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The Department of State BULLETIN a weekly publication issued by the Office of Media Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the government with information on developments in the field of U.S. foreign relations and on the work of the Department and the Foreign Service.

The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements, addresses and news conferences of the President and the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the function of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and on treaties of general international interest.

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UNCTAD IV: Expanding Cooperation for Global Economic Development

Address by Secretary Kissinger[1]

We are assembled here to carry forward one of the most important enterprises in history: the endeavor of independent nations to advance global economic development and so to better the quality of human life on earth. Our goal is nothing less than to shape an enduring structure of international collaboration that offers peace and prosperity, equal opportunity and dignity to all peoples.

Man has always yearned for peace and a just international order. In our time these twin goals have become a realistic possibility. Their attainment will require us to meet challenges whose scale eludes the grasp of individual nations, whose complexity mocks the slogans and solutions of the past, and whose pace outstrips the measured processes of traditional diplomacy.

There is before us all the imperative of world stability—the task of resolving conflicts, reducing tensions, and resisting the encroachment of new imperialisms, new oppressions, and new dangers. For this undertaking the United States, together with other nations, has assumed a heavy responsibility.

Beyond it lie our positive aspirations. The American people are a humane people. We know that stability is not enough; peace must extend mankind's reach for a better life. In the Declaration of Independence of the United States, the seminal document of our national existence, we have written that "all men are created equal" and entitled to "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." This pursuit has brought me to Nairobi—to advance on behalf of President Ford and the U.S. Government the great cause we all hold in common.

In the long sweep of history, the future of peace and progress may be most decisively determined by our response to the necessities imposed by our economic interdependence. This is the challenge which we have assembled here to address: the urgent need for cooperative solutions to the new global problems of the world economy. These issues dominate the agenda of the evolving relationship between North and South, the industrial and the developing countries.

They are issues of economics—of an effective system of trade, monetary relations, and development assistance, and of insuring that the prosperity of some nations does not come at the expense of others. They are issues of politics—of how nations deal with each other and of how we can construct an international order that promotes peace. They are issues of morality—the recognition that economic might does not make right. And they are issues of justice—the awareness that the well-being of our peoples depends upon an international system fair and open to all.

The modern age and our common morality insistently demand respect for human dignity and the fulfillment of the human personality. But a world in which poverty and misery continue to afflict countless millions would mock these imperatives. The daily preoccupation of men and women would be

[1] Made before the fourth ministerial meeting of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development at Nairobi on May 6 (text from press release 224).

the harsh necessities of survival; the energies of nations would be consumed in hatred and rivalry. We must build instead a world of cooperation and widening human opportunity reflecting the fundamental interdependence of our destinies.

Today, the accelerating forces of modernization—technological, economic, social, and political—link the peoples of the world as never before. They can intensify conflict, or they can provide us with unprecedented possibilities to advance our common aims. All nations are part of a global economic system. If that system is to flourish it must rest on the firm foundation of security, fairness, and opportunity to all who wish to participate—rich and poor, North and South, consumer and producer. It must embrace the interests of all if it is to be supported by all. President Ford has sent me here, committed to bring about a constructive and cooperative relationship between the developed and the developing countries over the remainder of this century.

This ministerial meeting of UNCTAD is the first of its kind to be held in Africa. This is altogether fitting, for Africa's importance in world affairs is growing. And African countries have an especially high stake in a successful conference leading to concrete progress. No continent has been more vulnerable to worldwide economic instabilities. No continent suffers so cruelly when crops fail for lack of rain. No continent endures a heavier burden when commodity prices fluctuate violently. And no continent has more to gain from the organized cooperation of all nations to promote economic and social progress and to insure a greater role for the developing nations in the world's economic deliberations.

This is a continent of proud traditions and new nations, of rising aspirations and of determination in the face of monumental challenge. Here it can—indeed, it must—be demonstrated that men of all races and colors can live and prosper together in peace with equal rights and mutual respect.

During the past two weeks I have been privileged to be a guest in Africa and to enjoy the extraordinary hospitality of its people and leaders. I have greatly benefited from my discussions with African statesmen, and I have learned much about the concerns and hopes of the peoples of Africa. The nations of this continent can be confident that the United States is prepared to cooperate with them in their great struggles for justice, economic progress, and freedom from external intervention.

Today we are all especially indebted to the Republic of Kenya and its world-renowned leader, President Kenyatta, for making this beautiful city available as the site of this conference. The U.S. delegation has come to Nairobi to achieve, with representatives of other nations, a major step forward in international cooperation.

We begin this conference at a moment of opportunity. The world economy is recovering from a deep recession, my own country perhaps most rapidly. Increasing American demand for products of other countries will make a major contribution to recovery around the world. Many obstacles to sustained economic growth remain; but there are convincing signs that we have surmounted the worst part of the economic crisis and that before us, if we act with wisdom and energy, is the opportunity for a new and prolonged period of prosperity.

This, therefore, may be a decisive moment which offers us a brief, but special, opportunity to reinvigorate and improve the world's international economic system. Now is the time to free the world from disruptive cycles of boom and bust and to enhance the opportunities of the developing countries.

The United States, better than almost any other nation, could survive a period of economic warfare. We can resist confrontation and rhetorical attacks if other nations choose that path. And we can ignore unrealistic proposals and peremptory demands. But the historic opportunity which is at hand would slip away. It is up to us, as the spokesmen of nations meeting in this world forum, to reach beyond the doubts and temptations of the moment toward the permanent international interests of us all. In so doing, we can take courage from the knowledge that the means exist to achieve a

brighter future. It lies within our power to shape a world where all men can live in dignity and aspire to progress.

Let us therefore hold before us as the goal of this conference, and of the dialogue between developed and developing nations, the motto of the Republic of Kenya: "*Harambee*—work together for the good of all."

Let us begin by building on the positive accomplishments of the seventh special session of the U.N. General Assembly last September. At that meeting the industrial and developing nations, in an encouraging demonstration of consensus, put aside ideological confrontation, declared their common purpose of moving forward cooperatively, and adopted an agreed agenda for action.

