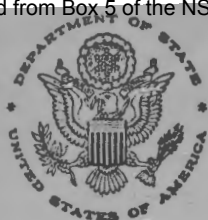


The original documents are located in Box 5, folder “Zambia - President Kenneth Kaunda” of the National Security Adviser’s Presidential Correspondence with Foreign Leaders Collection at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Department of State

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TELEGRAM~~SECRET~~ 7946

PAGE 01 STATE 030929

73
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF/E:MHJANIN:SEH
APPROVED BY AF:WESCHAUFLE, JR.
AF/E:WBCOOTE
S/S -JPMOFFAT
NSC: MR. HORAN

----- 107311

R 071725Z FEB 76
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA~~SECRET~~ STATE 030929

EXDIS

E.O. 11652:XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, ZA, US

SUBJECT:LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA TO PRESIDENT FORD

1) FYI- ON FEB. 5, MARK CHONA DELIVERED FOLLOWING LETTER TO
SECRETARY FOR TRANSMISSION TO PRESIDENT FORD:

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I WAS VERY HAPPY RECENTLY TO RECEIVE YOUR MESSAGE REGARDING THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA. I WAS MOST HEARTENED AND ENCOURAGED BY THE MANNER IN WHICH YOU REAFFIRMED YOUR COMMITMENT AND THAT OF YOUR COUNTRY TO HELP END THE WAR IN ANGOLA. SINCE THEN I HAVE FOLLOWED THE DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HAVE GROWN IN GRAVITY. THE OAU DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS AT THE RECENT ADDIS ABABA EXTRAORDINARY SUMMIT FAILED. THE WAR CONTINUES, SOVIET INTERVENTION ALSO CONTINUES TO GROW WITH AN ALARMING NUMBER OF CUBAN REGULAR FORCES.

I PERFECTLY UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS OF THE AMERICAN

~~SECRET~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines

NARA, Date 4/10/04

By



Department of State TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 STATE 030929

ADMINISTRATION IN GIVING TIMELY AND EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO SOVIET MASSIVE INTERVENTION. WHILE ADMIRING YOUR PRESENT EFFORTS AND THOSE OF YOUR SECRETARY OF STATE, DR. KISSINGER, I AM NECESSARILY DISMAYED BY THE INADEQUENCY OF THE WESTERN RESPONSE POLITICALLY, PSYCHOLOGICALLY AND LET ALONE MATERIALLY.

WE IN ZAMBIA WILL NOT COMPROMISE OUR PRINCIPLES FOR FEAR OF SOVIET POWER. WE, THEREFORE, ARE RESOLVED TO MAINTAIN OUR STAND.

I AM SENDING MY SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, MARK CHONA, TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON THE WHOLE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AMERICAN ACTION IS ALSO NECESSARY NOW IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA BEFORE THERE IS A REPETITION OF WHAT IS HAPPENING IN ANGOLA. THE THREAT IS REAL. WE HAVE TO TAKE APPROPRIATE MEASURES NOW.

MAY I TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY OF SENDING YOU MY WARMEST GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES.

WITH GOD'S BLESSINGS.

YOURS SINCERELY, KENNETH KAUNDA, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA" SISCO

~~SECRET~~

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ROUTINE
DE RUEHC #0929 0301939
R 071725Z FEB 76
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 8624

~~SECRET~~ STATE 030929

EXDIS
E.O. 11652:XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, ZA, US

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MAINTAIN OUR STAND.

*****WHSR COMMENT*****

SCOWCROFT, HYLAND, MCARLANE, RODMAN

PSN1047027

PAGE 01

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DTG:071725Z FEB 76

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NARA, Date

state review 9/17/03
3/10/04



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BT



PSN:047027 PAGE 02 OF 02 TOR:039/06:06Z DTG:071725Z FEB 76

~~SECRET~~

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19

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 017613

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL Memorandum

CREATOR'S NAME Hal Horan

RECEIVER'S NAME Secretary Kissinger

TITLE Message to President Ford from
President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia

CREATION DATE 09/08/1975

VOLUME 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035100094

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL
CORRESPONDENCE WITH FOREIGN LEADERS

BOX NUMBER 4

FOLDER TITLE Zambia - President Kenneth Kaunda

DATE WITHDRAWN 03/12/2004

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST GG

Saintized 4/12/05

MEMORANDUM

6035X

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~ (XGDS-2)ACTION

September 8, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM: HAL HORAN *HH* *OK*

SUBJECT: Message to President Ford from
President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia *HK*

On September 4 the message at Tab B from President Kaunda to President Ford was given to [redacted] Mark Chona, Kaunda's Special Assistant, [redacted]

25X1

25X1

Kaunda's letter, which seeks USG pressure on Rhodesia, South Africa, and the UK, in an effort to get the Rhodesian negotiations resumed, reflects the fact that the situation regarding these negotiations is not good. As you know, Kaunda has expressed the same concerns and anxieties to Ambassador Wilkowski (Tab C). A central problem, in addition to Smith's natural inclination to resist change, is that there are increasingly severe divisions within ANC ranks that impede Kaunda's and others' efforts at resumed negotiations. I understand that in light of Ambassador Wilkowski's reporting you have asked the Department for recommendations by the close of business September on whether we might approach South Africa's Minister Vorster on the matter.

In view of your instructions to State and the close cooperation between the Zambian and U.S. Governments on Angola, I recommend that we send a prompt presidential acknowledgment of President Kaunda's message that reiterates support of his efforts such as you gave to his Foreign Minister in New York September 5 and that indicates we are studying the matter carefully to determine ways in which we might be helpful.

~~SECRET~~ (XGDS-2)

Presidential Library Review of DOS and NSC Equities is Required

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AUTHORITY E.O. 12958, 12962, 13526, 13527, 13528, 13529, 13530, 13531, 13532, 13533, 13534, 13535, 13536, 13537, 13538, 13539, 13540, 13541, 13542, 13543, 13544, 13545, 13546, 13547, 13548, 13549, 13550, 13551, 13552, 13553, 13554, 13555, 13556, 13557, 13558, 13559, 13560, 13561, 13562, 13563, 13564, 13565, 13566, 13567, 13568, 13569, 13570, 13571, 13572, 13573, 13574, 13575, 13576, 13577, 13578, 13579, 13580, 13581, 13582, 13583, 13584, 13585, 13586, 13587, 13588, 13589, 13590, 13591, 13592, 13593, 13594, 13595, 13596, 13597, 13598, 13599, 13600, 13601, 13602, 13603, 13604, 13605, 13606, 13607, 13608, 13609, 13610, 13611, 13612, 13613, 13614, 13615, 13616, 13617, 13618, 13619, 13620, 13621, 13622, 13623, 13624, 13625, 13626, 13627, 13628, 13629, 13630, 13631, 13632, 13633, 13634, 13635, 13636, 13637, 13638, 13639, 13640, 13641, 13642, 13643, 13644, 13645, 13646, 13647, 13648, 13649, 13650, 13651, 13652, 13653, 13654, 13655, 13656, 13657, 13658, 13659, 13660, 13661, 13662, 13663, 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~~SECRET~~ (XGDS-2)

-2-

In his message to President Ford, Kaunda indicates that if his peaceful efforts do not succeed he has an "inescapable" duty to support the liberation movement in an armed struggle. The response I have suggested tries to avoid any implication we would condone violence in the area.

3)

[REDACTED] I do not believe a signed original is necessary.

I have discussed the suggested response with Ed Mulcahy.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the message at Tab A from President Ford to President Kaunda [REDACTED]

25X1

~~SECRET~~ (XGDS-2)



16

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 017614

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL Message
CREATOR'S NAME President Ford
RECEIVER'S NAME President Kaunda
DESCRIPTION Re Rhodesia
CREATION DATE 09/08/1975
VOLUME 1 page
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035100094
COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL
CORRESPONDENCE WITH FOREIGN LEADERS
BOX NUMBER 4
FOLDER TITLE Zambia - President Kenneth Kaunda
DATE WITHDRAWN 03/12/2004
WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST GG

Sanitized 4/12/05

URGENT~~SECRET~~ (XGDS 2)

Please pass the following to President Kaunda from

President Ford: QUOTE:

Dear Mr. President:

I greatly appreciate your message of September 3 and your assessment of the situation in Rhodesia. I share your concerns regarding the lack of progress in the negotiations and the grave consequences that will result if the Rhodesian question is not settled peacefully.

As you know, Secretary Kissinger met with Foreign Minister Banda in New York on September 5 and expressed our strong support for your efforts to achieve a peaceful solution in Rhodesia. Since then I have discussed your message with Secretary Kissinger and we are currently studying how we might be helpful.

Once again may I express my gratitude to you for your recent letter and my respect for the leadership role you have been playing. We strongly support a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia and wish to contribute to this end where possible.

With warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

His Excellency
Kenneth David Kaunda
President of Zambia UNQUOTE

~~SECRET~~ (XGDS 2)

Presidential Library Review of DOS and NSC Equities is Required

DECLASSIFIED, with portions exempt
AUTHORITY NSA/CSS/12/05; State Declassify 9/17/93; NSC guidelines
BY h NLF, DATE 12/10/00

1C

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction

TITLE Message from President Kenneth Kaunda
of Zambia

CREATION DATE 09/04/1975

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035100094

BOX NUMBER 4

DATE WITHDRAWN 03/12/2004

Exempted 4/12/05

1d

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 017616

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL Message

CREATOR'S NAME President Kenneth Kaunda

RECEIVER'S NAME President Ford

DESCRIPTION Re Rhodesia

CREATION DATE 09/03/1975

VOLUME 4 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035100094

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL
CORRESPONDENCE WITH FOREIGN LEADERS

BOX NUMBER 4

FOLDER TITLE Zambia - President Kenneth Kaunda

DATE WITHDRAWN 03/12/2004

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST GG

*****~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~*****E COPY

OP IMMED
ESA143TAB472
DE RUTAH #1685/1 2471335
O 041300Z SEP 75
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2086

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 2078
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 1998
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 1903
AMEMBASSY GABORONE 870

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1685

EXDIS
PASS WHITE HOUSE
EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR ZA RH PINS
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: KAUNDA SEEKS USG SUPPORT FOR RESUMPTION
OF NEGOTIATIONS

1. PRESIDENT KAUNDA SUMMONED ME TO STATE HOUSE SEPT 4
AT 10:30 A.M. FOR HALF-HOUR DISCUSSION IN WHICH HE
EXPRESSED "ANXIETY" OVER DIVISIONS WITHIN ANC RANKS AND
PROBLEM THIS CREATES FOR RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR
CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT. KAUNDA REQUESTED I CONVEY HIS
CONCERNS TO PRESIDENT FORD AND ASKED THAT USG COMMUNICATE
WITH SAG PM VORSTER AND RHODESIAN PM SMITH, URGING THEM
TO TAKE INITIATIVE TO RESUME TALKS AT VICTORIA FALLS SO
AS TO OVERCOME OBSTACLE OF IMMUNITY ISSUE WHICH
HAS PREVENTED TWO ANC LEADERS (SITHOLE AND CHIKEREMA)
FROM RETURNING TO RHODESIA FOR RESUMPTION OF
NEGOTIATIONS THERE. KAUNDA RECOGNIZED THAT SMITH
HAS INSURMOUNTABLE DOMESTIC PROBLEM IN GUARANTEEING
IMMUNITY.

2. KAUNDA SPOKE OF "CERTAIN MEMBERS IN ANC" WHO ARE
CREATING DIVISIONS WITHIN RANKS OF RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS
"FOR REASONS WHICH ARE NOT RPT NOT HONORABLE". THEY
SEEM GENUINELY TO PREFER ARMED STRUGGLE TO NEGOTIATED
SETTLEMENT. KAUNDA THEN RECALLED THAT IT WAS THIS
FACTION OF THE ANC WHICH HAD "KILLED ITS OWN PEOPLE".
HE REFERRED TO MURDER OF EX-ZANU LEADER HERBERT

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines State Review 9/17/03
By WLB, NARA, Date 2/18/04



PSN:053682

PAGE 01

TOR:247/14:04Z

DTG:041300Z SEP 75

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CHITEPO.

3. I ASKED KAUNDA HOW ONE COULD HOPE FOR PROGRESS ON A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT SO LONG AS THERE WAS SERIOUS LEADERSHIP PROBLEM WITHIN ANC. ASSUMING SMITH WAS WILLING TO AGREE TO A RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, WHO WOULD SPEAK FOR THE ANC? KAUNDA THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE NO QUESTION ABOUT BISHOP MUZOREWA CONTINUING AS ANC PRESIDENT AND SPOKESMAN IF SMITH AGREED TO RETURN TO VICTORIA FALLS. THE IMPORTANT THING WAS TO RESUME TALKS.

5. I ASKED IF THE ZAMBIANS HAD UNDERTAKEN TO PASS THIS MESSAGE TO SMITH. KAUNDA SAID THIS HAD BEEN DONE THROUGH THE SOUTH AFRICANS BUT AS YET THERE WAS NO REPLY.

6. I VENTURED TO SAY THAT WHILE ONE HAD LITTLE SYMPATHY IN GENERAL WITH SMITH'S ATTITUDE AND ACTIONS, ONE COULD NOT HELP BUT UNDERSTAND HIS CURRENT MISGIVINGS AND HESITANCY IN FACING A DIVIDED AND APPARENTLY LEADERLESS ANC. KAUNDA WAS PAINED WITH THIS COMMENT, ADMITTED ITS TRUTH, BUT SAID ALL THE MORE REASON WHY IMPASSE HAD TO BE BROKEN AND TALKS RESUMED. HE HOPED TO USG COULD UNDERSTAND AND USE ITS VOICE TO HELP. HE THOUGHT WE MUST HAVE WAYS OF GETTING MESSAGES DIRECTLY TO SMITH. I ASSURED THE PRESIDENT I WOULD REPORT HIS APPEAL IMMEDIATELY TO WASHINGTON.

7. KAUNDA VOLUNTEERED THAT SINCE THE SPLIT WITHIN THE ANC HAD BROKEN IN THE PRESS, ZAMBIANS HAD MADE NO EFFORT TO CONTACT THE ANC LEADERSHIP IN LUSAKA TO COUNSEL THEM TO CLOSE RANKS AND GET ON WITH NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID ZAMBIA IS FOR BIDDING ITS TIME.

8. IN A DISCUSSION ON THE ANC LEADERSHIP QUESTION, PRESIDENT KAUNDA AGREED THAT A SHOWDOWN WOULD HAVE TO COME SOONER OR LATER, BUT HE HOPED IT WOULD BE LATER THROUGH DEMOCRATIC MEANS AT AN ANC CONGRESS AND AFTER A SETTLEMENT WAS REACHED.

9. I ASKED IF KAUNDA THOUGHT SMITH WAS REALLY SINCERE ABOUT NEGOTIATING INASMUCH AS HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS FOLLOWING THE BREAKOFF IN TALKS AT VICTORIA FALLS HAD BEEN SO OPENLY NEGATIVE ON MAJORITY RULE. KAUNDA THOUGHT THIS WAS A PUBLIC STANCE SMITH HAD TO TAKE, BUT IN HIS "HEART OF HEARTS" SMITH IS COMMITTED TO MAJORITY RULE AND HAS SAID SO IN THESE TERMS AT A VERY RESTRICTED RHODESIAN FRONT CAUCUS MEETING PRECEDING VICTORIA FALLS.

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10. I THEN ASKED IF KAUNDA THOUGHT THE BRITISH HAD A
ROLE TO PLAY. HE REPLIED AFFIRMATIVELY, SAYING HE COULD
NOT QUITE UNDERSTAND WHY BRITISH CHOSE TO "LOOK OVER
THE SHOULDERS" OF BOTH VORSTER AND SMITH. KAUNDA DID NOT
RPT NOT GO INTO THE REQUEST WE KNOW FROM CHONA THE ZAMBIANS
HAVE LEVIED ON THE BRITISH TO PREPARE A NEGOTIATING
FRAMEWORK. RATHER, HE LIMITED HIMSELF TO SAYING HE
HOPE LATER IN THE DAY TO SPEAK WITH UK HICOM MILES,
"AS THE BRITISH FEEL WE HAVE BEEN NEGLECTING THEM IN
LUSAKA, WHICH ISN'T REALLY TRUE, AS CHONA HAS BEEN SEEING
THEM."

BT

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~~*****CONFIDENTIAL*****~~ E COPY

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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 2079
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 1999
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 1904
AMEMBASSY GABORONE 871

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 1685

EXDIS
PASS WHITE HOUSE

11. CHONA WAS CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT FROM MY MEETING, HIS PLACE AS RAPPORTEUR TAKEN BY HIS DEPUTY, AMBASSADOR PETER KASANDA. IN ESCORTING ME OUT, KASANDA WONDERED ALOUD WHY IT WAS THAT THE SITHOLE WING OF THE ANC WOULD PREFER ARMED STRUGGLE AS A MEANS OF CLAIMING LEADERSHIP. HE IMPLIED THE SUSPICION WAS STRONG THIS EX-ZANU FACTION MIGHT BE UNDER FOREIGN INFLUENCE, ALTHOUGH HE WENT NO FURTHER IN DEVELOPING THIS THEME. HE SAID WAR AN IMMINENT POSSIBILITY WHICH ZAMBIAN AND OTHER AFRICANS WOULD PREFER TO AVOID.

12. COMMENT. AM CONVINCED THAT SOUTH AFRICANS IN FIRST INSTANCE, AND PROBABLY BRITISH IN SECOND ARE IN BEST POSSIBLE POSITION TO GET SMITH BACK TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE ALTHOUGH AS I INDICATED TO KAUNDA, IT WILL NOT BE EASY WITH ANC SPLIT. WE SHOULD EXAMINE CAREFULLY WHAT WE CAN DO, WHICH I HOPE WOULD BE SOMETHING RATHER THAN NOTHING. SUGGESTED ACTION MIGHT BE TOUCHING BASE WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND BRITISH FOR THEIR CURRENT ASSESSMENTS AND TAKING OUR LEAD FROM THAT. IF WE HAVE WAYS FOR COMMUNICATING DIRECTLY WITH SMITH, WE SHOULD USE THEM.

13. KAUNDA IS IN A TIGHT SPOT AND DID NOT CONCEAL HIS TENSION AND WORRY DURING OUR DISCUSSION. HE HAD TAKEN OVERLY OPTIMISTIC VIEW BEFORE VICTORIA FALLS, HAD PINNED HIS HOPES ON FORWARD AND UNINTERRUPTED

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~~*****CONFIDENTIAL*****~~ COPY

MOVEMENT, AND WAS EVEN COUNTING ON ENOUGH AGREEMENT TO CONSIDER RE-OPENING THE ZAMBIAN-RHODESIAN BORDER. THE STALEMATE OVER THE IMMUNITY QUESTION PREVENTS THIS RELIEF FOR A VERY TROUBLED ZAMBIAN ECONOMY. THE COUNTRY'S TRANSPORT SITUATION HAS BECOME CRITICAL IF NOT NEAR DESPERATE. LOBITO IS CLOSED INDEFINITELY AND DAR AND THE MOZAMBIQUE PORTS CANNOT HANDLE THE DIVERTED VOLUME. THE ROUTES THROUGH MALAWI AND MOZAMBIQUE ARE GOOD ONLY UNTIL THE RAINS COME IN NOVEMBER. ZAMBIA'S TWO COPPER COMPANIES HAVE JUST DECLARED "FORCE MAJEURE" ON 20 PERCENT OF THEIR CONTRACTUAL SHIPMENTS (LUSAKA'S 1679) AND THERE IS MUCH DOMESTIC DISSATISFACTION WITH KAUNDA'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES (LUSAKA 1658). TWICE KAUNDA SPOKE TO ME OF HIS "DISCOURAGEMENT" IN OUR CONVERSATION. WHILE TOO PROUD TO BARE HIS TRUE FEELINGS, HIS EXPRESSION OF ANXIETY AND CALL TO THE USG FOR HELP SHOULD NOT GO WITHOUT SOME MEANINGFUL RESPONSE FROM US. I SUSPECT CHONA'S ABSENCE IS ATTRIBUTABLE TO FACT HE MAY BE IN PRETORIA TRYING TO PRESS SOUTH AFRICANS TO PRESS SMITH FOR A REPLY TO ZAMBIA'S SEVEN-POINT MESSAGE (LUSAKA 1662).

14. REQUEST DEPARTMENT PROVIDE ME WITH INSTRUCTIONS FOR RESPONSIVE REPLY TO KAUNDA ALONG FOLLOWING LINES: WE SHARE HIS CONCERNS THAT NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT COULD BE IN JEOPARDY AND THERE APPARENT DANGER OF ESCALATION OF ARMED STRUGGLE; WE HAVE TAKEN NECESSARY STEPS TO URGE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS AT VICTORIA FALLS OR OTHER NON-CONTROVERSIAL, MUTUALLY-AGREED SITE IN CONSULTATION WITH SOUTH AFRICANS AND BRITISH; WE HOPE THAT IN MEANTIME KAUNDA AND AFRICAN LEADERS ARE IMPRESSING UPON ANC ABSOLUTE NECESSITY FOR UNITY IF MEANINGFUL TALKS WITH RHODESIANS ARE TO OCCUR.

WILKOWSKI

BT

~~*****CONFIDENTIAL*****~~ COPY

1f

~~SECRET~~ (XGDS-2)

Please pass following to President Kaunda from President Ford: QUOTE:

Dear Mr. President:

I greatly appreciate your message of September 3 and your assessment of the situation in Rhodesia. I share your concerns regarding the lack of progress in the negotiations and the grave consequences that will result if the Rhodesian question is not settled peacefully.

As you know, Secretary Kissinger met with ~~your~~ Foreign Minister Banda in New York on September 5 and expressed our strong support for your efforts ^{to achieve} for a peaceful solution in Rhodesia. Since then I have discussed your message ~~to me~~ with Secretary Kissinger and we ^{are currently} ~~will~~ ^{studying how} ~~study~~ ~~urgently ways that~~ we might be helpful.

Once again may I ^{strongly} express my gratitude to you for your recent ^{my respect for the leadership you have been playing. We strongly} letter and ^{contribute to this end where possible.} ~~reiterate that we~~ support a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia and wish to ~~be helpful where we can~~.

With warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

His Excellency

Kenneth David Kaunda

President of Zambia UNQUOTE

~~SECRET~~ (XGDS-2)

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 9/17/03
BY 100, NARA, DATE 3/10/04



~~SECRET~~ (XGDS 2)

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President Ford: QUOTE:

Dear Mr. President:

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As you know, Secretary Kissinger met with Foreign Minister Banda in New York on September 5 and expressed our strong support for your efforts to achieve a peaceful solution in Rhodesia. Since then I have discussed your message with Secretary Kissinger and we are currently studying how we might be helpful.

Once again may I express my gratitude to you for your recent letter and my respect for the leadership role you have been playing. We strongly support a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia and wish to contribute to this end where possible.

With warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

His Excellency
Kenneth David Kaunda
President of Zambia UNQUOTE

~~SECRET~~ (XGDS 2)

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 9/17/03
BY DAI, NARA, DATE 3/10/04



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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 017617

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL Profile

TITLE NSC Correspondence Profile

DESCRIPTION Re Message to Ford from Kaunda

CREATION DATE 09/1975

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035100094

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL
CORRESPONDENCE WITH FOREIGN LEADERS

BOX NUMBER 4

FOLDER TITLE Zambia - President Kenneth Kaunda

DATE WITHDRAWN 03/12/2004

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST GG

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

40 mm
HH
913

~~SECRET~~ (GDS)

hm 3/10/04

ACTION

February 20, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: Hal Horan *HH*

SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence: Proposed
Reply to Letter from Zambia's President
Kenneth Kuanda

Attached is a self-explanatory memo to the President suggesting he send a response to Zambia's President Kaunda's recent letter to him on Angolan and southern African questions. Bob Hartmann has cleared the text of the letter.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward to the President the memo at Tab I.

*I don't think we need
a response. (Z)*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

913

SECRET (GDS)ACTION

LH 3/10/04

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Brent Scowcroft

SUBJECT: Correspondence with Zambia's President
Kenneth Kaunda

At a February 5 meeting Mr. Chona, Special Adviser to President Kaunda, gave Secretary Kissinger a letter to you from Kaunda (Tab B).

The letter thanks you for your January 3 message on Angola, expresses Kaunda's dismay over the inadequacies of the Western response in Angola, indicates Zambia's resolve to maintain its stand on Angola despite Soviet intervention, and urges American action on the Rhodesian and Namibian issues.

In view of our continuing close relations with Kaunda and our shared views on the Angolan question, the Department of State has recommended that you respond personally to Kaunda's letter. I concur in this recommendation and have attached a suggested letter at Tab A. Bob Hartmann has cleared the text of the letter.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter at Tab A to President Kaunda.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

7603014

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 13, 1976

~~SECRET~~


MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Suggested Reply by President Ford to
Letter from Zambian President Kaunda

At a February 5 meeting, Mark Chona, Special Advisor to President Kaunda, gave Secretary Kissinger a letter from President Kaunda to President Ford.

The letter, dated January 28, thanks President Ford for his message on Angola, expresses President Kaunda's dismay over the inadequacy of the Western response in Angola, and urges American action on the Rhodesian and Namibian issues as well.

In our suggested reply President Ford thanks President Kaunda for his letter and for sending Mark Chona to Washington, expresses our determination to resist Soviet intrusions in Africa, and states that we continue to follow the Rhodesian and Namibian issues with great attention.


George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Suggested Reply
2. Letter from President Kaunda

~~SECRET~~

GDS

11 3/10/84

Suggested Reply

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of January 28, 1976 and for sending your special Assistant, Mark Chona to meet with Secretary Kissinger to discuss ^{the situation in} southern African ~~developments~~.

I share your views on the gravity of the situation in Angola and on the need for an effective response by both African and Western states to Soviet intervention. ~~[I am sure]~~ the effective statesmanship you displayed at the recent OAU Summit meeting in Addis Ababa ^{has} ~~will~~ demonstrate ^{d/} to the Soviets and Cubans that a ^{responsible group} ~~cohesive bloc~~ of African states will oppose their attempts to ^{plot a situation in southern Africa to their} ~~alter the power balance~~. I was heartened by this development and hope we will be able to build on it in the future. _{advantage}

We are now studying how the United States, with other interested governments, ^{can} ~~may be able to~~ contribute to stability and peaceful change in central and southern Africa. I am encouraged by the initial reactions of the

His Excellency

Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda,

President of the Republic of Zambia,

Lusaka.

Department of State



members of the

Congress to the explanations by Mr. Chona, Foreign Minister Nguza *of Zaire* and others of the serious political

and economic difficulties confronting the nations of the area. We certainly do not wish to see *a repetition of* the Angolan drama ~~replayed~~ in any other part of the continent. In

this connection, we *are following* ~~continue to follow~~ events in Rhodesia and Namibia with the *closest* ~~greatest~~ attention, and are assess-

ing *what specific steps the United* ~~whether there is any constructive role we can play~~

States might take to help achieve peaceful ~~to further peaceful progress towards majority rule in~~ *means majority rule and self determination* ~~these areas.~~

will ~~will~~ *be in those areas.*

Let me assure you that the United States, ~~working~~ *will* closely with Zambia and other governments, ~~will continue~~ to meet its responsibilities in Africa.

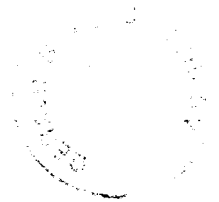
Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford





State House
Lusaka, Republic of Zambia





*State House
Lusaka, Republic of Zambia*

28th January, 1976.

Dear Mr President,

I was very happy recently to receive your message regarding the situation in Angola. I was most heartened and encouraged by the manner in which you reaffirmed your commitment and that of your country to help end the war in Angola. Since then I have followed the developments which have grown in gravity. The OAU diplomatic efforts at the recent Addis Ababa Extraordinary Summit failed. The war continues, Soviet intervention also continues to grow with an alarming number of Cuban regular forces.

I perfectly understand the problems of the American Administration in giving timely and effective response to Soviet massive intervention. While admiring your present efforts and those of your Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, I am necessarily dismayed by the inadequacy of the western response politically, psychologically and let alone materially.

We in Zambia will not compromise our principles for fear of Soviet power. We, therefore, are resolved to maintain our stand.

I am sending my Special Assistant for Political Affairs, Mark Chona, to exchange views with the Secretary of State on the whole situation in Southern Africa. American action is also necessary now in Rhodesia and Namibia before there is a repetition of what is happening in Angola. The threat is real. We have to take appropriate measures now.

May I take the opportunity of sending you my warmest greetings and best wishes.

With God's blessings.

Yours sincerely,

100

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

His Excellency Gerald Ford,
President of the United States of America,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

2/18/76

TO: Doug Smith, Mr. Hartmann's Office
1st fl., WW, WH

FR OM: Hal Horan, ~~414~~ x 5022

SUBJECT: Presidential letter to Zambia
President Kaunda

For your clearance

RTU
you should look at
this one

long

OK [signature]



46

Suggested Reply

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of January 28, 1976 and for sending your Special Assistant, Mark Chona, to meet with Secretary Kissinger to discuss the situation in southern Africa.

I share your views on the gravity of the situation in Angola and on the need for an effective response by both African and Western states to Soviet intervention. The effective statesmanship you displayed at the recent OAU Summit meeting in Addis Ababa has demonstrated to the Soviets and Cubans that a responsible group of African states will oppose their attempts to exploit a situation in Africa to their advantage. I was heartened by this development and hope we will be able to build on it in the future.

We are now studying how the United States, with other interested governments, can contribute to stability and peaceful change in central and southern Africa. I am encouraged by the initial reactions of the members of the Congress to the explanations by Mr. Chona, Foreign Minister Nguza of Zaire and others of the serious political and economic difficulties confronting the nations of the area. We certainly do not wish to see a repetition of the Angolan drama in any part of the continent. In this connection, we are following events in Rhodesia and Namibia with the closest attention and are assessing what specific steps the United States might take to help

achieve by peaceful means majority rule and self determination in those areas.

Let me assure you that the United States will work closely with Zambia and other governments to meet its responsibilities in Africa.

Sincerely,

(Gerald R. Ford)

His Excellency
Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda
President of the Republic of Zambia
Lusaka

22

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of January 28, 1976 and for sending your Special Assistant, Mark Chona, to meet with Secretary Kissinger to discuss the situation in southern Africa.

