals
Leader, forthcoming delegation to Malawi (11-27 October)
House of Commons
LONDON SW1A 0AA Tel: 219 3000
13. Mr D L Crouch MP (Con) and Mrs Crouch
Member, forthcoming delegation to Malawi
House of Commons
LONDON SW1A 0AA
14. The Rt Hon Lord Home of the Hirsel (Con) and Lady Home
Close friend of President Banda
House of Lords
LONDON SW1



15. Lady Macleod of Borne (Con)
House of Lords
LONDON SW1
Widow of The Rt Hon Ian Macleod, a personal friend of
the President
16. Lord Harlech KCMG and Lady Harlech
House of Lords
LONDON SW1
Visited Malawi on recent tour of Southern Africa
17. Baroness and Mr H W Stedman (Lab)
House of Lords
LONDON SW1
Leader of a group of four Lady MPs who visited Malawi
at the invitation of President Banda in October 1977
18. Baroness Faithfull OBE
House of Lords
LONDON SW1
Recent guest of President Banda in Malawi
19. Sir Glyn Jones GCMG MBE and Lady Jones
Little Brandfold
GOUDHURST
Kent Tel: 05803 386
Governor General Malawi 1964-6 and adviser on
recruitment for Malawi
20. Mr and Mrs P Sheehy
Chairman
British American Tobacco
PO Box 482
Westminster House
7 Millbank
LONDON SW1 Tel: 222 1222
British American Tobacco have a share in Malawi's
important tobacco growing industry
21. ~~Mr Bryan Cartledge~~
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1
22. The Moderator of the General Assembly of the
United Free Church of Scotland
The Rt Reverend Professor R Barbour and Mrs Barbour
c/o Principal Clerk
The Church of Scotland
121 George Street
EDINBURGH 2 Tel: 031-2255 722
President Banda is a member (an Elder) of the Church
of Scotland and will be attending this year's Assembly
in early September



23. Sir Bryan Roberts KCMG QC JP and Lady Roberts
16 Ansdell Terrace
LONDON W8 Tel: 937 9321
1964-72 Secretary to the Malawi Cabinet
24. Mr W Duncan and Mrs Duncan
Barclays Bank International Limited
54 Lombard Street
LONDON EC3P 3AH Tel: 283 8989
General Manager and Director, Barclays Bank International
(Responsible for Africa)
25. Mr P Meinertzhagen CMG and Mrs Meinertzhagen
59 Cleaver Square
LONDON SE11 Tel: 735 6263
General Manager, Commonwealth Development Corporation
26. The Rt Hon The Viscount Boyd of Merton CH PC & The Viscountess
6 Iveagh House Boyd
Ormond-yard St James's SW1 Tel: 839 3969
27. Sir Robert Armitage KCMG MBE and Lady Armitage
South Well, Marnhull, Sturminster Newton, Dorset
Telephone: Marnhull 294
Governor of Nyasaland 1956-61

1.50 AUG 1979



ADVANCE COPY

Malawi

X-8

DWF 6082/8

PS
PS/LPS
PS/mr Luck
PS/PUS
mr Williams
HD S A J D
HD. PCD
HD. NEWS D
PS/NO 10 Downing St.

LSG 696/8

IMMEDIATE

OO FCO

GRS 200

CONFIDENTIAL

FM LILONGWE 080935Z AUG 79

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 202 OF 8 AUGUST

(File)

YOUR TELNO 171 : VISIT TO THE UK BY PRESIDENT BANDA

1. PRESIDENT BANDA WILL BE GLAD TO ACCEPT THE OFFER OF AN HOUR OF TALKS FOLLOWED BY LUNCH AT NO 10 ON TUESDAY , 11 SEPTEMBER.

2. ASSUMING THAT THE LUNCH WILL BE A SOCIAL OCCASION RATHER THAN A WORKING LUNCH, I SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDENT'S SUITE SHOULD BE INVITED :-

MISS CELIA KADZAMIRA
MISS MARY KADZAMIRA
MR GWANDA CHAKUAMBA

OFFICIAL HOSTESS.

THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL SECRETARY,
MINISTER OF YOUTH AND CULTURE AND
FOR THE SOUTHEEN REGION.

MR WADSON DELEZA
MR DAVID BAZA KAUNDA

MINISTER OF LABOUR
MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND DEPUTY
ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY GENERAL OF
THE MALAWI CONGRESS PARTY.

3. OTHERS WHO I AM SURE PRESIDENT BANDA WOULD BE DELIGHTED TO SEE AT THE LUNCHEON ARE :-

LORD HOME
LADY MACLEOD
LADY FAITHFULL
LADY STEDMAN

(THE LAST THREE HAVE BEEN PRESIDENT BANDA'S GUESTS IN MALAWI DURING THE LAST YEAR OR TWO).

GRS 50

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

FM LILONGWE 071305Z AUG 79

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 201 OF 7 AUGUST

YOUR TELEGRAM NO 159 : VISIT TO THE UK BY PRESIDENT BANDA.

1. MEA HAVE INFORMED US THAT PRESIDENT BANDA WILL BE ARRIVING AT LONDON (HEATHROW) AIRPORT AT 2055 HOURS ON SATURDAY 11 AUGUST.

