

MEETINGS BETWEEN DR KENNETH KAUNDA, PRESIDENT OF ZAMBIA, AND  
MINISTERS R F BOTHA, GENL M A DE M MALAN AND THE  
ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL DR W A VAN NIEKERK: LUSAKA, 25 APRIL  
1984.

(Two meetings took place on 25 April 1984, one before and  
the other after the discussions between South Africa and  
Angola. Both were held in President Kaunda's private study  
at State House.)

First meeting: 12h40 - 13h10

PRESENT: ZAMBIA

Dr K Kaunda, President of Zambia  
Minister W J Phiri, Special Assistant to the  
President  
Mr M Punabantu, Special Assistant to the President

SOUTH AFRICA

Mr R F Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Gen M A de M Malan, Minister of Defence  
Dr W van Niekerk, Administrator-General of South  
West Africa  
V J Zazeraj, Private Secretary to the Minister of  
Foreign Affairs

President Kaunda opened the meeting by welcoming Minister  
Botha and his delegation to Zambia. Zambia welcomed recent  
developments towards peace in Southern Africa and was  
~~pleased with what~~ pleased with what South Africa was doing in this regard.  
The countries of Southern Africa were now talking to each

other instead of fighting. Zambia was helping behind the scenes and would continue to help.

Minister Botha thanked President Kaunda for his warm words of welcome and for the hospitality which the President and his officials had extended to the South African delegation.

He brought greetings from the South African Prime Minister, who had been impressed by President Kaunda's positive role in the search for peace and stability in Southern Africa.

Minister Botha explained that today, 25 April 1984, the Prime Minister's Budget Vote was being debated by Parliament in Cape Town. The debate would continue tomorrow and the next day. Since it is an important event both nationally and internationally it was perhaps inevitable that his and General Malan's absence from Parliament would raise questions in the Parliamentary Press Gallery.

The intention had been to hold today's meeting in Lusaka with representatives of Angola on a confidential basis, but it was now clear that news of the meeting had already leaked. On arrival in Lusaka this morning his Private Secretary had put through a routine call to Minister Botha's office in Cape Town only to be told that the office was receiving press inquiries about his absence. His office was unable to comment at the moment, but it was already obvious that the press was interested in the movement of the Minister. Last night the French Embassy in Cape Town had even asked for confirmation that such a meeting was to take place in Lusaka. They had apparently been informed by their Embassy in Luanda. There was also reason to believe that news of the meeting had leaked in Washington. It would therefore be counterproductive to deny it. Minister Botha regretted this, but since the press was free in South Africa and in the United States there was nothing he could do about

it, and he expressed the sincere hope that the presence of a South African negotiating team in the Zambian capital would not cause embarrassment for President Kaunda.....

President Kaunda interrupted Minister Botha to say that there was absolutely no question of embarrassment. On the contrary, Zambia was proud to play its role in bringing the parties together, and did so openly. It was Angola who did not want the meeting made public, not Zambia.

Returning to the subject of today's meeting, President Kaunda said he had been surprised by South Africa's reaction to the recent joint statement in Havana by Cuba and Angola. One should realise that such statements were made for public consumption and should not be interpreted literally. The real work was done in private, in meetings such as this.

Minister Botha replied that South Africa did not believe in saying one thing in public and another in private. There was no conflict between South Africa's private and public statements. Apart from that, the Cuban/Angolan, statement was not merely a verbal slip of the tongue. It was a formal, carefully prepared document, in both Spanish and Portuguese, with each version having equal validity. The style and language in which it was presented was almost similar to that of a treaty. Aspects of it were totally unacceptable to South Africa, and South Africa could not therefore be expected to ignore it.

On the subject of public statements Minister Botha drew President Kaunda's attention to reports in the South African media in which President Kaunda was quoted as having denounced the Accord of Nkomati. The Zambian Ambassador to the United States, Mr Benjamin Mkapa, had also been quoted, in a separate report, as being severely hostile to the Accord: **South Africa had been deeply disturbed by these reports and sincerely hoped that they did not represent the**

position of the Zambian Government. Minister Botha said South Africa would be grateful if President Kaunda could clarify Zambia's position.

