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Cheney
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

April 27, 1976

No. 205

*Lib
Africa*

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ASAP*
As Prepared for Delivery

ADDRESS BY
THE HONORABLE HENRY A. KISSINGER
SECRETARY OF STATE
AT A LUNCHEON IN THE SECRETARY'S HONOR
HOSTED BY
HIS EXCELLENCY KENNETH KAUNDA
PRESIDENT OF ZAMBIA

THE STATE HOUSE
LUSAKA, ZAMBIA
April 27, 1976

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INTRODUCTION

President Ford has sent me here with a message of commitment and cooperation.

I have come to Africa because in so many ways, the challenges of Africa are the challenges of the modern era. Morally and politically, the drama of national independence in Africa over the last generation has transformed international affairs. More than any other region of the world, Africa symbolizes that the previous era of world affairs -- the colonial era -- is a thing of the past. The great tasks you face -- in nation-building, in keeping the peace and integrity of this continent, in economic development, in gaining an equitable role in world councils, in achieving racial justice -- these reflect the challenges of building a humane and progressive world order.

I have come to Africa with an open mind and an open heart to demonstrate my country's desire to work with you on these great tasks. My journey is intended to give fresh impetus to our cooperation and to usher in a new era in American policy.

The United States was one of the prime movers of the process of decolonization. The American people welcomed the new nations into the world community and for two decades have given aid and encouragement to economic and social progress in Africa. And America's responsibilities as a global power give us a strong interest today in the independence, peace and well-being of this vast continent comprising a fifth of the world's land surface. For without peace, racial justice and growing prosperity in Africa, we cannot speak of a just international order.

There is nothing to be gained in a debate about whether in the past America has neglected Africa or been insufficiently committed to African goals. The United States has many responsibilities in the world. Given the burden it has carried in the postwar period, it could not do everything simultaneously. African nations too have their own priorities and concerns, which have not always accorded with our own. No good can come of mutual recrimination. Our differing perspectives converge in a common purpose to build a secure and just future for Africa. In active collaboration there is much we can do; in contention or apart we will miss great opportunities. President Ford, the American Government and people are prepared to work with you with energy and goodwill if met in the same spirit.

So it is time to put aside slogans and to seek practical solutions. It is time to find our common ground and act boldly for common ends.

Africa is a continent of hope -- a modern frontier. The United States from the beginning has been a country of the frontier, built by men and women of hope. The American people know from their history the meaning of the struggle for independence, for racial equality, for economic progress, for human dignity.

I am not here to give American prescriptions for Africa's problems. Your program must be African. The basic decisions and goals must be African. But we are prepared to help.

Nor am I here to set African against African, either among your governments or among factions of liberation movements. African problems cannot be solved and





your destiny cannot be fulfilled except by a united Africa. America supports African unity. We urge all other countries to do the same.

Here in Africa the range of mankind's challenges and potential can be seen in all its complexity and enormous promise. The massive power and grandeur of nature is before us in all its aspects -- as the harsh master and as a bountiful servant of mankind. Here we can feel the rich and living cultures which have changed and invigorated art, music and thought around the world. And here, on this continent, we are tested, all of us, to see whether our future will be determined for us or by us, whether humanity will be the victim or the architect of its destiny.

THE PROBLEM OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Of all the challenges before us, of all the purposes we have in common, racial justice is one of the most basic. This is a dominant issue of our age, within nations and among nations. We know from our own experience that the goal of racial justice is both compelling and achievable. Our support for this principle in southern Africa is not simply a matter of foreign policy, but an imperative of our own moral heritage.

The people of Zambia do not need to be reminded of the importance of realizing this goal. By geography and economic necessity, Zambia is affected directly and grievously by strife in southern Africa. Political stability in this region means more to Zambia than to many others. Yet Zambia has chosen to stand by her principles by closing her border with Rhodesia and enduring the economic consequences. This is a testimony to the determination of the people of this country and to the statesmanship of its great leader, President Kaunda.

And it was in this city seven years ago that leaders of east and central African states proclaimed their manifesto on southern Africa.

One is struck by the similarity of philosophy in the American Declaration of Independence and in the Lusaka Manifesto. Two hundred years ago, Thomas Jefferson wrote: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

And seven years ago, the leaders of east and central Africa declared here in Lusaka that

"By this Manifesto we wish to make clear, beyond all shadow of doubt, our acceptance of the belief that all men are equal, and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of color, race, religion, or sex. We believe that all men have the right and duty to participate, as equal members of society, in their own government."

There can be no doubt that the United States remains committed to the principles of its own Declaration of Independence. It follows that we also adhere to the convictions of the Lusaka Manifesto.

Therefore, here in Lusaka, I reaffirm the unequivocal commitment of the United States to human rights, as expressed in the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We support self-determination, majority rule, equal rights and human dignity for all the peoples of southern Africa -- in the name of moral principle, international law and world peace.

On this occasion I would like to set forth more fully American policy on some of the immediate issues we face — in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa — and then to sketch our vision of southern Africa's hopeful future.

THE UNITED STATES POSITION ON RHODESIA

The United States position on Rhodesia is clear and unmistakable. As President Ford has said, "The United States is totally dedicated to seeing to it that the majority becomes the ruling power in Rhodesia." We do not recognize the Rhodesian minority regime. The United States voted for, and is committed to, the UN Security Council resolutions of 1966 and 1968 that imposed mandatory economic sanctions against the illegal Rhodesian regime. Earlier this year we co-sponsored a Security Council resolution, which was passed unanimously, expanding mandatory sanctions. And in March of this year, we joined with others to commend Mozambique for its decision to enforce these sanctions even at great economic cost to itself.

It is the responsibility of all who seek a negotiated solution to make clear to the Rhodesian minority that the world community is united in its insistence on rapid change. It is the responsibility of those in Rhodesia who believe in peace to take the steps necessary to avert a great tragedy.