On behalf of President Ford, I call upon this conference to accelerate the efforts and continue the cooperative spirit which began then. I will introduce new proposals on all the priority concerns of this conference, to reflect what we have heard of your ideas and your aspirations in the Manila Declaration and in other forums, including the Conference on International Economic Cooperation in Paris.[2]

These proposals represent the contributions of all relevant agencies of the U.S. Government, under the direction of the President. I have worked especially closely with my colleague Treasury Secretary Simon in shaping the program we are presenting.

The strong bipartisan support which our approach enjoys results from weeks of close consultations between the executive and both Houses of our Congress. It is demonstrated by the presence here of two distinguished Senators [Jacob K. Javits and Abraham A. Ribicoff] representing our two political parties. Other Senators and members of the House of Representatives will follow as your work proceeds.

The United States pledges its dedication and willingness to cooperate over the decades ahead. We do so with an open mind. We want to hear your ideas and proposals. We are here to exchange views and to forge a fresh consensus.

The State of Our Efforts

Let me first review what our nations together achieved since last September.

We agreed at the seventh special session to take measures to help insure basic economic security against cycles that devastate export earnings and undermine development. In January, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) expanded its compensatory financing facility, as we had proposed, to make available several billion dollars to stabilize export earnings.

In September, we pledged to accelerate economic growth by improving developing countries' access to capital and new technology. To these ends, the United States, other industrial countries, and several oil-producing countries have begun to marshal increased capital, technological, and human resources to promote development. Negotiations have been completed to increase World Bank capital by $8 billion; we will contribute our fair share to a $6 billion increase in the resources of the Inter-American Development Bank; we will contribute to an expansion of the African Development Fund; we are actively participating in discussions on replenishment of the Asian Development Fund and Bank.

At the special session, the world community dedicated itself to improving trade and investment in key commodities. International solutions have already been achieved on several key commodity issues, including the successful negotiation of coffee and tin agreements. Progress is also being made in expanding the world's supply of its most vital commodity—food.

And finally, at the special session, the world community made a commitment to meet the special needs of the poorest countries, which have suffered the most from recent economic dislocations. We have made significant progress by providing financial and technical assistance to increase food

[2] For texts of the Manila Declaration and Program of Action, adopted on Feb. 7, 1976, by the third ministerial meeting of the Group of 77, see U.N. doc. TD/195.

production and by introducing new measures to help relieve crushing balance-of-payments problems of the poorest nations.

These achievements are only the beginning of the process. We are, this year, in the midst of what may well be the most extensive series of international negotiations on trade, finance, commodities, and development in history—involving more nations, addressing more issues, and affecting more people than ever before. This conference has a major role to play. In particular we can advance our work in four key areas:

First, we must make renewed efforts on commodity issues, including the problems of resource investment and trade. Commodities—energy, food, and other primary products—are the building blocks of growth and prosperity. For many countries, development of resources is the key to industrialization, employment, decent incomes, and healthy diets. All nations need adequate supplies of primary products and fair compensation for their production. Solving the complex of these issues is a critical test of our ability to work together systematically to expand the world's wealth for the benefit of all.

Second, we must design a far-reaching long-term program to accelerate technology transfer. The quantity of capital investment by itself does not assure sustained development. There must be as well continuous improvements in productivity that only new technology and trained local manpower can bring. The subject deserves high priority, and comprehensive efforts will be required.

Third, we must deal with serious balance-of-payments and debt problems which face a number of developing countries. Rising import costs caused in large part by higher oil prices, and reduced export earnings due to recession in industrialized countries, have created unprecedented international payments problems. An improved world economy will automatically ease the problem for many countries. Nevertheless we must continue to seek means of assistance for the particular problems of certain developing countries.

Fourth, we must continue to respond to the special and urgent needs of the poorest countries. Helping these nations will not only demonstrate the capacity of the international economy to serve all countries equitably; it will also reflect our collective sense of responsibility.

Let me now suggest specific new approaches for dealing with each of these four problems.

A Comprehensive Approach to Commodities

Commodity exports are critical for development. The non-oil developing countries rely on primary products for nearly two-thirds of their export earnings. Yet production and export of these resources are vulnerable to the whims of weather, the swings of worldwide demand, and new technology. Cycles of scarcity and glut, of underinvestment and overcapacity, disrupt economic conditions in both the developing and the industrial world.

It has become clear in recent years that a piecemeal approach to these issues will not suffice. The UNCTAD Secretariat has made an important contribution to meeting these problems in its integrated commodities program. While the United States cannot accept all of its elements, there are many parts which we are prepared to consider.

At this conference, the United States proposes its own comprehensive approach to commodity issues. It reflects many of the objectives contained in the integrated program and our desire for constructive action on all aspects of the challenge. It contains the following elements:

—Insuring sufficient financing for resource development and for equitable sharing in the benefits by the host nation;

—Improving the conditions of trade and investment in individual commodities and moderating excessive price fluctuations;

—Stabilizing the overall export earnings of developing countries; and

—Improving access to markets for processed products of developing countries while assuring consumers reliability of supply.

Let me discuss each of these elements in turn.

Adequate Investment

Most of the world's raw material production in fact takes place in the industrial countries. But if development is to take hold, a special effort must be made to expand the production and exports of primary products of developing countries. Such a program must overcome the following problems.

First, we must deal realistically with the political and economic problems which are diverting investments from developing to developed countries. For, paradoxically, resource development is often discouraged by the very countries which are most in need of it. Nationalization and forced change in the terms of concessions in some developing countries have clouded the general climate for resource investment in the developing world. Social and political uncertainties have further complicated investment prospects. As a result, commercially viable projects have been postponed, canceled, or relocated; and capital, management, and technology have been diverted to production of higher cost raw materials in the industrialized world.

Second, in the next decade alone the total requirements for global investment in resources will be massive. Individual projects will require unprecedented sums of capital and complex financial arrangements. The time required between the beginning of a project and its completion is increasing. All these factors compound the political uncertainties and further inhibit rational investment.

Third, there is no one institution that can work comprehensively to facilitate resource development, particularly in energy and minerals, or to promote equitable sharing of its benefits.

