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TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 192 OF 15 APR
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PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S MESSAGE: MY TELNO 187.

1. KAUNDA SAW FERGUSSON AND MYSELF TODAY, FOR SOME FOUR HOURS INCLUDING LUNCH, AFTER EXPRESSING WARM THANKS TO THE PRIME MINISTER FOR SENDING HER EMISSARY, SO THAT HE COULD SHARE THINKING PRIOR TO CHOGM, HE GAVE A LENGTHY HISTORICAL SURVEY AIMED AT ESTABLISHING HIS OWN CREDENTIALS AS A JUDGE OF THE AFRICAN SITUATION, HIS FEAR THAT TIME WAS VERY SHORT, AND HIS THESIS THAT NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS TURN MARXIST IF WRONGLY HANDLED BY THE WEST. "COMMUNISM IS AN EFFECT, NOT A CAUSE: THEIR PHILOSOPHY COMES WITH THEIR WEAPONS". THE PRIME MINISTER HAD ONCE SAID A PRICE MUST BE PAID FOR CHANGE. HOW COULD WE MAKE THAT PRICE IN SOUTH AFRICA LESS COSTLY IN LIVES AND PROPERTY?

2. KAUNDA BELIEVED THE WEST MUST NOW MAKE IMPORTANT CHANGES IN ITS STRATEGY. "I AM ASKING HMG TO RECOGNISE ANC - FULLY" (BUT SEE 3C BELOW). THE WEST (HE MENTIONED UK, US, FRANCE, WEST GERMANY ITALY AND PORTUGAL) MUST NOT FALL BEHIND SOVIET UNION. "THE ANC IS THE POWER OF TOMORROW. HELP SHAPE THEM TO BECOME A FORCE FOR GOOD". MANDELA MUST BE RELEASED, AND UNCONDITIONALLY, FOR BOTHA NEEDED A STRONG MANDELA WHO COMMANDED CONFIDENCE AMONGST THE AFRICAN MASSES. CONDITIONALITY WOULD FATALLY WEAKEN HIM.

3. FERGUSSON THANKED KAUNDA FOR HIS EXPOSITION AND UNDERTOOK TO REPORT FULLY TO THE PRIME MINISTER. IN 45 MINUTES OF QUESTIONING THE FOLLOWING POINTS EMERGED.

A) FERGUSSON ASKED WHETHER KAUNDA SENSED THAT BOTHA WAS TRYING TO FIND A WAY TO RELEASE MANDELA. KAUNDA AGREED: IF A WAY COULD BE CONTRIVED TO HELP BOTHA OFF THE HOOK, AFRICAN LEADERS COULD SEND MESSAGES TO A FREED MANDELA SUPPORTING CALLS FOR PEACEFUL PROGRESS.

B) FERGUSSON EXPLAINED THE REAL DIFFICULTIES IN EXTENDING RECOGNITION TO THE ANC, QUOTING OUR OPPOSITION TO VIOLENCE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POLITICAL CHANGE (E.G. IN NORTHERN IRELAND). KAUNDA SAID THERE WAS NO EQUATION WITH THE IRA, WHOSE VIOLENCE (HE SPOKE OF THE CONSERVATIVE CONFERENCE BOMB) HE DEPLORED. "THE MAJORITY IS THE YARDSTICK". THE MAJORITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND WERE WELL ESTABLISHED. IN SOUTH AFRICA THEY WERE DENIED RIGHTS. FERGUSSON ALSO QUERIED WHETHER, IF BOTHA WERE SEEKING UNOBTRUSIVELY TO MAKE CONTACT WITH THE ANC, A HIGHER WESTERN PROFILE WOULD HELP OR HINDER HIM. KAUNDA DID NOT COVER THIS IN HIS ANSWERS.

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C) HE THEN SAID HMG MUST DECIDE WHERE THEIR FUTURE INTERESTS LIE. THIS MEANT ESTABLISHING SOME RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ANC. BETTER DIRECTLY, BUT IF NOT, THEN INDIRECTLY THROUGH THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES.

D) KAUNDA IS CONFIDENT THAT THE ANC POLITICAL WING CONTROLS THE MILITARY. HE ALSO BELIEVES MANDELA HAS THE PERSONALITY AND INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY TO BE EFFECTIVE, IF RELEASED.

E) FERGUSSON QUERIED THE COMMUNIST AFFILIATIONS OF SOME ANC. KAUNDA SAID THEY WERE A MIXED BAG, AND REITERATED HIS BELIEF THAT IT WAS PRIMARILY WESTERN MISMANAGEMENT THAT MADE MARXISTS OF NATIONALISTS.

F) FERGUSSON SPOKE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POSSIBLE POLITICAL CHANGE AND THE CONSEQUENTIAL ECONOMIC DAMAGE (IF WHITE CONFIDENCE FAILED) TO SOUTH AFRICA AND HER NEIGHBOURS. KAUNDA'S REPLY WAS A LITTLE DIFFUSE. HE AGREED THE POINT WAS VERY IMPORTANT, BUT SEEMED TO BE SAYING THAT A DECISION TO SET OFF THE EXPLOSION LAY WITH THE MASSES OF SOUTH AFRICA, WHO WOULD WEIGH THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES AGAINST THEIR PRESENT SUFFERING. HIS IMPLICATION SEEMED TO BE THAT THE ECONOMIC DAMAGE DONE BY AN EXPLOSION CAUSED BY DELAY IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS COULD BE GREATER THAN THAT WHICH MIGHT OCCUR SHOULD THE ANC PURSUE RADICAL ECONOMIC POLICIES AFTER THEY HAD GAINED POWER. HE DID NOT ADVOCATE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.

4. I HAVE COMPARED NOTES WITH THE US CHARGE, WHO WAS PRESENT AT THE WALTERS/WISNER DISCUSSION. KAUNDA'S THEME WAS MUCH THE SAME FOR US BOTH, AND HE INDICATED HE MAY BE CONTACTING OTHERS.

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