

ADVANCE COPIES

SOUTHERN AFRICA

PS
PS/MRS CHALKER,
PS/PJS
MR FERGUSSON

MR REEVE

ED/SAFD
ED/CAFD
ED/UND
ED/NEWS DEPT
RESIDENT CLERK

HD/SCD
HD/Cons. D

18/19

Prime Minister.
20/7.
Charles wanted
you to be aware
of this

MR CLG MALLABY, CABINET OFFICE

PS/SJS = MOD

Subject cc Ops
master

PS/NO TO

ADVANCE COPY

IMMEDIATE

15.11.

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T133A/86

CONFIDENTIAL
FM LUSAKA
TO DESKBY 210900Z FCO
TELNO 249
OF 200900Z JUL 86
INFO PRIORITY PRETORIA

ZAMBIA: MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA, DATED 17 JULY. (OUR COPY HAS JUST BEEN RECEIVED.)

BEGINS

THANK YOU FOR THE RECENT LETTERS WHICH I RECEIVED THROUGH YOUR HIGH COMMISSIONER HERE IN LUSAKA.

I AM PLEASED TO LEARN THAT YOU ARE DETERMINED, AS THE REST OF US IN THE COMMONWEALTH ARE, IN SEEKING GENUINE SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

WHILE WHAT YOU STATED IN YOUR LETTERS AS YOUR POLICY GOAL IS LAUDABLE, I AM NEVERTHELESS, WORRIED ABOUT THE MEANS YOU PROPOSE TO USE TO ACHIEVE THAT GOAL.

I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT ANYTHING SHORT OF COMPREHENSIVE SANCTIONS WILL BE SUFFICIENT TO INDUCE CHANGE OF ATTITUDE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERS OR TO BUY US TIME FOR A RELATIVELY PEACEFUL TRANSFORMATION OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

WHEN I MET GEOFFREY HOWE HERE RECENTLY, I AGAIN EXPLAINED TO HIM HOW WE IN THIS REGION SEE THINGS IN SOUTH AFRICA. I MADE IT QUITE CLEAR TO HIM THAT IF WHAT I HAD HEARD FROM THE PRESS WAS ANYTHING TO GO BY, THEN BRITISH POLICY ON SOUTH AFRICA WAS ON A WRONG TRACK.

GEOFFREY TRIED VERY HARD TO CONVINC ME THAT YOUR HEART ON THE PROBLEM OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS IN THE RIGHT

THE PROBLEM OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS IN THE RIGHT PLACE. I TOLD HIM THAT I WISH I COULD BELIEVE HIM, BUT YOUR REJECTION OF COMPREHENSIVE SANCTIONS IS OF GREAT CONCERN TO ME AND MY COLLEAGUES IN THIS REGION. WE REGARD YOUR POSITION AS HALF-HEARTED AND NOT SUFFICIENT TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

IN YOUR PERSONAL LETTER, YOU HAVE MADE REFERENCE TO THREATS AGAINST BRITAIN. MARGRET, I KNOW OF NO ONE WHO HAS MADE SUCH THREATS. CERTAINLY ZAMBIA HAS MADE NO THREATS. WE HAVE SOUGHT OF NO PLAN TO ISOLATE BRITAIN IN ANY WAY. BUT YOU ARE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ISOLATE YOURSELF AND BRITAIN FROM THE REST OF US. ALL OF US IN THE COMMONWEALTH WANT TO HAVE SOUND RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN. BUT WE DO NOT WANT BRITAIN TO PROP UP AND SUPPORT A REGIME THAT IS KILLING SO MANY PEOPLE ON THE BASIS THAT THEY BELONG TO A DIFFERENT COLOUR.

I AGREE WITH YOU THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO CLEAVAGES IN THE RANKS OF THOSE WHO ARE AGAINST APARTHEID, FOR THE ONLY PEOPLE TO BENEFIT FROM SUCH A DIVISION IN OUR RANKS ARE THE SOUTH AFRICANS. I, THEREFORE, URGE YOU NOT TO BE THE ODD ONE OUT OF THE REST OF US.