United States policy for a just and durable Rhodesian solution will therefore rest on ten elements:

First, the United States declares its support in the strongest terms for the proposals made by British Prime Minister Callaghan on March 22 of this year: that independence must be preceded by majority rule which, in turn, must be achieved no later than two years following the expeditious conclusion of negotiations. We consider these proposals a basis for a settlement fair to all the people of Rhodesia. We urge that they be accepted.

Second, the Salisbury regime must understand that it cannot expect United States support either in diplomacy or in material help at any stage in its conflict with African states or African liberation movements. On the contrary, it will face our unrelenting opposition until a negotiated settlement is achieved.

Third, the United States will take steps to fulfill completely its obligation under international law to mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia. We will urge the Congress this year to repeal the Byrd Amendment, which authorizes Rhodesian chrome imports to the United States, an act inconsistent with United Nations sanctions. In parallel with this effort, we will approach other industrial nations to ensure the strictest and broadest international compliance with sanctions.

Fourth, to ensure that there are no misperceptions on the part of the leaders of the minority in Rhodesia, the United States, on the conclusion of my consultations in black Africa, will communicate clearly and directly to the Salisbury regime our view of the urgency of a rapid negotiated settlement leading to majority rule.

Fifth, the United States Government will carry out its responsibility to inform American citizens that we have no official representation in Rhodesia nor any means of providing them with assistance or protection. American travellers will be advised against entering Rhodesia; Americans resident there will be urged to leave.

Sixth, as in the case of Zambia a few years ago, steps should be taken — in accordance with the recent UN Security Council Resolution — to assist Mozambique, whose closing of its borders with Rhodesia to enforce sanctions has imposed upon it a great additional economic hardship. In accordance with this UN resolution, the United States is willing to provide \$12.5 million of assistance.

Seventh, the United States — together with other members of the United Nations — is ready to help alleviate economic hardship for any countries neighboring Rhodesia which decide to enforce sanctions by closing their frontiers.

- \$25 million in aid -

Eighth, humanitarian provision must be made for the thousands of refugees who have fled in distress from Rhodesia into neighboring countries. The United States will consider sympathetically requests for assistance for these refugees by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees or other appropriate international organizations.

Ninth, the world community should give its support to the people of Rhodesia as they make the peaceful transition to majority rule and independence, and should aid a newly independent Zimbabwe. To this end, we are ready to join with other interested nations in a program of economic, technical, and educational assistance, to enable an independent Zimbabwe to achieve the progress and the place in the community of nations to which its resources and the talents of all its people entitle it.

Finally, we state our conviction that whites as well as blacks should have a secure future and civil rights in a Zimbabwe that has achieved racial justice. A constitutional structure should protect minority rights together with establishing majority rule. We are prepared to devote some of our assistance programs to this objective.

In carrying out this program we shall consult closely with the Presidents of Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia.

We believe these are important measures. We are open-minded with respect to additional actions that can help speed a resolution. The United States will consult closely with African leaders, especially the four Presidents, and with other friends on the Rhodesian problem. For the central fact that I have come here to stress is this: the United States is wholly committed to help bring about a rapid, just and African solution to the issue of Rhodesia.

NAMIBIA

Rhodesia is the most urgent but by no means the only critical problem in southern Africa. The status of Namibia has been a source of contention between the world community and South Africa for over three decades.

The territory of South-West Africa turned into a source of serious international discord following World War II. When the United Nations refused to accede to South Africa's proposal for annexation of the territory, South Africa declined to enter into a trusteeship agreement, and since then has refused to recognize the United Nations as the legal sovereign. In 1966, the General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over the territory. In 1971, the International Court of Justice concluded that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was illegal and that it should withdraw.



The United States voted for the 1966 General Assembly resolution. We were the only major power to argue before the International Court that South African occupation was illegal. And in January 1976 the United States voted in favor of the UN resolution condemning the occupation of Namibia and calling for South Africa to take specific steps toward Namibia's self-determination and independence.

We are encouraged by the South African Government's evident decision to move Namibia toward independence. We are convinced that a solution can be found which will embody equal rights for the entire population and at the same time protect the interests of all who live and work there. But we are concerned that South Africa has failed to announce a definite timetable for the achievement of self-determination, that all the people and all political groupings of Namibia have not been allowed to take part in determining the form of government they shall one day have, and that South Africa continues to deny the United Nations its proper role in establishing a free and independent Namibia.

Therefore the United States position is as follows:

- We reiterate our call upon the South African Government to permit all the people and groups of Namibia to express their views freely, under UN supervision, on the political future and constitutional structure of their country.
- We urge the South African Government to announce a definite timetable acceptable to the world community for the achievement of self-determination.
- The United States is prepared to work with the international community, and especially with African leaders, to determine what further steps would improve prospects for a rapid and acceptable transition to Namibian independence. We are convinced that the need for progress is urgent.
- Once concrete movement toward self-determination is underway, the United States will ease its restrictions on trade and investment in Namibia. We stand ready to provide economic and technical assistance to help Namibia take its rightful place among the independent nations of the world.

SOUTH AFRICA

Apartheid in South Africa remains an issue of great concern to those committed to racial justice and human dignity.

No country, no people can claim perfection in the realm of human rights. We in America are aware of our own imperfections. But because we are a free society, our problems and our shortcomings are fully aired and made known to the world. And we have reason to take pride in our progress in the quest for justice for all in our country.

The world community's concern with South Africa is not merely that racial discrimination exists there. What is unique is the extent to which racial discrimination has been institutionalized, enshrined in law and made all-pervasive.

No one -- including the leaders of black Africa -- challenges the right of white South Africans to live in their country. They are not colonialists; historically,

they are an African people. But white South Africans must recognize as well that the world will continue to insist that the institutionalized separation of the races must end. The United States appeals to South Africa to heed the warning signals of the past two years. There is still time to bring about a reconciliation of South Africa's peoples for the benefit of all. But there is a limit to that time — a limit of far shorter duration than was generally perceived even a few years ago.

