

State House,
Zomba.

Lilongwe. 28th November, 1967.

His Excellency,
Dr. K Kaunda,
President of the Republic of Zambia,
State House,
LUSAKA,
Zambia.

Dear Dr. Kaunda,

I write to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th of November which was delivered to me this evening, on my return from Dowa where I went to address a meeting this afternoon. I would like to thank you very much for the letter and its contents.

I am indeed very glad that you have written. I am particularly happy to read what you say in the letter.

It is quite true that during the time that Mr. George Thompson was here, a number of reporters came here. On Mr. Thompson's departure, some of them remained behind and asked for a press conference to be addressed by me. I can assume therefore, that the press reports to which you refer are the results of that press conference which was held at the State Lodge in Blantyre immediately after Mr. Thompson's departure from here. I am saying this because at that press conference, among many other questions, I was asked about the relations between Malawi on the one hand and Tanzania and Zambia on the other. My reply to the question was that the relations between Malawi on the one hand and Tanzania and Zambia on the other, were strained, more so in the case of Tanzania and not as friendly and as normal as I would like them to be in the case of Zambia.

This is what I said and I will tell you why. In the second paragraph of your letter, you state that: "It is quite true that we may have slightly different approaches to problems confronting us, but I think that the area of agreement is much greater than the area of disagreement. There seem to be two basic areas which are the source of the apparent difference which relates to the problem of Southern Africa as a whole. I am aware that you do not subscribe to the policies which are advocating in the light of the developments south of the Zambezi as well as in Angola and Mocambique. The second area is that which relates to the question of existence of the former Malawi Ministers in Zambia."

I agree. These are the areas which are the source of apparent difference between our two Governments. I am very glad to hear what you say, namely, that the differences in our approach or methods on the problem of Southern Africa should not lead to strained relations between the two countries. I entirely agree.

But in practice, though, that seems to be the case, namely, that just because Malawi does not toy strictly the O.A.U or United Nations' line on the question of South Africa, Rhodesia and Mocambique, the relations between the two countries have been, to put it mildly, not as normal and as friendly as it should be. Both the Zambia press and Zambia radio have been most hostile to me personally and to the Government for a long time. I will not bore you by quoting particular articles in particular newspapers, but it is a fact that the Zambian press, particularly the Times and the Mail have written scurrilous, scandalous and even libelous articles against me and the Government.

So too Zambia radio. Zambia radio has been hostile towards me and the Government in this country.

Yet, at least one of the papers in Zambia is said to be owned by the Government. And of course, Zambia radio or Zambia Broadcasting Corporation, is a Government institution.

This is not all. When we announced here that we were to negotiate a Trade Agreement with South Africa, it was reported in the newspapers that at a press conference, you had denounced me and the Government here. It was said that you had said you would condemn anyone entering into Trade Agreement with South Africa. Two or three days later, Simon Kapwepwe took up where you left off. He attacked us violently because of our stated intention to start negotiations with South Africa on Trade Agreement.

Naturally, I personally, the Government and the people here bitterly resented this. More than once, you have sent your Ministers to Russia, China and other countries for discussions or negotiations on trade and other matters. Neither I nor any of my Ministers or anyone else in this country, has ever said a single word against you personally, against your Government or against Zambia for sending such missions to Russia, China or other countries. None of the papers here has ever complained against that, and radio Malawi has said nothing. Because, we feel it is none of our business whatsoever.

Therefore, we think that when we send a mission to South Africa or to any country for anything, it is none of any other country's business. It is strictly our own business. And no one in any country, high or low, no newspaper in any country, no radio has any right to say anything against us or to say anything at all about it.

On the question of ex-ministers from Malawi being given political asylum there, I am glad to hear what you say, namely, that "ever since they arrived in Zambia, it was made clear to them that they would be in Zambia as long as they did not engage in any subversive activities against their country of origin, Malawi".

But whether you personally or your Government know it or not, the truth is that those ex-Ministers, Augustine Bwanausi and Willie Chokani and others whom they persuaded to follow them into Zambia namely, such men as Lawson Chaponda and Shadreck Khonje, have been from the time they entered Zambia, actively engaged in subversive activities against the Government of this country. Not only have they been holding meetings at night, but also they have constantly been sending subversive circulars into Malawi from Zambia. And the circulars they send are not only subversive but also scurrilous, scandalous and libelous.