President Kaunda replied that he was not aware of these press reports, and asked whether they could be made available to him. Minister Botha handed two press cuttings to President Kaunda (copies attached) whereupon President Kaunda commented that the matter could be discussed later, at the second meeting with him in the afternoon. At this stage all he wanted to say was that he had more than once stated publicly that he believed the South African Prime Minister was a sincere man. He had chosen delicate occasions on which to make these statements, such as when addressing students and at military passing-out parades. No man in his position would openly praise the South African Prime Minister if he did not believe he was a man to be admired. Certain things about South Africa still worried President Kaunda and he would communicate these concerns to South Africa, but this did not detract from his admiration for Prime Minister P W Botha.

Minister Botha thanked President Kaunda for his sentiments.

Minister Botha then enquired whether President Kaunda was aware of the work of the Multi-Party Conference in SWA/Namibia. After briefly reviewing the purpose and composition of the MPC, Minister Botha handed to President Kaunda a copy of the MPC's Bill of Rights, saying that the President would appreciate the importance of this document and that the President's views on the matter would be greatly appreciated.

President Kaunda accepted the copy of the MPC's Bill of Rights, and said that he would study it with interest.



Minister Botha said that he would be discussing the whole Namibian/Angolan question with Minister Rodrigues in the afternoon. After briefly reviewing the work of the Joint Monitoring Commission, the disengagement of South African forces, and the very complex question of Unita, Minister Botha asked whether it would be possible to bring President dos Santos and Dr Savimbi together for discussions aimed at achieving a peaceful solution to the civil war in Angola.

When he had last seen Minister Phiri, Minister Botha had asked whether there was any possibility of President Kaunda lending his assistance in this regard. Minister Phiri had replied that he could not speak for his President, but in his personal view it would create difficulties for Zambia.

The South African Prime Minister had put the same question to President Machel, whose reply was that Minister Botha had previously raised the matter with him, and that a special envoy from Mozambique had already visited Angola to test the idea. This was shortly before the Havana meeting. So far no clear response had been received from Luanda.

Minister Botha added that in South Africa's view it was essential to stop the war so that all the parties involved could gather around the negotiating table and seek a peaceful solution. The human suffering caused by the war and the destruction of Angola's economic infrastructure was in nobody's interest. The fighting had to be stopped. There was no substitute for personal contact. The reality was that the MPLA was fighting a war, Dr Savimbi was fighting a war, as were South African and South West African forces, and SWAPO. It was vitally important for all parties in the conflict to find out what each other's conditions for peace were. All parties wanted peace, but they would first have to talk to each other. The Administrator-General of South West Africa was prepared to arrange for talks between

the internal parties and SWAPO. As far as Angola was concerned, would it be possible to get President dos Santos and Dr Savimbi together?

President Kaunda replied that it would indeed be difficult for Zambia to assist in this regard. Originally Zambia had managed to get UNITA accepted in OAU circles, and had canvassed for a government of national unity in Angola prior to its independence. If Zambia was going to be helpful it would have to stay out of Angola's internal affairs.

Minister Botha then informed President Kaunda that the Administrator-General was planning to go ahead with the meeting between SWAPO and the internal parties of SWA/Namibia. He asked whether President Kaunda had any objection to the meeting being held in Lusaka.

President Kaunda asked what date the Administrator-General had in mind.

Dr van Niekerk suggested 7 May 1984.

President Kaunda said that in principle he had no objection. He would consult with SWAPO and let Dr van Niekerk know.

Minister Botha said that he had been asked to convey a special appeal to President Kaunda. Apparently Dr Savimbi and the UNITA leadership had recently heard radio reports which they had interpreted as an invitation to enter into a dialogue with President Kaunda. Minister Botha could not comment on the validity or otherwise of their interpretation, but the result was that Dr Savimbi had despatched two special envoys with instructions to seek an interview with President Kaunda. On entering Zambia the two envoys, whose names were Ernesto Mulatto and Cyprian Chipipa, were arrested by the Zambian authorities.

Minister Botha had been asked to make special representations to President Kaunda for the release of the two men. Dr Savimbi had acted in good faith, and if he was mistaken in sending these two envoys he was truly sorry. UNITA did not want to cause any difficulties for Zambia. The two men who were arrested were acting on Dr Savimbi's orders, and were innocent messengers en route to President Kaunda.

President Kaunda replied that he was totally unaware of this. After consulting his two Special Assistants at the meeting, who also said they had no knowledge of the matter, President Kaunda undertook to have it investigated.

The meeting adjourned for lunch hosted by President Kaunda for the South African and Angolan delegations.