A peaceful end to institutionalized inequality is in the interest of all South Africans. The United States will continue to encourage and work for peaceful change. Our policy toward South Africa is based upon the premise that within a reasonable time we shall see a clear evolution toward equality of opportunity and basic human rights for all South Africans. The United States will exercise all its efforts in that direction. We urge the Government of South Africa to make that premise a reality.

In the immediate future, the Republic of South Africa can show its dedication to Africa — and its potential contribution to Africa — by using its influence in Salisbury to promote a rapid negotiated settlement for majority rule in Rhodesia. This, we are sure, would be viewed positively by the community of nations as well as by the rest of Africa.





A VISION OF THE FUTURE

Southern Africa has all the prerequisites for an exciting future. Richly endowed with minerals, agricultural and hydroelectric potential, a favorable climate, and, most important, great human resources, it needs only to overcome the human failure of racial strife to achieve bright prospects for all its peoples.

Let us all strive to speed the day when this vision becomes a reality.

The United States stands ready to work with the nations of southern Africa to help them achieve the economic progress which will give meaning to their political independence and dignity to their struggle for equality.

As you know, Deputy Secretary Robinson, an expert in economic development, is accompanying me on this visit. This is the first time that an American Secretary of State and Deputy Secretary together have come on such a mission, reflecting the importance we attach to the economic development of southern Africa. Mr. Robinson and I are discussing development needs with African officials in the various capitals and we shall continue these consultations at the UNCTAD meeting in Nairobi next week. After my return to Washington, based on what we have learned, we will urgently study a new aid program for this continent.

Africa and its friends face a dual challenge -- immediate and long-term growth. In the short term, economic emergencies can arise from natural disasters or sharp swings in global economic conditions over which developing nations have little control. These economic shocks must be dealt with if the nations of the region are to maintain their hard-won progress toward development. For example, the sharp drop in world copper prices has had a devastating impact on the economies of Zambia and Zaire. The United States will deal with this problem in its bilateral assistance programs for these countries, and in our programs for multilateral action -- to be proposed at UNCTAD next week -- for resource development, buffer stocks, and earnings stabilization.

But our basic concern must go beyond responding to emergencies. We need to develop urgently programs to lay the foundations for sustained growth to enable the developing nations of southern Africa to deal effectively with global economic shocks and trends.

Let me mention four that are especially relevant to southern Africa: trained local manpower, rural development, advanced technology, and modern transportation.

— For Namibia and Zimbabwe, training programs should be intensified now so that needed manpower will be ready when majority rule is attained. Existing programs to train Namibian and Zimbabwean refugees as administrators and technicians should be expanded as rapidly as possible. We have requested additional funds from Congress for this purpose. We urge other donors and international organizations to do more.

— Development for all of southern Africa involves a process of transforming rural life. We are prepared to assist in agricultural development, in health

programs, in manpower training, in improving rural transportation -- through both bilateral and multilateral programs.

-- A revolution in development planning could be achieved by the use of satellites to collect vital information on crops, weather, water resources, land use, and mineral exploration. The United States has already shared with developing nations information from our earliest earth resources survey satellites. We are now prepared to undertake much larger programs to apply this technology to Africa -- including training programs and the development of training facilities and satellite receiving stations in Africa itself.

-- Perhaps the most critical long-term economic need of southern Africa is a modern system of regional transportation. The magnitude of the effort extends beyond the capacity of any one nation or group of nations. For this reason the United States proposes that the World Bank undertake as a priority matter the organization of a multilateral consultative group of donors to develop a modern regional transportation system for southern Africa. For our part we promise our full cooperation in working out a long-term program and in financing appropriate portions of it.

And finally, I can announce today that we expect to triple our support for development programs in southern and central Africa over the next three years.

In addition, the United States has offered leadership in many international forums to promote development through multilateral cooperation. The industrial nations, the newly wealthy oil producers and the developing countries themselves must collaborate for the goal of development. Africa is a principal beneficiary of the many United States initiatives in multilateral institutions and programs -- to enhance economic security through supporting export earnings in the face of sharp economic swings; to promote growth through better access to capital markets and technology transfers; to accelerate agricultural production; to improve the conditions of trade and investment in key commodities; and to address the special needs of the poorest nations.

Many of the proposals we have made are already being implemented. Next week in Nairobi I will put forward new proposals to further advance progress in relations between developed and developing nations.

CONCLUSION

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today I have outlined the principles of American policy on the compelling challenges of southern Africa.

Our proposals are not a program made in America to be passively accepted by Africans. They are an expression of common aspirations and an agenda of cooperation. Underlying it is our fundamental conviction that Africa's destiny must remain in African hands.

No one who wishes this continent well can want to see Africans divided either between nations or between liberation movements. Africans cannot want outsiders seeking

to impose solutions, or choosing among countries or movements. The United States, for its part, does not seek any pro-American African bloc confronting a bloc supporting any other power. Nor do we wish to support one faction of a liberation movement against another. But neither should any other country pursue hegemonial aspirations or bloc policies. An attempt by one will inevitably be countered by the other. The United States therefore supports African unity and integrity categorically as basic principles of our policy.

There is no better guarantee against outside pressure from any quarter than the determination of African nations in defence of their own independence and unity. You did not build African institutions to see outside forces fragment them into competing blocs. The United States supports Africa's genuine nonalignment and unity. We are ready for collaboration on the basis of mutual respect. We do so guided by our convictions and our values. Your cause is too compatible with our principles for you to need to pursue it by tactics of confrontation with the United States; our self-respect is too strong to let ourselves be pressured either directly or by outside powers.

What Africa needs now from the United States is not exuberant promises or emotional expressions of good will. What it needs is a concrete program which I have sought to offer today. So let us get down to business. Let us direct our eyes towards our great goals -- national independence, economic development, racial justice -- goals that can be achieved by common action.

