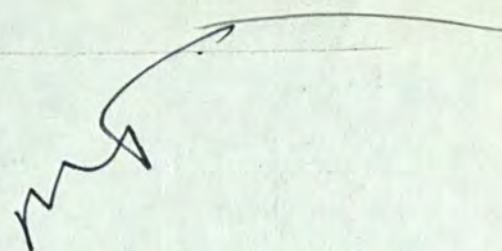


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YOUR TELNO 399. PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE.

1. DELIVERED THE MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA AT 1730 TODAY. HE READ IT VERY CAREFULLY, UNDERLINING THE SECOND SENTENCE OF PARA 3 (''OUR AIM SHOULD BE...''), THE SECOND AND THIRD SENTENCES OF PARA 5 (''ON THE CONTRARY...''), AND THE OPENING LINES OF THE NEXT PARAGRAPH.

2. KAUNDA THEN ASKED ME TO THANK THE PRIME MINISTER, AND TO SAY THAT ZAMBIA DID NOT DOUBT HER ABHORRENCE OF APARTHEID. THE NEED WAS TO READ CORRECTLY A DEVELOPING SITUATION AND THEN DETERMINE THE MOST LIKELY METHOD OF BRINGING ABOUT CHANGE WITH LESS LOSS OF LIFE. (''LESS'' SINCE NO LOSS WAS NOW AN IMPOSSIBILITY.) HERE GRZ AND HMG DIFFERED. OFTEN SUCH DIFFERENCES NEED NOT LOOM LARGE, BUT IN THIS EXTRAORDINARY SITUATION THE DIFFERENCE WAS VERY IMPORTANT.

3. KAUNDA NEXT REITERATED HIS USUAL ARGUMENTS, SAYING THAT ''REFORMS'' WERE NO LONGER AN ANSWER, AS INDEED THEY HAD BEEN NO ANSWER IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA. THE ISSUE WAS POLITICAL POWER. HE SPOKE WITH FEELING OF SOUTH AFRICAN BREACHES OF NKOMATI, AND ATTACKS ON HER NEIGHBOURS. BOTHA WAS NOW USING ANGOLA TO DELAY MAJOR POLITICAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE APPEARED TO BRING HIMSELF TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WAS MOVING INEVITABLY TO AN EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION. SANCTIONS, LEADING TO A GENUINE DIALOGUE AT A CONFERENCE OF ''ALL IN SOUTH AFRICA'' OFFERED THE LAST CHANCE. OTHERWISE THE SURVIVORS OF THE EXPLOSION WOULD BLAME THE WEST FOR INACTION. KAUNDA REPEATED HIS THANKS AND SAID HE TOO HOPED FOR AN UNHEATED DISCUSSION AT NASSAU.

4. I THANKED THE PRESIDENT AND SAID WE WERE AGREED ON THE DESIRABILITY OF MAINTAINING COMMONWEALTH UNITY, AND ON THE AIM OF ENDING APARTHEID. BUT IT LOOKED AS IF WE WERE BOUND TO DISAGREE IF THE REFERED METHOD WERE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. WERE WE ALWAYS USING WORDS IN THE SAME WAY? I QUOTED SOME OF THE MEASURES LISTED IN PARA 4 OF THE MESSAGE AND ASKED WHETHER THOSE MIGHT NOT BE DEEMED ''SANCTIONS'' BY THOSE WHO CALLED FOR SANCTIONS. HE REPLIED THAT HE WOULD WANT TO CONSIDER THIS THOUGHT WITH HIS COLLEAGUES. AT MY PROMPTING HE THEN EXPANDED ON THE MFUWE MEETING.

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5. KAUNDA IS STILL WEDDED TO "ECONOMIC SANCTIONS" AS A POLITICAL CONCEPT, BUT HE MAY NOT BE HOSTILE TO WAYS OF AVOIDING THE PRACTICAL ECONOMIC EFFECT - THIS CAN BE DONE WHILST STILL RETAINING A POLITICAL IMPACT. HE THINKS MFUWE WAS A REAL SUCCESS ("WITH SOUTH AFRICANS TALKING TO SOUTH AFRICANS AND USING CHRISTIAN NAMES") AND IS THEREFORE COMMITTED TO DIALOGUES CONTACTS, ETC, DESIGNED TO FACILITATE POLITICAL PROGRESS. BUT HE REMAINS CONVINCED OF AN IMMINENT EXPLOSION, AND WILL NEED TO SEE REAL PROGRESS. I DO NOT THINK HE WILL BUY PROPOSALS FOR SUCH CONTACTS IF HE THINKS THE AIM IS TO DISGUISE THE ABSENCE OF PROGRESS.

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