Second Meeting: 17h15 - 17h50

PRESENT: ZAMBIA

Dr K Kaunda, President of Zambia  
Minister W J Phiri, Special Assistant to the President  
Mr M Punabantu, Special Assistant to the President

SOUTH AFRICA

Mr R F Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Gen M A de M Malan, Minister of Defence  
Dr W van Niekerk, Administrator-General of South West Africa

Minister Botha informed President Kaunda that the talks between the South African and Angolan delegations had been concluded. The meeting had almost been wrecked within the first fifteen minutes as a result of acrimonious and vitriolic attacks on South Africa which had been launched by Radio Luanda and also as a result of severe hostility expressed in various articles in a magazine called "Africasia". The Minister had a copy of the publication with him. It was the February 1984 edition and it was devoted specifically to Angola. It carried a number of contributions by Angolan Ministers and in virtually article South Africa was blamed for all the ills and disasters of Southern Africa.

Minister Botha explained to President Kaunda that the South African Government was not unduly sensitive to criticism from abroad, but there was a vast difference between the critical sentiments expressed from time to time by moderate African leaders like President Kaunda himself on the one hand and the vicious and venomous attacks made by Radio Luanda and in the "Africasia" publication. The South African Government could not accept that successful negotiations could be conducted nor that peace and understanding between two states could be achieved if one of the States continued to publicly condemn the other in the severest terms.

The South African Government was therefore concerned that if Radio Luanda's attacks on South Africa and the views expressed in the publication in question were an accurate reflection of the Angolan Government's thinking, there was no hope of achieving stability and a lasting modus vivendi. Minister Botha had therefore wanted to know from Minister Rodrigues whether the Luanda broadcasts and the "Africasia"

publication in fact reflected his Government's views and, if so, Minister Botha had then indicated that he would know what to do. He was not prepared to waste his time engaged in discussions with another country which was obviously playing a double role.

Minister Botha then informed President Kaunda that Minister Rodrigues had denied that Radio Luanda or the publication in question had reflected his Government's views. Minister Botha had considered Minister Rodrigues' attitude to be reasonable and had therefore been prepared to proceed with the agenda for the meeting.

President Kaunda said that he was greatly relieved to hear this. He expressed his thanks to Minister Botha on learning of this turn of events and then proceeded to respond to Minister Botha's earlier complaints regarding the President's attitude towards the Accord of Nkomati. In a lengthy rationalisation of his reported views the President said that the report which appeared in the Cape Times of Friday, 13 April 1984 on the Zambian envoy's attacks on South Africa was devoid of all truth because the person quoted by the Cape Times was not the Zambian Ambassador in Washington but the Tanzanian Ambassador, and the President could not accept responsibility for what the Ambassador of another country had said.

Minister Botha immediately agreed.

President Kaunda then continued to explain that it was not a matter of being against the Accord of Nkomati. He was concerned about the euphoria which had been created by the Accord and which might induce people to start thinking that all the problems of the region had been resolved. He appealed to Minister Botha to keep in mind that he, ~~President Kaunda~~, had recently on two occasions stated publicly that in his opinion Prime Minister P W Botha was

sincere in his efforts to move ahead and to resolve the vexing problems facing South Africa. There were many elements who took exception to President Kaunda's views on Prime Minister P W Botha but he had nonetheless repeated those views. The first occasion was in a speech to the Namibia institute in Lusaka and the second occasion was at a passing-out parade.

President Kaunda said that he considered himself a Christian who believed in God. Throughout his life he had endeavoured to say what he thought in a straightforward manner. There were many occasions in the past when he had not hesitated to criticise the British Government and other Governments, or for that matter, his own people. He was encouraged by the steps which the South African Government was taking to resolve the dangerous Angola/Namibian conflict, and the invitation to the South African Prime Minister to visit Zambia still stood. He trusted that the South African Government would not be over-sensitive to critical remarks. Statements were sometimes made for the public gallery. He appealed to the South African Government to try to understand his position.

In regard to the two Unita members who had allegedly been arrested by Zambian authorities, President Kaunda indicated that he would look into the matter and see what he could do. He explained that there must have been a misunderstanding because he had not publicly advocated a meeting between President dos Santos and Dr Savimbi at this stage, but in remarks he had made recently he had referred to the point of view which he had held some years previously when he had been in favour of a government of national unity in Angola. He would investigate the matter and let South Africa know.

In regard to the suggested meeting between Swapo and the ~~internal parties of SWA/Namibia~~ who were participating in

the MPC President Kaunda reaffirmed his willingness to host such a meeting, and said that he would discuss the matter with the leadership of Swapo.

President Kaunda asked that his warm regards be conveyed to the Prime Minister of South Africa.