2. WE SHALL LET YOU HAVE A REPLY SHORTLY TO PARAGRAPHS 2 AND 3 OF YOUR TUR.

COPIES SENT TO
No. 10 DOWNING STREET

SCOTT

FILES
SAFD
CCD
PCD
NEWS D
PS
PS/LPS
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR A. PARSONS
MR WILLIAMS

COPIES TO
MR NILE, CABINET OFFICE
MR KERBY, ODA

RESTRICTED

CONFIDENTIAL

Malawi

4606 - 1

PP LILONGWE

GRS 122

CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO 164000Z JULY 79

TO PRIORITY LILONGWE

TELEGRAM NUMBER 159 OF 24 JULY

Enter - A.A.
SH
2/77

YOUR TEL NO 151: VISIT TO THE UK BY PRESIDENT BANDA

1. THE PRIME MINISTER LOOKS FORWARD TO SEEING PRESIDENT BANDA DURING HIS VISIT AND WOULD BE GLAD TO OFFER HIM AN HOUR OF TALKS, FOLLOWED BY LUNCH, AT NO 10 ON TUESDAY 11 SEPTEMBER.
2. PLEASE CONVEY THIS INVITATION TO PRESIDENT BANDA AND LET US KNOW HIS RESPONSE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
3. IF PRESIDENT BANDA ACCEPTS, GRATEFUL FOR ADVICE ON HOW MANY AND WHO OF THE PRESIDENT'S SUITE SHOULD BE INCLUDED FOR THE LUNCH. GRATEFUL ALSO IF YOU COULD TACTFULLY DISCOVER WHETHER THERE ARE SPECIAL LONG STANDING FRIENDS OR CONTACTS OF THE PRESIDENT IN BRITAIN WHO SHOULD BE CONSIDERED FOR AN INVITATION.

CARRINGTON

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING STREET]

NNNN

FILES

COPIES

SAFD

CCD

MR VILE CABINET OFFICE

P AND CD

MR KERBY ODA

NEWS DEPT

PS

PS/LPS

PS/MR LUCE

PS/PUS

SIR A DUFF

MR WILLIAMS

1
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



Malawi

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

23 July 1979

RF 14.8.79
RF 7.9.79

Dear Stephen,

Visit to the UK by Life President Banda of Malawi

Thank you for your letter of 19 July about the private visit to the UK which Life President Banda of Malawi proposes to make from 13 August until 12 September.

The Prime Minister agrees with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary that she should meet Life President Banda and offer him hospitality. The Prime Minister would be glad to offer the Life President an hour of talks, followed by lunch, at No. 10 on Tuesday 11 September. I should be grateful if you would arrange for an invitation to this effect to be conveyed to the Life President and if you would let me know his response as soon as possible.

I should be grateful if briefing for the Prime Minister's talks with Life President Banda could be prepared in time to reach me not later than noon on Friday 7 September; and if a draft guest list for up to 40 guests, including wives, for the lunch could reach me by Tuesday 14 August. It would be helpful if the briefs could be accompanied by draft speaking notes on which the Prime Minister might draw in proposing the Life President's health at lunch.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,
Dyan Carnahan.

J.S. Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

cc Sue Goodchild

CONFIDENTIAL

58



Prime Minister

Would you like to
offer President Banda
an hour of talks followed
by a 'social' lunch on
11 September? BM
20/7

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

19 July 1979

Dear Bryan,

- Yes pls.

Visit to the UK by President Banda of
Malawi

President Banda will be making another private visit to the UK from 13 August until 12 September. He will be visiting his old medical school in Edinburgh between 3 and 7 September but is expected otherwise to be in London. A senior Malawian official has told our High Commissioner that the President would very much like to see the Prime Minister if Mrs Thatcher should be in London during his visit. Our High Commissioner gained the impression that the President would be very disappointed if an appointment could not be made.

President Banda is a regular visitor to this country. He normally comes on private visits as the only way of getting a break from his Presidential duties in Malawi. He came last year and Mr Callaghan gave a lunch for him. He was also received at the Palace.

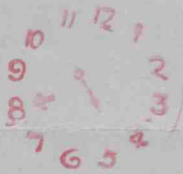
In view of The Queen's forthcoming visit to Malawi and the opportunities that there will be in Lusaka for full discussions with President Banda, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary considers that it will not be necessary to offer this year to treat part of the President's stay here as an official one. Lord Carrington believes, however, that we should mark the President's visit by offering him meetings at an appropriately high level. These will provide a useful opportunity to keep him abreast of our strategy over Rhodesia. Lord Carrington hopes that the Prime Minister will agree to have a meeting with President Banda. Lord Carrington will also call on the President at his hotel. In addition we understand that The Queen may also wish to offer the President hospitality.

If the Prime Minister agrees to receive President Banda, I should be grateful if you could let me have a date and time suitable to her either between 13 August and 3 September, or between 7 and 12 September. It might, if convenient, be best to go for a date during the second period, shortly before the President returns to Malawi.

Yes even,
R Sophie
J S Wall

B G Cartledge Esq
10 Downing Street

19 JUL 1979



Grey Scale #13



A

1

2

3

4

5

6

M

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

B

17

18

19