Africa in this decade is a testing ground of the world's conscience and vision. That blacks and whites live together in harmony and equality is a moral imperative of our time. Let us prove that these goals can be realized by human choice, that justice can command by the force of its rightness instead of by force of arms.

These are ideals that bind all the races of mankind. They are the mandate of decency and progress and peace.

This drama will be played out in our own lifetime. Our children will inherit either our success or our failure. The world watches with hope, and we approach it with confidence.

So let it be said that black people and white people working together achieved on this continent -- which has suffered so much and seen so much injustice -- a new era of peace, well-being and human dignity.

* * * * *



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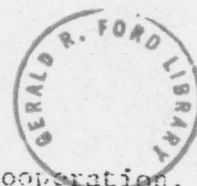
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NAMIBIA

Rhodesia is the most urgent but by no means the only critical problem in southern Africa. The status of Namibia has been a source of contention between the world community and South Africa for over three decades.

The territory of South-West Africa turned into a source of serious international discord following World War II. When the United Nations refused to accede to South Africa's proposal for annexation of the territory, South Africa declined to enter into a trusteeship agreement, and since then has refused to recognize the United Nations as the legal sovereign. In 1966, the General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over the territory. In 1971, the International Court of Justice concluded that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was illegal and that it should withdraw.

The United States voted for the 1966 General Assembly resolution. We were the only major power to argue before the International Court that South African occupation was illegal. And in January 1976 the United States voted in favor of the UN resolution condemning the occupation of Namibia and calling for South Africa to take specific steps toward Namibia's self-determination and independence.

We are encouraged by the South African Government's evident decision to move Namibia toward independence. We are convinced that a solution can be found which will embody equal rights for the entire population and at the same time protect the interests of all who live and work there. But we are concerned that South Africa has failed to announce a definite timetable for the achievement of self-determination, that all the people and all political groupings of Namibia have not been allowed to take part in determining the form of government they shall one day have, and that South Africa continues to deny the United Nations its proper role in establishing a free and independent Namibia.

Therefore the United States position is as follows:

- We reiterate our call upon the South African Government to permit all the people and groups of Namibia to express their views freely, under UN supervision, on the political future and constitutional structure of their country.
- We urge the South African Government to announce a definite timetable acceptable to the world community for the achievement of self-determination.
- The United States is prepared to work with the international community, and especially with African leaders, to determine what further steps would improve prospects for a rapid and acceptable transition to Namibian independence. We are convinced that the need for progress is urgent.
- Once concrete movement toward self-determination is underway, the United States will ease its restrictions on trade and investment in Namibia. We stand ready to provide economic and technical assistance to help Namibia take its rightful place among the independent nations of the world.

SOUTH AFRICA

Apartheid in South Africa remains an issue of great concern to those committed to racial justice and human dignity.

No country, no people can claim perfection in the realm of human rights. We in America are aware of our own imperfections. But because we are a free society, our problems and our shortcomings are fully aired and made known to the world. And we have reason to take pride in our progress in the quest for justice for all in our country.

The world community's concern with South Africa is not merely that racial discrimination exists there. What is unique is the extent to which racial discrimination has been institutionalized, enshrined in law and made all-pervasive.

No one — including the leaders of black Africa — challenges the right of white South Africans to live in their country. They are not colonialists; historically,

they are an African people. But white South Africans must recognize as well that the world will continue to insist that the institutionalized separation of the races must end. The United States appeals to South Africa to heed the warning signals of the past two years. There is still time to bring about a reconciliation of South Africa's peoples for the benefit of all. But there is a limit to that time — a limit of far shorter duration than was generally perceived even a few years ago.

A peaceful end to institutionalized inequality is in the interest of all South Africans. The United States will continue to encourage and work for peaceful change. Our policy toward South Africa is based upon the premise that within a reasonable time we shall see a clear evolution toward equality of opportunity and basic human rights for all South Africans. The United States will exercise all its efforts in that direction. We urge the Government of South Africa to make that premise a reality.

In the immediate future, the Republic of South Africa can show its dedication to Africa — and its potential contribution to Africa — by using its influence in Salisbury to promote a rapid negotiated settlement for majority rule in Rhodesia. This, we are sure, would be viewed positively by the community of nations as well as by the rest of Africa.





A VISION OF THE FUTURE

Southern Africa has all the prerequisites for an exciting future. Richly endowed with minerals, agricultural and hydroelectric potential, a favorable climate, and, most important, great human resources, it needs only to overcome the human failure of racial strife to achieve bright prospects for all its peoples.

Let us all strive to speed the day when this vision becomes a reality.

The United States stands ready to work with the nations of southern Africa to help them achieve the economic progress which will give meaning to their political independence and dignity to their struggle for equality.

As you know, Deputy Secretary Robinson, an expert in economic development, is accompanying me on this visit. This is the first time that an American Secretary of State and Deputy Secretary together have come on such a mission, reflecting the importance we attach to the economic development of southern Africa. Mr. Robinson and I are discussing development needs with African officials in the various capitals and we shall continue these consultations at the UNCTAD meeting in Nairobi next week. After my return to Washington, based on what we have learned, we will urgently study a new aid program for this continent.

Africa and its friends face a dual challenge -- immediate and long-term growth. In the short term, economic emergencies can arise from natural disasters or sharp swings in global economic conditions over which developing nations have little control. These economic shocks must be dealt with if the nations of the region are to maintain their hard-won progress toward development. For example, the sharp drop in world copper prices has had a devastating impact on the economies of Zambia and Zaire. The United States will deal with this problem in its bilateral assistance programs for these countries, and in our programs for multilateral action -- to be proposed at UNCTAD next week -- for resource development, buffer stocks, and earnings stabilization.

But our basic concern must go beyond responding to emergencies. We need to develop urgently programs to lay the foundations for sustained growth to enable the developing nations of southern Africa to deal effectively with global economic shocks and trends.

Let me mention four that are especially relevant to southern Africa: trained local manpower, rural development, advanced technology, and modern transportation.