If present trends continue, serious misallocations of capital, management, and technology are inevitable. The costs of raw material and agricultural production will escalate. Many potential producers will be unable to attract adequate capital. All countries will pay the price in accelerated inflation and retarded growth—with the poorest countries suffering the most.

To overcome these problems the United States proposes the establishment of an International Resources Bank (IRB). This new institution would promote more rational, systematic, and equitable development of resources in developing nations. It would facilitate technological development and management training in the developing countries. It would help insure supplies of raw materials to sustain the expansion of the global economy and would help moderate commodity price fluctuations.

The International Resources Bank would mobilize capital for sound resource development projects by assisting individual resource projects to secure direct financing and issuing bonds which could be secured by a specific commodity. Alternatively, these bonds could be retired through delivery of a specific commodity. "Commodity bonds" of this type could greatly improve conditions of supply and market access and help developing countries to stabilize export earnings.

To enhance confidence for both host governments and investors the International Resources Bank would begin operations with a capital fund of $1 billion. It would participate with foreign investors and the host government in project agreements specifying the conditions of the investment on a basis acceptable to all parties. Such an agreement could include a formula for production sharing and arrangements by investors to help develop the managerial, technological, and marketing capabilities of the host country. The Bank would support guarantees of both investor and host nation performance in accordance with conditions established in the project agreement.

To insure effective coordination with other public institutions, the International Resources Bank could be associated with the World Bank Group, in a form to be worked out by the participating countries. It could operate in close collaboration with—and render even more effective—other institutions

such as the World Bank and its associate, the International Finance Corporation, and the Inter-American Development Bank as well as the U.N. revolving fund for mineral exploration.

The IRB proposal offers many advantages and new concepts:

—Its facilitating role as third party with the host country and the foreign investor will encourage conditions for project development consistent with internationally accepted standards of equity.

—The IRB mechanism provides multilateral guarantees of the performance of both the host nation and the foreign investor in accordance with the project agreement—thereby reducing the noncommercial risks. This cannot fail to promote greater flows of investment capital for resource projects on reasonable terms.

—The proposal contemplates production-sharing arrangements under which the foreign investor is assured of an established percentage of total production with disposition of the balance to be controlled by the host nation. This allows the host nation to share in production from the outset, providing it with the basis for further processing of the raw material should this prove to be economically feasible.

—Commodity bonds would be a fruitful new international instrument for forward purchases of commodities. They could contribute to earnings stabilization. They would also provide added assurance of market access for the host country and supply access for the consumer.

—Finally, through the IRB, modern technology would flow into developing nations. The two key elements required for development—management and technology—are provided by the foreign investor directly in a new form of capital investment. The trilateral agreement could include provision for the progressive acquisition of technology by the host country and thus contribute importantly to the process of technology transfer.

We consider the International Resources Bank to be an innovative and significant response to the basic needs of the developing nations and the international community. It will be a major advance in the sharing of benefits and responsibilities between industrialized and developing nations. It will help insure the essential flow of capital, management, and technology into resource development under conditions acceptable to host governments. And it will enhance the predictability that is essential to attract capital investment. We hope other countries will join us during the coming months to design and establish this global institution.

Improvement of the Conditions of Trade and Investment in Individual Commodities

We are all conscious of the problems the world economy has faced recently in this area. Within only two years the tight supply and astronomical prices of many critical materials have been followed by a period of declining prices. Many economies have been severely shaken, and several countries have suffered balance-of-payments crises. Drastic price changes affect the developing countries most severely, playing havoc with foreign exchange earnings and development plans. And because raw material production projects require years to develop and involve high risks, volatile prices tend to lead to erratic patterns of investment.

There are a number of ways to improve commodity markets: long-term contractual arrangements, better exchange of market information, improved distribution, more efficient production methods, and better storage and transport facilities.

We agree with the UNCTAD Secretariat that buffer stocks deserve special attention. For those commodities where buffer stocks are feasible, sharp fluctuations in prices can be moderated by building stocks when markets are weak. And adequate supplies at reasonable prices can be assured through releasing stocks when markets are tight.

The United States believes that buffer stocks can be financed from a combination of sources: direct contribution by the participants, export taxes, commercial borrowing

guaranteed by the countries participating in the buffer stock, or through the existing facilities of international institutions. Should existing sources prove inadequate, we would also be prepared to consider the IRB as a supplemental channel for financing a particular buffer stock. In these ways, we are convinced that adequate international financing for buffer stocks can be assured within the context of the specific commodity agreement under which the stock is established. Clearly, the United States would not want a buffer stock in which we had agreed to participate to fail for want of adequate financing.

The United States has pursued a constructive approach to other aspects of the commodities problem:

—We have joined with producers and consumers of key commodities to agree on measures to improve and stabilize markets.

—We have signed commodity agreements on coffee and tin, and we will participate in negotiations on sugar. We viewed cocoa as well suited to a buffer stock arrangement but were disappointed in the agreement negotiated a few months ago, which we believe is unlikely to improve the functioning of the cocoa market. If other parties are interested, we stand ready to renegotiate this agreement.

—The United States recently participated in the first meeting of producers and consumers of copper. We look forward to the establishment of a permanent producer-consumer group.

—Agricultural raw materials need serious attention as well. Those that face declining markets from growing competition from lower cost producers and synthetics can benefit from market promotion, research to improve productivity and marketability, or diversification into other products. We recommend that producer-consumer forums dealing with individual commodities focus on such possibilities. We urge that the World Bank and the regional development banks give high priority to funding projects for these purposes.

Today the United States proposes these additional measures:

—First, let us reach agreement on a definite timetable for the study of specific commodity problems of interest to developing countries. We are prepared to initiate concerted consideration in producer-consumer forums this year of measures to improve the stability, growth, and efficiency of markets for all key commodity exports of developing countries. Particular attention should be given to the formation of groups for bauxite and iron ore.

—Second, since many of the poorest countries are dependent on these products for export earnings, we urge the World Bank and regional institutions to sponsor projects to improve production efficiency and markets for jute, sisal, and other hard fibers or to facilitate diversification into other products in order to reduce excessive reliance on them.

—Finally, any program of resource development must emphasize the two most vital international resources: food and energy.