I DEPLORE THE DECISION TAKEN BY THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. IT IS NOT HELPFUL IN ANY WAY. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT SIR GEOFFREY HOWE'S ^{5/22}

^{TR}TRIP TO SOUTH AFRICA CAN ACHIEVE ANYTHING BETTER THAN THE EMINENT GROUP OF PERSONS. I REGARD THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S DECISION AS AN ATTEMPT BY BRITAIN TO CAUSE CONFUSION IN THE RANKS OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND DELAY MEASURES THAT SHOULD NOW BE TAKEN BY THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE REST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

I NEED NOT TELL YOU THAT THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA IS VERY SERIOUS INDEED. IT CALLS FOR A DRASTIC ACTION FROM ALL OF US WHO DISAPPROVE STRONGLY OF APARTHEID.

I HOPE AND PRAY THAT IN THE COMING WEEKS, THE GOOD LORD, GOD ALMIGHTY, WILL HELP YOU SEE WHAT WE ARE SEEING IN SOUTH AFRICA AND TO APPRECIATE OUR CONCERN. I HAVE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS PAID TRIBUTE TO YOU FOR THE ROLE YOU PLAYED TO BRING ABOUT THE INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE. I EARNESTLY ASK YOU TO HELP US AGAIN ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU IN LONDON IN EARLY AUGUST.

WITH ALL GOOD WISHES.

KENNETH D. KAUNDA
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

ENDS.

WHITE

YYYY

LLHPAN 2859

Already T'd: T133A/86 (20.7.86)

CCF

166A



Text already
received by [signature]
CDF
20/7.

State House
Lusaka, Republic of Zambia

17th July, 1986

Dear Margaret,

Thank you for the recent letters which I received through your High Commissioner here in Lusaka.

I am pleased to learn that you are determined, as the rest of us in the Commonwealth are, in seeking genuine solutions to the problems of South Africa.

While what you stated in your letters as your policy goal is laudable, I am nevertheless, worried about the means you propose to use to achieve that goal.

I do not believe that anything short of comprehensive sanctions will be sufficient to induce change of attitude in the South African leaders or to buy us time for a relatively peaceful transformation of the political system in South Africa.

/...

Rt. Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, MP.
Prime Minister,
No. 10 Downing Street,
LONDON.



- 2 -

When I met Geoffrey Howe here recently, I again explained to him how we in this region see things in South Africa. I made it quite clear to him that if what I had heard from the Press was anything to go by, then British policy on South Africa was on a wrong track.

Geoffrey tried very hard to convince me that your heart on the problem of apartheid in South Africa was in the right place. I told him that I wish I could believe him, but your rejection of comprehensive sanctions is of great concern to me and my colleagues in this region. We regard your position as half-hearted and not sufficient to be taken seriously by the South Africans.

In your personal letter, you have made reference to threats against Britain. Margret, I know of no one who has made such threats. Certainly Zambia has made no threats. We have sought of no plan to isolate Britain in any way. But you are doing everything possible to isolate yourself and Britain from the rest of us. All of us in the Commonwealth want to have sound relations with Britain. But we do not want Britain to prop up and support a regime that is killing so many people on the basis that they belong to a different colour.

I agree with you that there should be no cleavages in the ranks of those who are against apartheid, for the only people to benefit from such a division in our ranks are the South Africans. I, therefore, urge you not to be the odd one out of the rest of us.

/...



- 3 -

I deplore the decision taken by the European Community. It is not helpful in any way. I do not believe that Sir Geoffrey Howe's trip to South Africa can achieve anything better than the Eminent Group of Persons. I regard the European Community's decision as an attempt by Britain to cause confusion in the ranks of the Commonwealth and delay measures that should now be taken by the Commonwealth and the rest of the international community.

I need not tell you that the situation in South Africa is very serious indeed. It calls for a drastic action from all of us who disapprove strongly of apartheid.

I hope and pray that in the coming weeks, the Good Lord, God Almighty, will help you see what we are seeing in South Africa and to appreciate our concern. I have on several occasions paid tribute to you for the role you played to bring about the Independence of Zimbabwe. I earnestly ask you to help us again on the question of South Africa.

I look forward to seeing you in London in early August.

With all good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Kaunda

Kenneth D. Kaunda
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA