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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SUBJECT: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA TO PRESIDENT FORD

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 PASSIVE INTERVENTION. WHILE ADMIRING YOUR PRESENT
EFFORTS AND THOSE OF YOUR SECRETARY OF STATE, DR. KISSINGER,
I AM NECESSARILY DISAPPOINTED 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 REPERITION 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
SUBJECT: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA TO PRESIDENT FORD

FYI: On Feb 5, Mark Chona delivered the 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 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.

Scowcroft, Hyland, Carland, Rodman"
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
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<td>Secretary Kissinger</td>
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Sanitized 4/12/05
MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SECRET (XGDS-3)

MEMORANDUM FOR: SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM: HAL HORNAN

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

On September 4 the message at Tab B from President Kaunda to President Ford was given to Chok, Kaunda’s Special Assistant.

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 8 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.

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Residential Library Review of DOS and NSC Equities is Required

Approved For Release 2005/04/12: NLF-PC_F_L-5-2-1-1
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.

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.
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

Signed 4/13/05
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
REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . National security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . Memorandum

TITLE . . . . . . . . . Message from President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia

DESCRIPTION . . . . . Cover memorandum

CREATION DATE . . . . . 09/04/1975

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

Exempt 4/13/05
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
CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1685

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TAGS: PFOR ZA RH PINS

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: KAUNOA 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...
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 that 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 biding 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.

PSN:03662 Page 02 TOR:247/14:04Z DTG:041300Z SEP 75
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 report not going 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 hoped 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
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 OTHER 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
MOVEMENT, AND WAS EVEN COUNTING ON ENOUGH AGREEMENT TO CONSIDER RE-OPENING THE ZAMBIA-RHODESIAN BORDER. THE STALEMATE OVER THE IMMUNITY QUESTION PREVENTS THIS RELIEF FOR A VERY TROUBLED ZAMBIA 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 RAINDROPS COME IN NOVEMBER. ZAMBIA'S TWO COPPER COMPANIES HAVE JUST DECLARED "FORCE MAJEURE" ON 20 PERCENT OF THEIR CONTRACTUALSHIPMENTS (LUSAKA'S 1679) AND THERE IS MUCH DOMESTIC DISSATISFACTION WITH KAUNDA'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES (LUSAKA 1688). TWICE KAUNDA SPOKE TO ME OF HIS "DISCOURAGEMENT" IN OUR CONVERSATION, WHILE TOO PROUD TO SHARE HIS TRUE FEELINGS, HIS EXPRESSION OF ANXIETY AND CALL TO THE US 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

PSN:053705 PAGE 02 OF 02 TOR:247/14:24Z DTG:041300Z SEP 75
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 for a peaceful solution in Rhodesia. Since then I have discussed your message with Secretary Kissinger and we wish to contribute where we can.

Once again may I express my gratitude to you for your recent letter and wish to 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)
Please pass the following to President Kaunda from President Ford:

Dear Mr. President:

I greatly appreciate your message of September 3 and your assessment of the situation in Rhodesia. I share your concern 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
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 FOR: BREN\_COWCROFT
FROM: Hal Horan
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 Kuanda'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.
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.
MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

February 13, 1976

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.

Attachments:
1. Suggested Reply
2. Letter from President Kaunda
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 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. [am awe] the effective statesmanship you displayed at the recent OAU Summit meeting in Addis Ababa will demonstrate to the Soviets and Cubans that a collective voice of African states will oppose their attempts to alter the power balance. 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 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
Congress to the explanations by Mr. Chona, Foreign
Minister Nguna and others of the serious political
and economic difficulties confronting the nations of
the area. We certainly do not wish to see the Angolan
drama replayed in any other part of the continent. In
this connection, we continue to follow events in Rhodesia
and Namibia with the greatest attention, and are assessing
whether there is any constructive role we can play
to further peaceful progress toward majority rule in
these areas.
Let me assure you that the United States, working
closely with Zambia and other governments, will continue
to meet its responsibilities in Africa.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. 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 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,


dear Sirs,

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

His Excellency Gerald Ford,
President of the United States of America,
WASHINGTON, D.C.
TO: Doug Smith, Mr. Hartmann's Office
    1st fl., WW, WH
FR OI: Hal Horan \& 3022
SUBJECT: Presidential letter to Zambia
         President Kaunda

For your clearance

[Handwritten notes]
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
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,

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

TO: PRES  FROM: KISSINGER, H
KISSINGER  NSC
SCHLESINGER, J
COBY, W
COLBY, W
SCHLESINGER, J
DAVIS
ST EA SEC

SUBJECT: Act  a/e to Press for Zambian Press, Kaunda re:
Angola, Rhodesia & Namibia

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<td>AND EAST/NO AF RICA/SO. ASIA</td>
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<td>EUROPE/CANADA</td>
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ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR PRES
APPROPRIATE ACTION
APPEND FOR
RECOMMENDATIONS
JOINT MEMO
REFER TO:
ANY ACTION NECESSARY:
CONCURRENCE:

NOTES:  

INDEX: Chomoz, Mark

DATE: 

1/20

SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN): 

ACTION:

SIGNED:

PRES TO CONSENT TO KANUAD RE:

Namibia a Choi and Cyp Bell

CROSS REF:

CROSS REF ATTACHES:

FOLDER:

DISPATCH:

CY HTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS:

CROSS REF:

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED:

FOLDER:

( NSC 72-20 )