— For Namibia and Zimbabwe, training programs should be intensified now so that needed manpower will be ready when majority rule is attained. Existing programs to train Namibian and Zimbabwean refugees as administrators and technicians should be expanded as rapidly as possible. We have requested additional funds from Congress for this purpose. We urge other donors and international organizations to do more.

— Development for all of southern Africa involves a process of transforming rural life. We are prepared to assist in agricultural development, in health

programs, in manpower training, in improving rural transportation — through both bilateral and multilateral programs.

— A revolution in development planning could be achieved by the use of satellites to collect vital information on crops, weather, water resources, land use, and mineral exploration. The United States has already shared with developing nations information from our earliest earth resources survey satellites. We are now prepared to undertake much larger programs to apply this technology to Africa — including training programs and the development of training facilities and satellite receiving stations in Africa itself.

— Perhaps the most critical long-term economic need of southern Africa is a modern system of regional transportation. The magnitude of the effort extends beyond the capacity of any one nation or group of nations. For this reason the United States proposes that the World Bank undertake as a priority matter the organization of a multilateral consultative group of donors to develop a modern regional transportation system for southern Africa. For our part we promise our full cooperation in working out a long-term program and in financing appropriate portions of it.

And finally, I can announce today that we expect to triple our support for development programs in southern and central Africa over the next three years.

*ASD
Development
for '78* In addition, the United States has offered leadership in many international forums to promote development through multilateral cooperation. The industrial nations, the newly wealthy oil producers and the developing countries themselves must collaborate for the goal of development. Africa is a principal beneficiary of the many United States initiatives in multilateral institutions and programs — to enhance economic security through supporting export earnings in the face of sharp economic swings; to promote growth through better access to capital markets and technology transfers; to accelerate agricultural production; to improve the conditions of trade and investment in key commodities; and to address the special needs of the poorest nations.

Many of the proposals we have made are already being implemented. Next week in Nairobi I will put forward new proposals to further advance progress in relations between developed and developing nations.

CONCLUSION

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today I have outlined the principles of American policy on the compelling challenges of southern Africa.

Our proposals are not a program made in America to be passively accepted by Africans. They are an expression of common aspirations and an agenda of cooperation. Underlying it is our fundamental conviction that Africa's destiny must remain in African hands.

No one who wishes this continent well can want to see Africans divided either between nations or between liberation movements. Africans cannot want outsiders seeking

to impose solutions, or choosing among countries or movements. The United States, for its part, does not seek any pro-American African bloc confronting a bloc supporting any other power. Nor do we wish to support one faction of a liberation movement against another. But neither should any other country pursue hegemonial aspirations or bloc policies. An attempt by one will inevitably be countered by the other. The United States therefore supports African unity and integrity categorically as basic principles of our policy.

There is no better guarantee against outside pressure from any quarter than the determination of African nations in defence of their own independence and unity. You did not build African institutions to see outside forces fragment them into competing blocs. The United States supports Africa's genuine nonalignment and unity. We are ready for collaboration on the basis of mutual respect. We do so guided by our convictions and our values. Your cause is too compatible with our principles for you to need to pursue it by tactics of confrontation with the United States; our self-respect is too strong to let ourselves be pressured either directly or by outside powers.

What Africa needs now from the United States is not exuberant promises or emotional expressions of good will. What it needs is a concrete program which I have sought to offer today. So let us get down to business. Let us direct our eyes towards our great goals -- national independence, economic development, racial justice -- goals that can be achieved by common action.

Africa in this decade is a testing ground of the world's conscience and vision. That blacks and whites live together in harmony and equality is a moral imperative of our time. Let us prove that these goals can be realized by human choice, that justice can command by the force of its rightness instead of by force of arms.

These are ideals that bind all the races of mankind. They are the mandate of decency and progress and peace.

This drama will be played out in our own lifetime. Our children will inherit either our success or our failure. The world watches with hope, and we approach it with confidence.

So let it be said that black people and white people working together achieved on this continent -- which has suffered so much and seen so much injustice -- a new era of peace, well-being and human dignity.

* * * * *



4/27/76

SECRETARY KISSINGER'S TRIP
TO AFRICA

Q: Mr. President, you have sent Secretary Kissinger to Africa for a visit to seven countries. Could you tell us what you hope to accomplish by this trip?

A: Both the Secretary and I have wanted him to visit Africa, for some time now. The trip is being made in response to my desire to improve our relations with Africa. I expect the Secretary's trip to make a major contribution to this objective.

Q: Some people are saying the Secretary is making this trip in response to the Soviet-Cuban victory in Angola.

A: His trip has no connection with any particular situation, certainly not the tragic one in Angola. It is in pursuit of our long standing interest in the improvement of our relations with the countries of Africa.

U.S. NATIONALS IN RHODESIA

Q: What did the Secretary mean in saying that the United States would not protect its nationals in Rhodesia?

A: The Secretary's remarks carried no inference that we would not protect US nationals; rather he was pointing out the obvious that we are in no position to provide protection to Americans travelling there due to the absence of diplomatic representation.

RHODESIA

Q: Does the Rhodesia section of the Secretary's speech mean that the United States is prepared to participate actively in any negotiations between Smith and the Rhodesia Nationalists?

A: As the Secretary has said, questions such as Rhodesia are African questions and they require African solutions. The United States is presently urging the parties to resume negotiations. As far as Rhodesia is concerned the Secretary endorsed the British Callaghan Plan, which requires that independence be preceded by majority rule, which, in turn, must be achieved within two years of the conclusion of prompt negotiations, but this is certainly a matter for the British along with the Rhodesians of both races and the neighboring states.

Q: There have been some reports that the United States will provide arms assistance for Rhodesian guerrillas. Would you care to comment?

