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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President and Zambian President
Kenneth D. Kaunda (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
James A. Baker, III, Secretary of State
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
Herman J. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for
African Affairs
Jeffrey A. Davidow, U.S. Ambassador to Zambia
David Passage, NSC (Notetaker)

President Kenneth D. Kaunda
Lazarous Kapambwe, Zambian Charge d'Affaires in
Washington
Milimo Punabantu, Political Adviser to President
Kaunda
Dr. Henry Meebelo, UNIP Party Central Committee
Member

DATE, TIME, June 7, 1989, 10:00 - 10:45 am EDT
AND PLACE The Oval Office

The President opened by welcoming President Kaunda, adding
"whenever I see (President Kaunda), it brightens my whole day."
(U)

President Kaunda thanked the President for meeting with him when
he knew the President was so busy with different crises. He said
"whenever there is a change of Administration in Washington, the
whole world suffers anxiety," but when President Bush was
elected, "the world knew it didn't need to worry." He said when
(former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs) Chet
Crocker was last in Lusaka, he (Kaunda) told Crocker it was
important for President Bush to state his Africa policy, but
Kaunda was confident it would come out all right: "this morning,
I looked over your NATO speech, and I praised God; we need peace
on this earth." Within that peace, Kaunda went on, would be a
discussion of regional issues "like our own." "We want to see
the Namibia accords (signed in New York on December 22, 1988)
succeed, and will do everything in our power to make them work."
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Turning to South Africa, President Kaunda said it was important to continue sanctions against that country. He noted that some foreign leaders (alluding to British Prime Minister Thatcher and West German Chancellor Kohl) asserted that South African blacks were more hurt by sanctions than whites, but he said "we, in Africa, do not think that is correct." He observed that within the last several days, South African raiders had killed 20 innocent Zambians (in an apparent action against ostensible ANC targets). He said South Africa would pursue a "destabilization" campaign against its neighbors to keep them off balance. They had done it against Zambia, and they have done it against Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe, "and now Namibia." (Ø)

President Kaunda said for progress toward peace to take place, South Africa needed to do five things: lift the "state of emergency"; lift the ban on the ANC, PAC, and other black political organizations; release Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned black leaders; stop the internal repression; and start a dialogue with South Africa's black citizens. (Ø)

The President asked if President Kaunda thought the U.S. should add additional sanctions. President Kaunda did, but later modified that to say they could continue as is or be increased, but shouldn't be decreased until South Africa took at least some of the actions listed above; he said diplomatic relations should continue because "it is important to have contact with them." (Ø)

The President said that, since he had such great respect for Kaunda's leadership in his region, he wanted to share his views about South Africa. First, he wanted to reassure Kaunda that U.S. outrage -- including his own -- against the evil of apartheid was absolutely undiminished and was shared "by everyone in this room (gesturing toward Secretary Baker, Gen. Scowcroft, Asst. Sec. Cohen, and Amb. Davidow). Where we differ with others, the President continued, was on the issue of additional sanctions. Using the analogy of China, the President said he was under great pressure to slap stiff sanctions against the Beijing government because of the current crackdown against democratic protesters. But, he said, he just didn't believe sanctions would be effective; "I am absolutely convinced that the removal of trade with China would hurt the Chinese people more; their leaders would simply ignore us." "I'm just not sure," the President said, "that cut-offs in trade are useful tools to discipline someone we don't like." (Ø)

Turning to other parts of the region, the President said he was enormously indebted to Chet Crocker, "who took a lot of abuse from people in this country" for having produced the Angola/Namibia agreements; "we're happy to see the progress

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that's been made, but we need to get (national) reconciliation" in Angola. In Mozambique, "we're sticking by the Government; we were greatly offended by the abuses of RENAMO, and you (Kaunda) will see no surprises from us there." The President contrasted the degree of popular support in Angola for Savimbi with the seeming absence of such support for RENAMO in Mozambique. (Ø)

President Kaunda assured the President that "no one would ever think a Bush Administration would have any other attitude toward apartheid than the one had just expressed." He said Africans thought they understood where the President was coming from on the issue, and were comfortable with it. He wanted to make clear that he wasn't advocating increased or decreased sanctions, but simply said "to remove sanctions at this time would send the wrong signal." (Ø)

On "national reconciliation", President Kaunda said there had been a number of very positive recent developments including at the "summit" of regional leaders in Luanda on May 16: Kaunda thought there was a good chance that (Angola's President) Dos Santos would accept the need to reach a political accommodation with UNITA (including, according to Kaunda, Jonas Savimbi); he expressed concern, however, that if the U.S. continued sending arms to UNITA through Zaire, it could lead to clashes between Angola and that country. "We are working for peace, Mr. President, but we need your help." (Ø)

Finally, President Kaunda said he wanted to thank the President for past American assistance to Zambia -- in public health, AIDS research, agricultural development, etc. "We hope for your continued assistance." The President said the U.S. was glad to have helped, and looked forward to working together with Kaunda. (U)

Secretary Baker said he agreed that it was important to hold South Africans to their commitments, but added that it was equally important to hold SWAPO to theirs; he asked Kaunda's help in making sure SWAPO understood that it would be expected to live up to the agreements reached in New York, including the terms of UNSCR 435. (Ø)

The President ended the meeting by thanking Kaunda once again for coming to Washington to meet with him, and added that he'd appreciate Kaunda's thoughts about how the U.S. could improve relations with Zimbabwe; he invited Kaunda to send him a letter with his views about how to make things better with (Zimbabwean President) Mugabe. (Ø)

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