

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE



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STATEMENT BY  
AND PRESS CONFERENCE OF  
THE HONORABLE HENRY A. KISSINGER  
SECRETARY OF STATE  
UPON DEPARTURE FROM LUSAKA, ZAMBIA  
SEPTEMBER 17, 1976

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Mr. Foreign Minister, on behalf of my whole delegation, I would like to thank you and President Kaunda for the warm reception we have received here. This was not a stop for negotiation. It was a stop to clarify the principles that will be taken to Pretoria and that we hope will form the basis for progress toward justice and peace in southern Africa.

We were encouraged by the spirit of the talks and by the moral support which we have received here, but it is of course clear that the serious negotiation lies ahead of us and that the decision on whether the objectives of peace — in human dignity — can be achieved are not going to be made in Lusaka. So Mr. Foreign Minister, I leave with the determination to make a major effort. I have been strengthened in this by my conversations with your President and his associates, and I want to thank you once again for the extraordinary reception we have had here.

Now I will be glad to take a few questions.

QUESTION: Will your stop in Pretoria be a negotiating stop?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: My stop in Pretoria I hope will move matters forward, so that when I return to Lusaka we will have something more precise to work with than is the case today.

QUESTION: Are you going to see Smith?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I stated last Saturday before I left Washington that I would meet Smith only under the condition that this was the final element in reaching a satisfactory conclusion. I do not have this knowledge today, and therefore there is no basis for my meeting him at this time.

QUESTION: Could you spell that out for us, Mr. Secretary?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I have stated my view and the American position. There is no point in repeating it every day, since I have not heard anything yet about the discussions between Prime Minister Vorster and Mr. Smith. I will not see Mr. Smith to negotiate; I will see him if it helps to move matters to a conclusion and only if some clear result is in prospect. Since that is not the case today, there is nothing that I can add to what has already been said.

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary of State, if your negotiations fail and other friends of Africa come to help with the only other alternative of armed struggle, will you still be talking about outside intervention?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: The United States is opposed to outside intervention in Africa. All the African presidents with whom I have spoken mentioned their determination to deal with these questions as an African problem. There is no point in my speculating now about what may happen, since I have not come here to fail.

QUESTION: Dr. Kissinger, what are your chances now that you have had two views from Tanzania and Zambia that the armed struggle should be intensified? What are your chances in the event of total rejection of your initiatives?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I do not want to speculate about what the United States will do in the case of the failure of a mission whose failure we do not anticipate. We stated our policy here in Lusaka as supporting the objectives of majority rule, minority rights, freedom and human dignity in southern Africa. These objectives we will support regardless of the success of one diplomatic mission.

QUESTION: With regard to your talks with John Vorster, how nearer is Namibia to independence?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I believe that we have made some progress or I would not have come here. I thought that the progress that had been made warranted this effort because I agree with President Kaunda's statement of yesterday — that if we do not make this effort, and if peaceful efforts fail, the consequences for the southern part of Africa will be too ghastly to contemplate.

QUESTION: Dr. Kissinger, are you worried about Communist influence in Namibia and Rhodesia?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I have to separate two problems. One is the internal direction of African movements. We believe that African nationalism will take care of its own evolution and of its own direction. The second problem is outside military intervention from outside Africa, either from the Soviet Union or from other countries supported by the Soviet Union. That we oppose. The direction of the liberation movements is a matter for Africans to settle, and we will not intervene in this.

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QUESTION: Has Britain got any special role to play in your initiatives?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Britain has the legal and historic responsibility for Rhodesia. Every initiative that we have taken has been taken in the closest coordination with Great Britain. And if my efforts either on this trip or later should succeed, Great Britain will have to provide the legal framework by which a further evolution takes place. This has been agreed to by all of the parties.

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, I wonder if you would share with us your feelings as you are about to embark on the South African trip?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I believe that a combination of factors has produced a situation where the United States, alone in the world, is in a position to make a contribution to avoiding a conflagration. We have this responsibility which we did not seek. It is in the interest first of the peoples of southern Africa but eventually of all of the peoples of the world that the world not be divided between races, that there not be a race war and that outside powers not manipulate the aspirations of the people. If I can help on behalf of the United States, I believe that this reflects the values of human dignity and freedom and justice for which the United States has always stood.

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, can you be a little more specific about what you hope to accomplish in South Africa?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I have stated the objectives repeatedly. We will try to move Rhodesia and Namibia toward independence, majority rule, minority rights and a constitutional framework in which, as President Kaunda said yesterday, all the races and all the people can live side by side in human dignity.

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, how do you explain America's late arrival on the scene?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: The United States has gone through a very difficult decade in which it was occupied with many problems in other parts of the world. Secondly, until the process of decolonization had reached a certain point, it was not possible for the United States to make its influence felt the way it is attempting to do now.

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary of State, the front-line countries have discussed this type of negotiations before, but it failed. Now they have adopted that the only solution is to intensify armed struggle. Now America has arrived on the scene late. Are you genuinely shuttling diplomacy or are you simply displaying some kind of intellectual superiority?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well, I do not see how I can demonstrate intellectual superiority by failing. I am here. When I was in Africa in April, all of the African countries, including this, urged the United

States to make an effort. I know all previous efforts have failed, and I told President Kaunda this morning that if we fail, we will join a distinguished company. But I also said I have not come here to fail. A just peace and a just solution must be one that the people of the area accept and believe in. It cannot be one that outsiders impose on them. And it has nothing to do with demonstrating any particular quality.

FOREIGN MINISTER MWALE: Members of the press, it is my duty as a host to ensure that my guests keep to their schedule. I am afraid that unless we have two more questions, I will have to ask that we close this session.

QUESTION: Dr. Kissinger, there are four front-line states; that is, Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique. But the Secretary of State has only visited Tanzania and Zambia. Is there any special reason why he has not gone to Mozambique or Botswana?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Associates of mine have already visited Mozambique and other associates of mine will visit Botswana on Saturday. And in any event, we recognize that the decisions will be taken by the four front-line presidents. We count on their unity, and we will work with them cooperatively.

QUESTION: But precisely, has John Vorster indicated to you at any time that he is prepared to give independence to Namibia?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I hope that when I return here, the principle of independence for Namibia will be beyond question.

FOREIGN MINISTER MWALE: Mr. Secretary of State, Madam Kissinger, once again on behalf of the Party, the Government and indeed the people of Zambia, we wish you all the success in your difficult task and wish you a safe trip to Pretoria and back to Zambia.

Thank you very much.

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