The source of the circulars is of course Dar es Salaam. The authors have been and are, Chieme, Chipembere, Chirwa and, until recently, Chisiza. But Bwanausi, Chokani, Chaponda and Khonje in Zambia distribute them in Zambia and send some to Malawi.

On the question of training camp in Zambia, I do not think there is anyone here who has said that there is a training camp in Zambia where Malawians are trained. What I did say was that Chisiza took men from Pangale camp in Tanzania to a camp in Zambia where they stayed for some time before they started for Malawi and that at this camp they received minor training such as map reading and campus reading, but that the real training was done in Russia, China, Algeria and Cuba, and also Tanzania specifically in Arusha area.

Here, while I am on this particular subject, I was shocked that when I made a statement in Parliament that Chisiza and a group of men had entered Malawi with the express purpose of assassinating me and my Ministers, at a press conference you said that my statement was "utter nonsense". Because, it was not utter nonsense". I knew what I was talking about.

Under a separate cover, I am sending you full account of what happened and the background to the whole business. As you have no doubt heard or read in the papers, Chisiza and one of his top lieutenants, Mwahimba by name, were shot dead in a battle with the security forces on October the 11th, another man shot himself when he was about to be captured, nine others were captured and are now in prison. Five escaped and we think they have either gone back to Tanzania by way of Zambia and into Zambia through Mocambique or else they have died of hunger or thirst in the bush far away from anybody's village.

The report I am sending you is based on the information told us by the nine men captured. Each man was questioned separately from the other. The information gathered separately was then checked one man's against the others.

If you and your Government do not know anything about them at all, then something is wrong somewhere. In my view, your Special Branch should have at least an inkling of this and should have reported to you. Chisiza and his gang came to Lusaka somewhere in the first or second week of July. First they went to a house in Lusaka owned or rented by ZAPU. From this, they were taken to another house 21 miles out of Lusaka, a big house with

about fifteen or more rooms. This house, 21 miles outside of Lusaka with about fifteen or more rooms is used as a ZAPU camp. It is virtually an arsenal. George Nyandoro is in charge of it. He sleeps there and stays there, but James Chikerema visits it very frequently although he does not stay there. It was from this house and from George Nyandoro that Chipiza received all the machine guns, hand grenades, ammunition and other infernal instruments of destruction.

It is therefore to me, unimaginable that your Special Branch should know nothing about this. I suggest that you investigate the matter yourself even for the sake of your own safety. Because, from the information we have gathered here, that house is virtually an arsenal.

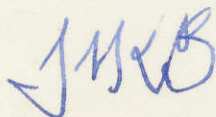
I could say a great deal in this letter. But I will not. One thing however I must mention. I was hurt to learn that when Mzee Jomo Kenyatta invited me to open the Agricultural Show in Nairobi, you did not like it. Not only you did not like it, but according to newspapermen in Nairobi when I got there, you tried to persuade the Kenya Government to withdraw the invitation.

However, all that is ancient history now. I take your letter and its contents very seriously. I too, do not like the direction in which our relations have been developing. It is most unhealthy as you rightly say. To me, as I have said so many times, the boundaries between the two countries are artificial, the result of cruel colonialism. We are the same people. We behaved and acted as the same people when we were under the British. To me it is shameful that now that we are independent, we should behave and act differently. Therefore, I am happy that you want us to reverse the process now, for the better. On my part, I too, would be most happy if something can be done between us and between the two countries to dispel any misunderstanding. And I am quite ready to have the officials explore any possibility of finding ways and means whereby the present relations between the two countries can be improved.

Mr. Msonthi was definitely misreported. He could never have said that it was my Government's intention to destroy camps in Zambia and Tanzania, because at no time, has my Government ever thought or spoke of any such intention. What I have said and which Mr. Msonthi might have repeated is that any country which allows itself to be used as a base to invade us, when we chase the invaders from our territory, we will, in turn, invade that country, to make sure that the invasion is not repeated. This, I have said in connection with reported intention of Chipembere from Tanzania when it was first reported, which was last year, 1966. And I said it at a big public meeting at Chipembere's former home, Malindi in Fort Johnston.

I hope you are well.

Yours sincerely,



H. KAMUZU BANDA.