Forecasts of good harvests must not lull us into letting the progress begun at the World Food Conference slip away. At that conference, nations agreed to work toward a system of world grain reserves to improve food security, to increase support for agricultural research, to develop programs for nutritional improvement, and to increase agricultural development in low-income countries. We urge other countries to join us to make the concept of world food reserves a reality, to increase support for agriculture development in poorer nations, and to provide necessary food aid.

In energy we strongly support the efforts of oil producers and consumers from both the industrialized and the developing world to achieve cooperative solutions at the Conference on International Economic Cooperation. We urge that our proposal for an International Energy Institute—which would help developing countries take advantage of their domestic energy resources—receive priority attention in the months ahead.

Stabilizing Export Earnings of Developing Countries

At the seventh special session, the United States listed as its first priority the need to insure economic security for the developing world. We continue to believe that the world economic system must provide the developing nations greater security from the worst effects of fluctuating prices, recession, inflation, and other economic shocks which they are helpless to prevent or avoid.

We are gratified at the rapid implementation of our proposals to the special session for the far-reaching expansion of the International Monetary Fund. These innovations make available billions of dollars in new financing to offset steep declines in export earnings.

The most significant step forward has been the Fund's agreement to liberalize its compensatory financing facility. As of now, roughly $800 million from this improved facility has been provided. If this rate continues, more money will have been lent this year from the facility than the entire amount provided over the last 12 years.

Another major advance has been the establishment of an IMF trust fund to help meet the balance-of-payments needs of the poorest countries. While many developing countries have received substantial benefits from the compensatory financing facility, low-income countries whose export revenues depend on one or two commodities often need additional financial help to meet balance-of-payments problems. To assist the poorest countries, the United States has proposed that the trust fund provide concessional financing to poorer countries to offset declines in earnings from an agreed list of particularly significant commodities.

Moreover, the United States would be ready to join others in a review of the adequacy of the trust fund's resources, should they prove inadequate to stabilize earnings and provide general balance-of-payments financing for low-income developing nations. We especially urge those oil-producing nations with strong reserves to contribute to the trust fund's lending capacity.

Expanding Trade in Resources and Processed Goods

Trade has been an engine of growth for all countries; for many developing countries it is the most critical vehicle of development. The United States has taken a number of initiatives to meet the special needs of developing countries. We have reduced global trade barriers, especially those affecting processed goods; provided preferential access to our market for many exports of developing countries; worked in the multilateral trade negotiations (MTN) in Geneva for reduction of barriers in tropical products; and recognized in our general trade policy the special trade needs of developing countries.

We now have these challenges:

—We must maintain the momentum in reducing world trade barriers.

—We must focus especially on reducing barriers against processed goods, which retard developing countries' efforts to industrialize.

—We need additional international arrangements to assure reliability of supply, for the steady flow of new materials is vital to every country.

To maintain momentum in reducing trade barriers, industrial countries of the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development], despite the strains on their economies from higher energy costs and recession, have pledged themselves to avoid restrictive trade measures. The United States intends to join with other developed countries in a renewal of that pledge at the next OECD ministerial meeting in June.

In addition, at the multilateral trade negotiations now taking place in Geneva we will pay special attention to the interests of developing countries, particularly in such areas as processed exports, tropical products, and nontariff barriers.

The institution in January of a generalized system of preferences by the United States, combined with the preference systems of other industrial countries, has opened significant trading opportunities for

developing nations. Our own preference system already covers more than 2,700 items from nearly 100 countries. The annual trade value of these items is roughly $2.5 billion. We are examining the possibility of including additional products.

The United States will give priority support to the U.N. Development Program (UNDP) financing of a joint GATT-UNCTAD [GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] program of technical assistance to developing countries. This will help those countries take full advantage of the preference schemes of industrialized countries by finding the most productive areas for new and increased exports and the best techniques of marketing their products.

In addition, intensive negotiation is now underway in the MTN on tariff treatment of tropical products, including processed goods and manufactures, that are of particular interest to developing countries. The United States intends to implement negotiated tariff reductions in this area as soon as possible once the tropical product package is agreed upon.

In keeping with the Tokyo Declaration, the United States believes that the MTN negotiations on rules concerning nontariff barriers must give greater attention to the needs of developing countries.[3] For example, the United States believes that a code to govern the use of countervailing duties against export subsidies should recognize the special conditions facing developing countries. We will urge that the special needs of developing nations be taken into account when new international rules pertaining to offsetting action are being developed.

With respect to new rules on safeguard measures against injury from imports, we will consider special treatment for less developed countries which are minor suppliers or possible new entrants into the U.S. market.

[3] For text of the declaration, approved at Tokyo on Sept. 14, 1973, by a ministerial meeting of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, see BULLETIN of Oct. 8, 1973, p. 450.

We recognize, too, that developing countries have interests in other reforms of the trading system which are not presently under negotiation. We will respond to these views with an open mind. We are confident that with good will on all sides, constructive agreement can be reached on specific reform issues within the time frame of the multilateral trade negotiations.

The reduction of tariffs against the exports of processed raw materials from developing countries is especially important. Lowering these barriers would provide fresh opportunities to expand and diversify exports, particularly in cases where tariffs now escalate with the degree of processing. To this end, the tariff-reduction proposal which the United States has made in the MTN will not only result in significant tariff cuts but also will reduce tariff escalation. We expect that developing countries will regard this as an incentive to positive cooperation in the current negotiations.

If more open market access is one pillar of an expanding international trading system, greater reliability of supply is another. Without reasonable assurance from producer countries that they will not arbitrarily interfere with exports, importers must turn to other sources. Consumers will then bear the cost of less efficient production; unreliable producers, the cost of lost markets and reduced foreign investment.

There is an urgent need to analyze methods to improve reliability of supply. We urge that work begin promptly in the GATT to determine whether an international code on export controls is feasible. Such a code should define more clearly the circumstances under which countries may legitimately apply export controls. It would reduce the uncertainties for consumers and for exporters, and it would mitigate some of the political damage to relations between countries when restrictions are imposed on exports.

The United States will also continue to seek commitments of reliable supply in the context of specific arrangements negotiated for individual commodities.