A: We see no possibility of giving weapons to Rhodesian Liberation Forces. None of the African leaders has asked for U.S. military assistance to the Rhodesian Nationalists. We will instead focus attention on economic and political assistance through third parties. Our commitment to lend support to majority rule in Rhodesia is a firm commitment and we will keep in close contact with the British and with the neighboring African states to see what political and economic measures will be effective.

26 April 1976

SECRETARY KISSINGER'S AFRICA TRIP

Q: What is the purpose of Secretary Kissinger's trip to Africa? Will the United States supply aid to the insurgent groups in Africa? Why is Dr. Kissinger attending the UNCTAD Conference?

A: I sent Secretary Kissinger to Africa to establish a dialog with the African leaders, particularly with respect to the political evolution of southern Africa and problems of economic development. I have stated before and wish to emphasize now that relations between Africa and the United States will henceforth be an/ ^{important} element of our foreign policy. We feel it essential that the United States and Africa cooperate on the major issues facing Africa.



I look forward to learning the results of Dr. Kissinger's African trip and hearing of his discussions with the African leaders so that I can formulate a new policy toward Africa.

Secretary Kissinger will attend the UNCTAD Conference in Niarobi to put forward constructive American proposals to the general problem of development.

The United States does not plan to give military aid in any form to the nationalist movements in Africa. We do support majority rule and we will use our political and economics influence to bring about these objectives.

U. S. Policy Towards African Minorities

Q: Mr. President, the Secretary of State has placed the Administration on record as firmly in support of majority rule in Rhodesia. It is unclear what this may involve for the white minority. What is the United States attitude toward the future of whites in Southern Africa?

A: The United States position in support of majority rule is predicated on the proposition that racial justice -- for whites as well as blacks -- is a necessity. Secretary Kissinger stated, and I want to emphasize personally, our firm conviction that whites as well as blacks should enjoy full civil rights and a secure future in Rhodesia. Our support of majority rule most assuredly carries with it the full protection of minority rights.



← file

NEW AFRICAN POLICY

Q: Mr. President, the Secretary in his speech talked about letting bygones be bygones and ushering in a new era in our African policy. Would you care to comment?

A: ? As I stated earlier, I have wanted during my Administration to further U.S. relations with Africa. The Secretary's trip, the exchange of views he is having with African leaders, and his speech in Lusaka are a new beginning. The Secretary's trip is designed to help me in formulating a new integrated policy for Africa.



April 27, 1976

AID TO AFRICA

Q: In his speech Secretary Kissinger refers to such things as aid for refugees from Rhodesia, aid to countries like Mozambique and Zambia for closing their borders, and tripling our development programs in southern and central Africa over the next three years. Won't these programs have an adverse impact on your efforts to hold the budget?

A: Some of the assistance the Secretary refers to, such as the tripling of funds in southern and central Africa, are reflections of budget plans. Other initiatives will come out of appropriations already received from Congress but I expect that we will be looking at new proposals for future periods after the Secretary returns.

Not true

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Original
- Ogilvie -



RHODESIAN DISPUTE

Q: Secretary Kissinger saw Mr. Nkomo of one of the factions of the Rhodesian Nationalists in Lusaka April 27. Does that signal the U.S. is taking sides in Rhodesia?

A: The United States under present circumstances has no intention of taking sides. We hope the Rhodesian majority can be united and I am encouraged by Secretary Kissinger's report to me that he finds this sentiment for unity among African leaders. This meeting with Nkomo has no significance outside the fact it is a part of the Secretary's fact-finding efforts during his trip.

We definitely "took sides" in the sense of coming down against the white-minority regime



RHODESIAN RECOGNITION

Q: The Secretary indicated that when he returns to Washington the Administration will communicate clearly and directly with Smith so that he will understand our position. Since we do not recognize Rhodesia, how do you propose to do this?

A: We have a number of ways in which we can communicate our position to Mr. Smith. The important aspect is making clear our position to the Smith regime, not how we do it.

BYRD AMENDMENT

Q: Mr. President, the Secretary indicated in his Africa speech that the Administration would urge the Congress to repeal the Byrd Amendment. There has been some criticism by those who favor repeal that the White House has not been willing to play an active part in repeal efforts. Does the Secretary's speech mean that the attitude will change?

A: Since the very first days of my administration I have expressed my opposition to the Byrd Amendment. We have on several occasions urged the Congress and worked with them in order to get repeal legislation through the legislature and that will continue to be our posture.

Q: If the United States repeals the Byrd Amendment won't this mean we will have to rely on the Soviet Union for chrome?

A: The Soviet Union is a traditional supplier of chrome to the US and that relationship did not change with the Byrd Amendment. In addition there are other sources of chrome we can draw upon. In any event, the imposition of sanctions against Rhodesia by Mozambique shuts off Rhodesia's access to the Mozambique ports, thus raising a question as to the availability of Rhodesian chrome until the Rhodesian question is settled.



AFRICAN POLICY - BUDGET IMPLICATIONS

- Q. In Secretary Kissinger's speech, he refers to increasing U.S. aid to Africa in the area of Rhodesian refugees, aid to Mozambique and Zambia, tripling our development programs in Southern and Central Africa over the next three years, and other specific programs. Will this mean that your budget deficit will have to be increased to accommodate these new programs?
- A. The general principles concerning additional aid to Africa outlined by the Secretary in his speech in Zambia, are consistent with my desires to formulate a new African policy and strengthen our ties with that continent. I am certain that these new initiatives will be accommodated within the foreign aid program proposed in my fiscal 1977 Budget which I submitted to Congress. I do not anticipate any increase in the deficit to meet or to fulfill these new initiatives.



M.D.
4/27/76

AFRICAN POLICY OBJECTIVES

Q: Mr. President, Secretary Kissinger's promises of substantial US assistance to African development and strong endorsement of majority rule represent a major policy initiative. What is it designed to achieve? What do we want in Africa?

A: Basically my policy for Africa is to support African aspirations, to develop peacefully the human and natural resource potential they enjoy to the fullest extent possible. At the heart of my policy is the strong personal belief that Africa's destiny is a matter for African decision but that we are prepared to help in every way possible.