I share your views on the gravity of the situation in Angola and on the need for an effective response by both African and western states to Soviet intervention. The effective statesmanship you displayed at the recent OAU summit meeting in Addis Ababa has demonstrated to the Soviets and Cubans that a responsible group of African states will oppose their attempts to exploit a situation in Africa to their advantage. I was heartened by this development and hope we will be able to build on it in the future.

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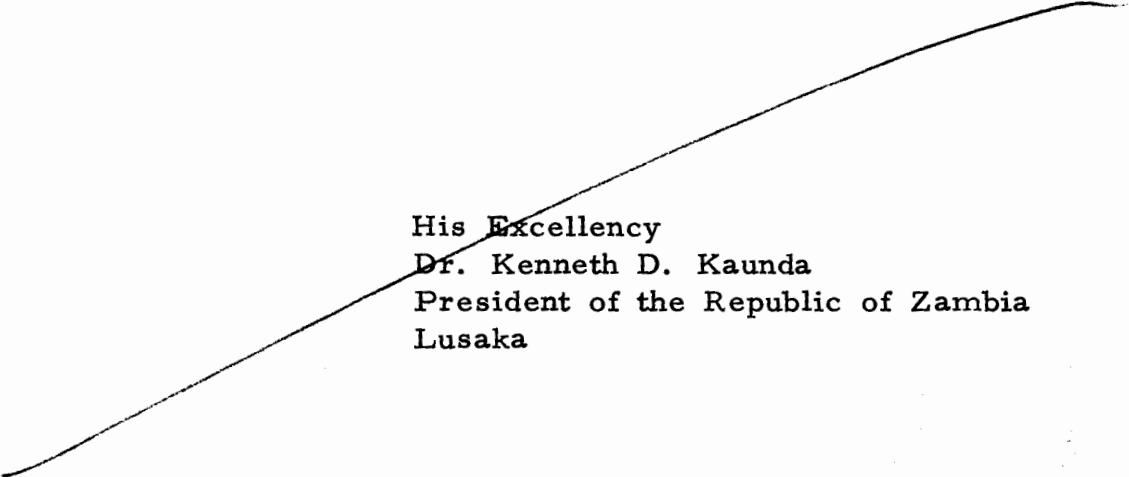
Let me assure you that the United States will work closely with Zambia and other governments to meet its responsibilities in Africa.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda
President of the Republic of Zambia
Lusaka

THE WHITE HOUSE

49



His Excellency
Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda
President of the Republic of Zambia
Lusaka

44

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD		LOG NBR		INITIAL ACTION O
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SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES _____ FROM: KISSINGER, H _____

KISSINGER _____ COLBY, W _____

SCOWCROFT X _____ SCHLESINGER, J _____

DAVIS _____ ST EX SEC X _____

REFERENCE: 7603014

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C EYES ONLY EXDIS

S CODEWORD

TS SENSITIVE

SUBJECT: ack ltr to Pres fm Zambian Pres Kaunda re Angola Rhodesia & Namibia

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION			REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
	ACTION	INFO.		
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/SCOWCROFT	<u>X</u>	<u>X</u>		MEMO FOR HAK _____ ()
STAFF SECRETARY				MEMO FOR PRES _____ (<u>X</u>)
FAR EAST				REPLY FOR _____ ()
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	<u>X</u>		<u>X</u>	APPROPRIATE ACTION _____ ()
MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA				MEMO _____ TO _____ ()
EUROPE / CANADA				RECOMMENDATIONS _____ ()
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO _____ ()
UNITED NATIONS				REFER TO _____ FOR: _____ ()
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY? _____ ()
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE _____ ()
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				DUE DATE: <u>(2-23)</u>
NSC PLANNING				COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)
CONGRESSIONAL				<u>INDEX - Chona, Mark</u>
OCEANS POLICY				<u>Sam</u>
INTELLIGENCE				

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	S	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	CY TO
<u>4/20</u>		<u>Scot</u>	<u>X</u>	<u>Pres to sign ltr to Kaunda (4/29)</u>	
<u>3-9</u>		<u>NSC/C</u>		<u>Off per Gen Secroft</u>	
<u>Sharon notified by phone,</u>					
<u>however a close out cys bill</u>					
<u>follow.</u>					

NSC/S DISP INSTR

DISPATCH _____	MICROFILM & FILE RQMTS: M/F/D _____ CRIT: <u>MAK</u> CLOSE <u>KE</u> SA SF HP NS WH EP PA DY
CY RQMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS: _____	
NOTIFY _____ & DATE _____ BY _____	
SPECIAL DISPOSITION: _____	
CROSS REF W/ _____	
SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: <u>X</u> _____ FOLDER: _____	