This four-point program—a new Interna-

tional Resources Bank, a case-by-case effort to improve conditions of trade and investment in primary products, stabilization of export earnings, and improved market and supply conditions—recognizes that these issues are linked; yet it permits pragmatic and flexible treatment of specific problems. The approach I have described is a major effort by the United States to deal on a comprehensive basis with commodity issues. It is workable; it is achievable; it is a program which meets the needs of developing and developed nations alike. We urge favorable consideration and rapid collective action.

Technology for Development

Let me now turn to another area of major concern: the application of technology for development.

Technology is at the heart of the development process. It enables man to extend his horizons beyond the mere struggle for existence. Technology draws the fullest measure from the finite resources of our globe. It harnesses the intelligence of man and the forces of nature to meet human needs.

For two centuries technological progress has been fundamental to rapid industrial growth. A central challenge of our time is to extend the benefits of technology to all countries.

There are a number of impediments to a rapid and effective technology transfer from industrialized to developing countries.

First, in many cases technology from industrial countries may not fit the real needs of developing countries. By and large, the challenge is not to transfer a carbon copy of existing technology, but to develop new technology and technological institutions that are most relevant to the conditions of individual developing countries.

Second, developing countries often lack adequate information and expertise to identify the technology which best meets their needs.

Third, there is often a shortage of the trained manpower needed to select, adapt, and effectively manage technology.

Fourth, technology often cannot be separated from capital and management. Hence it is one element of the overall investment process. And to be successful, technology must be applied within a framework of government policies which facilitate and nourish the process of technology transfer.

The task therefore is not simply the turnover of formulas or blueprints. We must pursue a comprehensive approach which provides a broad range of programs and incentives to transfer both technology and the fundamental skills that will give it root and effectiveness. To promote this, the United States proposes a five-point approach:

First, to adapt technology to the needs of developing countries, the United States supports the establishment of a network of research and development institutions at the local, regional, and international level. We need to strengthen global research capacities for development and to expand intergovernmental cooperation. Therefore we propose the following:

—An International Industrialization Institute should be established to encourage research and development of industrial technology appropriate to developing countries. A founders conference involving all interested countries should be held no later than this fall.

—The Energy Commission of the Conference on International Economic Cooperation should establish an International Energy Institute to facilitate energy research and the application of energy-related technologies to the special needs of developing countries.

—We should extend existing networks for applied research in the fields of agriculture, health, and education. The creation of new institutions must be accompanied by measures to help the process of technology transfer. To improve cooperation between industrialized and developing countries, the United States proposes new programs in three fields of advanced science, to which we are prepared to make major contributions of knowledge and experience: in satellite technology,

in water resources development, and in oceans technology.

—Satellite technology offers enormous promise as an instrument for development. Remote-sensing satellites can be applied to survey resources, forecast crops, and improve land use in developing countries. They can help to foresee and evaluate natural disasters. Modern communication technologies, including satellites, have large untapped potential to improve education, training, health services, food production, and other activities essential for development. Therefore, from July through October of this year the United States will make available to interested developing countries demonstrations of the various applications for development of the experimental ATS–6 communications satellite, the Landsat remote sensing satellite, and high resolution photography. We are prepared to cooperate with developing countries in establishing centers, training personnel, and where possible, adapting our civilian satellite programs to their needs.

—The United States will play a leading role in applying water resources technology to such objectives as improving the quality and productivity of agriculture and developing new industry. We will play an active role at the U.N. Water Conference to be held in March of next year, putting forward practical measures to share our knowledge and experience.

—The technology necessary to mine the deep seabed, to manage fisheries, and to exploit the vast potential of the oceans is rapidly being developed. The United States has made major advances in this field. We plan to invite scientists, managers, and technicians from different countries to participate in our scientific projects. And we strongly support provisions in the law of the sea treaty which will provide incentives for sharing of deep-seabed technology appropriate to developing-country needs.

—Finally, there is a pressing need to develop new ways to use technology to improve the basic condition of the poor. The United States is increasing the technical component of its development programs to provide basic nutrition, health, and education services.

The *second* element of our program is to improve the amount and quality of technological information available to developing countries and to improve their selection of technology relevant to their needs. We will support the efforts of the U.N. International Center for Exchange of Technological Information to provide comprehensive information on the capabilities and facilities of national and regional information services. For its part, the United States will inventory its national technological information resources and make available, both to developing countries and to the U.N. Center, consultants and other services to improve access to our national information facilities. These include the National Library of Medicine, the division of scientific information of the National Science Foundation, the National Agricultural Library, and the Smithsonian information service.

The United States also supports the proposed UNCTAD advisory service to strengthen the ability of developing nations to identify effectively, select, and negotiate for technology most appropriate to their requirements. We support the concept of regional advisory services under UNCTAD auspices, to provide expertise and resources to the technology requirements of particular regions and countries. These regional centers could act as conduits for the activities of other programs and institutions for the application of technology to developing countries.

Third, to nurture new generations of technologists and technology managers, the United States proposes a priority effort to train individuals who can develop, identify, and apply technology suited to the needs of developing countries. To this end:

—Training competent managers of future technology should be central objectives of the proposed International Industrialization Institute and the International Energy Institute.

—For its part, the United States will encourage universities, research institutes, and industrial training schools in the United States to create special institutes and curricula for technology training for the developing countries; we will provide for and assist their sister institutions in developing countries. We invite other developed countries to join us in this effort.

—Finally, the United States proposes that appropriate incentives and measures be devised to curb the emigration of highly trained manpower from developing countries; for the benefits which developing nations derive from trained technology managers are of no consequence if they leave their home countries.

In this connection, the U.S. Government will encourage the formation of a technology corps, which will parallel our executive service corps in organization and operation. This will be a private, nonprofit organization to which corporations and universities will contribute highly skilled personnel experienced in the management of scientific and technical operations. They will work with and help train local manpower in specific development projects.

The *fourth* element of our approach is to make the process of transferring existing technology more effective and equitable.

New technology in industrialized countries resides primarily in the private sector. Private enterprise is in the best position to provide packages of management, technology, and capital. To enhance that contribution, both industrialized and developing countries must create an environment conducive to technology transfer.