-- We do not seek a pro-American, African bloc confronting a bloc supporting any other great power.

-- We do not seek to intervene or to promote one faction of a liberation movement against another.

-- We support Africa's non-alignment.

-- We oppose the intervention of other powers seeking to establish a favored position in Africa.

I believe that the best way to guard against intervention of non-African powers is to encourage the African nations themselves to defend their own independence and unity.

I believe that African values and political principles



are entirely compatible with their American counterparts and that there need be no confrontation between us for either of us to achieve our purposes. In this spirit, I am prepared to extend American cooperation in every way possible to African efforts for rapid development in the years ahead.



CF

KISSINGER'S AFRICAN TRIP



Q: Why did Henry Kissinger go to Africa and give encouragement to black radicals and promise huge give-aways of American money?

Secretary Kissinger's mission to Africa has

A: ~~We have out-flanked the Soviets in Africa by what Secretary~~
~~Kissinger has done.~~ The ^{Russian} Soviets were unhappy with the Kissinger trip and agitated against it, but couldn't stop what was being achieved.

-- Before Secretary Kissinger went to Africa, the danger of race war in Southern Africa was imminent, and the Soviets and Cubans were threatening intervention. This danger has been averted because of the American initiative.

-- The nations of Africa don't want the Soviets and Cubans running around Africa. They do want American involvement in support of racial justice and economic development. They look to us first. We have an advantage in Africa, and Secretary Kissinger's trip consolidated it.

-- We made clear we were for a negotiated solution in Rhodesia, not a race war. We made clear we were for constitutional guarantees



for the white minority in a majority ruled Rhodesia. The African countries welcomed this position. Because we have come out clearly on the right side, we are in the best position to influence the course of events in a moderate direction. .

-- The countries that are the strongest friends of America -- in Africa and all around the world -- were the countries most pleased by our stand. They are giving us their support.

-- We have recovered a lot of the ground we lost because of Congress's failure to act in Angola.

-- The development programs we discussed were well within our budget. Help for the millions of people starving in the Sahel is an expression of a long-standing American tradition. Our new approach, which Secretary Kissinger announced, is to shift existing programs away from relief toward long-term development, which will reduce the aid burden in the long run.

-- The U.S. made many proposals for positive economic relations with the Third world, where many vital raw materials are produced. These countries, if they put aside anti-American propaganda, can have cooperative relations with the West, which has the technology and skill they need. Secretary Kissinger's proposals

over the last year have put the United States into the position of leadership in the dialogue between the industrial world and the developing world. This is no "give-away," but an American advantage.

2
PLEASE DEX IMMEDIATELY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

Attached is a very brief statement which was done by Dave Gergen, using an NSC draft. It is designed to counter criticisms directed at Secretary Kissinger's trip to Africa. I suggest that the President and Nessen use it as a Q&A.

I have given a copy to Hendriks and the PFC for use by our advocates.

Also attached is a recommended Q&A concerning the proposed signing ceremony for the PNE Agreement.

Attachments



Secretary Kissinger went to Africa at my instructions in order to accomplish three basic missions:

- (1) To curtail Soviet expansion in that part of the world. We learned from Angola that the U.S. cannot stand on the sidelines and expect world events to break in our favor.
- (2) To avert racial violence and bloodshed. It is clear that racial trouble is brewing in Southern Africa and could explode at any time, wrecking the lives and hopes of both white and black Africans. By standing forthrightly for an orderly, peaceful transition to majority rule -- protecting the rights of both the majority and minority -- the U.S. can be a strong leader in keeping the peace.
- (3) To align the U.S. with the economic hopes and aspirations of the African nations.

We made significant progress in each of these areas, so that the trip was a major diplomatic success.



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Q. Why did you recently cancel the ceremony planned with the Soviet Union to sign the Peaceful Nuclear Explosion Agreement?

A. On April 9, I referred to the fact that we have reached agreement with the Soviet Union on a "treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes".

This agreement, for the first time, will allow us to conduct on-site inspections of Soviet nuclear explosions.

We have not yet finally decided with the Soviet Union when the signing ceremony will occur. I have directed my National Security Advisor, General Scowcroft, to work out the details of the ceremony with the Soviet Union.

M.D.
5/12/76

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Tmm
PRECEDENCE

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TO: Dick Cheney

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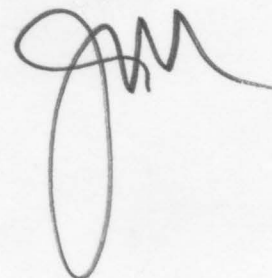
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WASHINGTON

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PATRICK J. BUCHANAN THE DIVIDING LINE



*To Dick
Fuj*

special features-

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FOR RELEASE: May 11, 1976 and thereafter

PIE IN THE SKY OVER NAIROBI

By PATRICK J. BUCHANAN



WASHINGTON -- It is too early to determine if Dr. Kissinger's safari through black Africa did greater damage to U.S. policy interests or to President Ford's hopes in the remaining primaries. There are cogent arguments for both points of view.

In Zambia, the Secretary placed the moral authority of the United States behind the militant Marxist regime of Mozambique, and against the beleaguered pro-Western Government of Rhodesia. In Senegal, he promised the U.S. taxpayers were going to help "roll back" the Sahara Desert. In Nairobi, he proposed a billion-dollar "International Resources Bank," the purpose of which is to spare Third World regimes the distasteful business of dealing directly with Western capitalists.

The Secretary's promise to "roll back the desert" has to be the most hare-brained scheme hatched in the U.S. Government since Lyndon Johnson committed the country to build another "Great Society" along the Mekong River. If the U.S. wishes to do something for the starving nomads of the Sahel, it would do better to provide them with a month of free food and bus tickets out of that God-forsaken region of West Africa. Recapturing the Sahara from Mother Nature makes as much sense, economically, as planting Central Alaska in cotton.

Regrettably, Dr. Kissinger passed up, once again, the opportunity to instruct his Third World colleagues in the economic realities of 1976.

Despite global lamentation over the fact that the gap between rich and poor nations is growing, that gap will continue to grow. Consider. If the United States with a Gross National Product of \$1.5 trillion, say, grows by 4 percent in a single year, \$69 billion would be added to the U.S. GNP.

(more)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

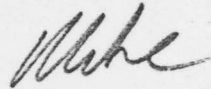
May 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

WARREN HENDRIKS

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL



SUBJECT:

KISSINGER'S AFRICAN TRIP

Attached is a very brief response to criticisms directed at Secretary Kissinger's recent trip to Africa. I suggest that our spokesmen use it if questioned about it on the road. It also would be appropriate to use it as a speech insert.

cc: Jerry Jones



to Bud 5/12

Noon

Mike Dud

assume this becomes
a Reagan attach - figure
out how Pres. &/or our
~~adv~~ advocates can
respond



17.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 14, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

WARREN HENDRIKS

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL /s/

SUBJECT:

PRESIDENTIAL SPOKESMEN

Attached is an insert for speeches being used by our spokesmen. It is designed to counter criticism of Secretary Kissinger's trip to Africa.



cc: Dick Cheney

Hendricks/Cheney
Austin/Shuman
Burger/McFarlane
O'Brien

INSERT TO ANY CAMPAIGN SPEECH

Friends, I'd like to digress from my prepared remarks for a moment to touch on one of the problems a President must cope with in an election year. This concerns the responsibility to lead; the responsibility to insure that respect for the United States and American leadership is preserved -- without regard to how it may affect election prospects.

To some extent, this responsibility is a disadvantage. Unlike his opponents, the President cannot afford to throw reckless charges and wild exaggerations around about our defense and foreign policies.

Our allies and friends look to America for constancy; as the steady, firm thoughtful leader of the free world.

We cannot and must not ask the world for a time out or proceed to conduct a ten-month half-time ceremony before we get back to the ball game of protecting our interests and standing up for what is right.

Let me give you an example of what I'm talking about.

Last year a Cuban expeditionary force intervened in Angola and, with Soviet sponsorship succeeded in installing a minority marxist oriented government. The President made a determined effort to oppose the Soviet/Cuban effort -- and would have succeeded if the Congress had not pulled the rug out from



under the President. What has happened since? Encouraged by their victory, Cuba sent advisors into Mozambique to train insurgents for action in Rhodesia. By early April, a combination of economic factors -- the partial closure of their border and interruptions of exports -- together with the outside Cuban interference posed the threat of major war and bloodshed in Rhodesia -- with all that implies for the rest of Southern Africa.

In short, the Soviet/Cuban bandwagon was rolling. The rest of black Africa had seen the results of Angola, the apparent lack of US resolve, and were looking to their options in the US-Soviet context. The trend was against us and fast action was necessary. That's why the President sent Secretary Kissinger to Africa. We couldn't wait until after this or that primary.

And what were the results? I think the best testimony is the response. From Nairobi to Monrovia to Kinshasha, the African leadership has welcomed and taken heart from this solid demonstration of US support.

Basically, Africa's future must be determined by Africans, not by Americans -- and not by Russians or Cubans either. That was the message the Secretary was sent to convey, making clear that we were prepared to respond to their initiatives and to help where possible.



Now frankly, I don't believe Americans really find fault with that. We know what it means to establish independence and build a prosperous nation. And let's don't forget we had some help in the process. Today, we are the most prosperous nation on earth. I cannot believe Americans really begrudge our technology and technical assistance to people willing to help themselves. It isn't in the American tradition to refuse help to people in need -- particularly such people as those in the Sahel Desert where drought threatens literally millions of lives with hunger, despair and the threat of death.

America must be true to itself and the President has shouldered his responsibility to assure that our security interests and our role of international leadership are not mortgaged in the surreal environment of this year's election rhetoric.

That is what he has done and as your President that is what he intends to keep doing.

Some say this approach has hurt him. Maybe -- but I doubt it. Frankly, my belief in Americans values does color my politics. It makes me believe that you will support a President who puts his country before his political ambitions.



c/c
ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT
FROM: MIKE DUVAL *Mike*
SUBJECT: SECRETARY KISSINGER *bill africa*

Brent, an article in the San Antonio Light has been brought to my attention. The article states that Congressman Derwinski has disclosed that SBA Administrator Kobalinski will formally present a resolution to the Republican Platform Committee, calling for Secretary Kissinger's ouster. According to the article, this resolution was recently unanimously adopted by the Republican National Committee Heritage Groups Council.

I wanted to alert you that I've asked Jim Cavanaugh to check this out. I'll keep you advised. Obviously, my approach is to head this off very quickly.

cc: Dick Cheney



Group Pushing for Dr. K Ouster Plank

By JOHN P. MURPHY

The Public Information Bureau

WASHINGTON — An
unofficial resolution

announced plans to retain
Kissinger at least through
November and to lean on
him to stay on into a second

Kissinger maintains he
has never asked for formal
assurances that he be
permitted to stay. "I don't

THE SAN ANTONIO LIGHT

Wednesday, June 22, 1976



c/c

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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FROM:

MIKE DUVAL *Mike*

SUBJECT:

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Left Group Pushing for Dr. K Ouster Plans

BY JOHN P. WILCOX
The San Antonio Light

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THE SAN ANTONIO LIGHT

Wednesday, June 22, 1976

Republican Platform
Committee regardless of
whether President Ford or
Ronald Reagan finally
accepts nomination.
This could throw monkey
business into Ford's

Kissinger said he would
stay, provided Ford gave his
word he would not succumb
to political pressure to force
Kissinger out. No matter
how intense the fire under
Ford's feet became during
the primary fight with
Reagan.

Note - Original
is of very
poor quality
WHM, 6/29/84

COPY from
Gerald R. Ford Library