The United States recommends that voluntary guidelines be developed that set forth the conditions and standards of technology transfer which encourage, facilitate, and maximize the orderly transfer of technology.

The proposed International Resources Bank also contains features which can enhance the ability of developing countries to manage technology and thereby encourage its transfer. In the trilateral agreement with the host nation and the International Resources Bank, the foreign investor would generally undertake to provide both management and technology. The investment project could, by mutual agreement, include the obligation to progressively transfer some of the technology to the host nation over the period of the agreement—as well as accelerate the country's capacity to manage such technology.

The flow of technology in the channels of world commerce can be diverted by restrictive practices. Some practices may directly limit the transfer of technology; in addition, where technology is transferred, restrictive provisions on trade in high-technology products can limit its benefits for others. The United States proposes that international attention be focused on the full range of these practices, with a view to their reduction or elimination.

The *fifth* element of the U.S. program is to set goals for achievement before and during the U.N. Conference on Science and Technology for Development, now proposed for 1979. The United States strongly supports this conference and its objectives. Preparations for it provide a major opportunity for both developed and developing countries to review their responsibilities for the sharing and use of technology.

To speed our preparations, the United States will convene a national conference next year to bring together our best talent from universities, foundations, and private enterprise. They will be asked to consider the broad range of technological issues of concern to the developing world. They will be invited to help mobilize American resources to assist developing countries to meet their research requirements. And they will be encouraged to prepare detailed American proposals for the conferences and institutes I have described.

We recommend also that the OECD nations urgently study the possibilities of a greater contribution by all industrialized nations to overcoming the problems of technology transfer.

This five-point program represents the most comprehensive effort ever put forward

by the United States to deal with the challenge of applying technology to development. We hope that the UNCTAD Conference will give these initiatives serious consideration. We invite your ideas and proposals. Working together, we can see to it that this age of technology will improve the quality of the lives of all of our peoples in a manner undreamed of by previous generations.

Balance-of-Payments and Debt Problems

Rising import costs caused in large part by higher oil prices, and reduced export earnings resulting from recession in the industrialized nations, have generated unprecedented international payments deficits. Although global economic recovery has begun, many countries will face persisting deficits this year.

A major institutional effort must be made if these countries are to avoid severe cutbacks in their imports and consequent reductions in their economic growth. There are three priority areas:

—We must insure that flows of funds for development projects are neither reduced nor diverted by short-term economic problems. In addition, long-term financing must be increased and its quality enhanced.

—We must enable private markets to continue to play a substantial role in providing development capital. For many countries, private capital flows are, and will continue to be, the principal form of development finance.

—We must see to it that the domestic economic policies of all our countries are sound. They should not place undue pressures on payments positions by unnecessary accumulations of debt. And we must give particular attention to those countries unable to avoid critical debt problems.

Resource Flows

We have been heartened by the immense effort made since the seventh special session to assure adequate balance-of-payments financing for less developed nations. Especially important has been the expansion of the International Monetary Fund's lending facilities. These efforts should help insure that sufficient balance-of-payments financing is available on an aggregate basis to developing countries.

But emergency lending cannot be a substitute for effective and high-quality foreign aid. Although most foreign assistance from the United States and other donors is provided on highly concessional terms, much can be done to improve the quality of resource flows. In many cases, the conditions of assistance restrict its financial and developmental impact; one example is the tying of aid to procurement in donor countries, which can reduce its value. The United States therefore will urge the OECD Development Assistance Committee to develop arrangements for the reciprocal untying of development assistance.

Private Capital

For many developing countries, particularly those in the midst of industralization, private sources make up the bulk of development capital. Of the $35 billion balance-of-payments deficit of the non-oil-producing developing countries in 1975, nearly half was financed by private capital flows. Without this contribution, the consequences of the mammoth deficit would have been unmanageable. The IMF-IBRD Development Committee is studying a wide range of measures to insure that international capital markets continue their imaginative adaptation to the needs of developing nations.

In addition, negotiations on the replenishment of the International Finance Corporation, which we proposed at the seventh special session, have been completed. The IFC is actively engaged in examining the U.S. proposal for an International Investment Trust to mobilize portfolio capital for investment in local enterprises. The United States gives its full support to these efforts.

Debt Problems

Many countries have had to resort to short-term external borrowing to finance their deficits. Debt payment burdens are

mounting; a number of countries are experiencing serious problems in meeting their debt obligations.

Generalized rescheduling of debts is not the answer. It would erode the creditworthiness of countries borrowing in private capital markets. By tying financing to debt, it obscures the significant differences among countries and prevents an appropriate focus on those in most urgent need. And it would not be fair to those nations which have taken strong policy measures to reduce their obligations.

The debt problem must be addressed in relation to each country's specific position and needs. The United States stands ready to help countries suffering acute debt service problems with measures appropriate to each case. The procedures must be agreeable to creditor and debtor alike. The device of a creditor club is a flexible instrument for negotiations.

To improve the basis for consideration of balance-of-payments problems of particular developing countries, the United States proposes that the Finance Commission of the Conference on International Economic Cooperation or another mutually acceptable forum examine the economic and acute financing problems of developing countries.

The Poorest Countries

The needs of many nations in the developing world are great, but the special requirements of the poorest countries are massive. This conference has a collective moral responsibility to respond to this challenge. We must devote major efforts to improve programs for the poorest countries and to devise new ones where necessary, for without adequate assistance the poorest will be condemned to continuing poverty and helplessness. We must increase resource flows, improve their terms, and enhance their quality. And aid must be given on softer terms, because the poorest countries are by definition unable to service debt except on a highly concessional basis.

Resource flows to the poorest countries must be freed from restrictions on procurement sources and the financing of local costs which distort the design of projects, waste resources, and cause excessive reliance on imported equipment.

The IMF trust fund now being established will importantly ease the immediate balance-of-payments problems of the poorest countries.

For the longer term, a substantial replenishment of the International Development Association is imperative. The United States will, as always, meet its commitments to this vitally important source of assistance. And we look forward to generous OPEC [Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries] support for this important institution.

Thus the United States has already taken a number of steps to assist the most needy countries. We will do more:

—To meet the urgent needs of the Sahel region, we are actively participating in the deliberations of the *Club des Amis du Sahel*. In addition, we have proposed that an urgent study be undertaken on ways not merely to ease the drought but to end the water shortage by mobilizing the great African rivers—not to perpetuate relief but to initiate basic reform.

—The U.S. Congress has already authorized a contribution of up to $200 million for the International Fund for Agricultural Development; we look forward to the June plenipotentiary conference which has been called to sign the agreement; and we urge others to contribute generously so that the $1 billion target can be met.

—We have secured authority under our Foreign Assistance Act to finance all costs of aid projects in least developed countries when necessary to insure their success.

—Seventy percent of our bilateral development assistance is now programed for countries with per capita GNP of $300 or less.

—For countries whose per capita GNP is less than $500, we strongly support proposals to increase their share to over 80 percent of all UNDP grants. One-third of this should go to the least developed countries in this category.

—We pledge a major expansion of our efforts to develop integrated systems for basic community health services. These will combine medical treatment and family planning and nutritional information, while making full use of locally trained paramedical personnel.

In the law of the sea negotiations now underway in New York, the United States has made a detailed proposal that revenues from deep-seabed mining and resources exploitation be shared with the international community especially for the benefit of the poorest countries.

This is a substantial effort. It must be complemented, however, by improvement in the terms of bilateral assistance to the poorest countries. To this end, the United States proposes that all donor countries agree to provide all development assistance to the relatively least developed countries on the UNCTAD list on a grant basis.

The United States will seek authorization from the Congress to provide all development assistance to the poorest countries on this basis. We already have congressional authorization to convert repayment of a portion of our loans under Public Law 480 to grants under certain circumstances. Taken together, these two steps will significantly increase the grant element in our bilateral assistance programs.

Human suffering and human deprivation are not questions of ideology or bloc politics. They touch the elemental needs of mankind and the basic imperatives of universal moral values. We must not fail to do our duty.

Dimensions of Task of Development

Economic development is a task of many dimensions. Whatever may be our differing perspectives, the United States believes that a number of conclusions stand out clearly:

—Development is a mutually reinforcing endeavor. There is nothing permanent about the distinction between the developed and developing worlds. Developed countries thrive and advance most surely when the international economy grows vigorously and steadily. As the United States sees other nations develop and industrialize, we feel renewed confidence in the world economic system and in our own economic future. Sustained growth and development require that we work together cooperatively.

—Development involves mutual responsibility. International cooperation cannot be one-sided. The strength of the industrial countries must be regarded as a trust for the progress of all; the developing countries only hurt themselves if they weaken that strength through contrived scarcities, cartels, embargoes, or arbitrary seizures of property. At the same time, the developed countries have an obligation to do their utmost to spur development. Our efforts here must take into consideration the concerns and the contributions of all countries, developed and developing, producer and consumer, East and West, North and South.

—Development is a process of change and innovation. It must respond not only to rapidly changing technology but also to the evolution of political attitudes. The old relationships of donor and recipient are increasingly paternalistic and anachronistic to the recipient; they may also come to seem a one-sided burden to those who have long been donors. We must fashion a new sense of cooperation that is based on the self-respect and sovereign equality of all nations. Each nation must find its own path to development which allows it to retain its self-respect and identity, its culture, and its ideological preference. But development itself is not a function of ideology; it must unite practical solutions and a philosophy of international cooperation. It cannot grow from doctrines of confrontation and the exploitation of despair.

—Development is a human enterprise. It is the talents and efforts of individuals which make development a reality, and it is they who are its ultimate beneficiaries. Our first aim is the minimum essentials of life—food, clothing, shelter—and the relief of human suffering and monotony and debilitating illness and ignorance and demeaning servitude to others. Then development must look beyond survival to provide opportunities

for education, greater personal freedom, and individual dignity and self-respect. Finally, development must deal with the quality of life: the dignity of the individual, personal freedom, and equality of opportunity regardless of race, religion, sex, or political belief.

The magnitude of the task before us will require unprecedented international collaboration. No nation alone can surmount—and only together can all nations master—what is inescapably a global challenge of historic proportions.

But we are not confronted by overwhelming odds or by intractable obstacles. We have it in our power to achieve in our generation a rate of economic advance that has no parallel in human experience.

In each age, men and women have striven for greater prosperity and justice and dignity. Yet always in the past there have been setbacks; history has recorded a surfeit of misery and despair. Our age is the first where we can choose to be different. And therefore we must.

If we succeed, this decade could be remembered as a turning point in the economic and political evolution of man. The new institutions and mechanisms we create could be perceived as building blocks of international cooperation that strengthened the world's sense of community. The implications for world peace, as well as for economic cooperation, are vast.

The United States proceeds from the conviction that both morality and practical interest point in the same direction, toward a dedicated enterprise of cooperation. If we are met in a cooperative and realistic spirit, we are prepared to offer our national capacities in support of a historic extension of the global economy and global development.

So let us get down to business. Let us make this task a priority of all our foreign policies. Let us set our sights high, but let us not make our desire for the ideal block achievement of the attainable. Let us reach agreement on practical steps that improve the lot of our fellow man. We owe our people performance, not slogans; results, not rhetoric.

The United States extends its hand to those who will travel with us on this road to a more humane and bountiful future. We must travel it together, and we must take another step at this conference.

United States Policy on Southern Africa

Address by Secretary Kissinger [1]

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 nationbuilding, 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

[1] Made at Lusaka on Apr. 27 at a luncheon hosted by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia (text from press release 205).

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 and the American Government and people are prepared to work with you with energy and good will 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 Issues 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 colour, race, religion or sex. We believe that all men have the right and the duty to participate, as equal members of the 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 U.N. 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 U.S. Position on Rhodesia

The U.S. 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 U.N. Security Council resolutions of 1966 and 1968 that imposed mandatory economic sanctions against the illegal Rhodesian regime. Earlier this year we cosponsored a Security Council resolution, which was passed unanimously, expanding mandatory sanctions. And in March of this year we joined 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.

U.S. policy for a just and durable Rhodesian solution will therefore rest on 10 elements:

—First, the United States declares its support in the strongest terms for the proposals made by British Prime Minister Callaghan, then Foreign Secretary, 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 U.S. 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 U.N. sanctions. In parallel with this effort, we will approach other industrial nations to insure the strictest and broadest international compliance with sanctions.

—Fourth, to insure 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 U.S. 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 travelers 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 U.N. 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 U.N. 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.

—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 U.N. 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 openminded 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 U.N. 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 U.S. 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 U.N. 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 op-

portunity 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 [U.N. Conference on Trade and Development] 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 Zaïre. 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 tech-

nology 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 U.S. 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.

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 the proposals 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 defense 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 toward 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.

America and Africa

Address by Secretary Kissinger [1]

Midway through my African visit, I want to share with you some of what I have learned and the convictions we bring to the relationship between Africa and the United States.

President Ford has sent me to this continent to witness firsthand the aspirations of the peoples of Africa for national dignity, racial justice, and economic advance. I bring friendship and the strong conviction that the United States and Africa have much to do together in building peace and progress in the world.

I am greatly encouraged by my discussions with African leaders. I believe that my journey is laying the foundations of a new American policy toward this continent. We will not be deflected by attempts to interfere with what is being achieved. The promise of this effort is too important to the United States and to Africa.

The challenges ahead of us are arduous and long. They will require a mutual effort of understanding to overcome the legacies of the past. We are prepared to make this effort to bring into being together with you the dreams of our nations for a better and more secure life.

America's own moral values summon us to this policy. Two hundred years ago the United States won its independence. Having thrown off the burdens of colonialism, Americans determined never to fall under the yoke of despotism again. In that, we have succeeded. More recently we have resolved to build for peace, equality, and progress in the world.

It is fitting that I speak of these values and concerns here in this city named for President James Monroe, who consolidated America's independence, and here in Liberia, whose people proudly proclaim, "The love of liberty brought us here." Though we are separated by an ocean, the tides of history again draw us together. Americans and Liberians remain what our ancestors were—proud and free peoples.

For almost a century and a half, since Commodore Perry's ship brought the first pioneers of freedom to these shores, the American people have enjoyed a relationship with Liberians unique in our association with Africa. Those who left America to found Liberia did so to implement a principle vital to our nations today: the love of liberty.

[1] Made at Monrovia on Apr. 30 at a dinner hosted by President William R. Tolbert of Liberia (text from press release 211).

The United States for decades has been proud to cooperate in the national independence and economic development of Liberia. We are committed to continue to do so.

Thus our nations are bound by history, by shared values, and by a commitment to the principle that two nations can work together closely with mutual respect for the imperatives of sovereignty and national dignity.

These principles have impelled the United States to play a vigorous and possibly decisive role in promoting the process of decolonization. We have consistently defended the basic moral imperatives of racial justice and human rights. We launched the great international effort of development assistance for new nations; we took the lead in building the multilateral institutions of cooperation that hold so much promise for supporting African efforts. We have done so in many international forums and will continue this effort in the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in a few days' time.

Today, these same issues demand our attention. We have to deal both with immediate challenges and long-range needs. It is time for the nations of Africa and the United States to commit themselves to advancing our common goals: self-determination, racial justice, and economic progress. Apart or in contention, we will dissipate our efforts. Together, we can be true to our values and the aspirations of our peoples.

Africa's Greatness and America's Policy

The strengthening of relations between the United States and Africa will henceforth be a key element of our foreign policy. A stable, just, and prosperous international order can be constructed only through the cooperation of the world's most powerful nation and the nations of the great African Continent.

The visitor to Africa is awed by its immensity, by the sweep of its great plains, by the magnificence of its great rivers, and by the knowledge that here is where man had his origins. The colonial stereotype of black Africa as a place devoid of history is dispelled by an awareness that modern Africa is building on the rich traditions of ancient African states: of Ghana, Mali, Kanem-Bornu, Songhai, Benin, the Zimbabwe culture, Ethiopia, and others. Before and during the colonial era, most of the rest of the world was unaware of the true nature of Africa, which to outsiders remained a land of mystery well into the 20th century. But as was so dramatically made clear within 15 years of the Second World War, Africa's colonial period was only a brief episode in the onward movement of the peoples of this continent.

In 1880, the eminent Liberian educator Edward Blyden said:

> Africa is no vast island separated by an immense ocean from other portions of the globe, and cut off throughout the ages from the men who have made and influenced the destinies of mankind. She has been closely connected, both as source and nourisher, with some of the most potent influences which have affected for good the history of the world.

Blyden's perceptive observation applies today even more than it did a century ago. At no time in history have we been more aware of the interdependence of all nations. Africa and the United States are linked by real interests and common concerns.

Politically, we share a dedication to peace, national dignity, and racial justice.

America's historic identification with African aspirations is deeply rooted in the cultural heritage of 23 million black Americans—and in the moral sympathy of 200 million Americans. The assertion of black nationhood in Africa has coincided with a new affirmation of equality of opportunity and racial justice in the United States. These developments have reinforced each other and have added a profound moral strength to the bonds between us.

Economically, we each have a stake in the other's success and development, for our interdependence can be a vehicle for common progress. Our mutual trade is growing rapidly; your exports are reaching the American market at a rate approaching some $6 billion annually. Africa's importance to the United States as a producer of energy and commodities is obvious. And American in-

vestment in black Africa since its new era of independence has more than quadrupled, to over $1½ billion. We are both aware that the prosperity of our peoples cannot be sustained unless the global economy is equitable, efficient, and expanding.

Against this background of common interests, let me take up with you now some of the principles of U.S. policy toward Africa.

—First, the United States unambiguously supports Africa's struggle to perfect its independence. Africa did not fight its long battle for liberation from colonial rule only to surrender it again to external domination that may take decades more to overcome. The United States seeks no bloc to follow our lead, nor paramount influence in this continent. We believe that no other country should do so. Africans must determine their own destiny. The new Africa must be free of great-power rivalry.

African unity is therefore essential. Those who would divide Africa—either between governments or between factions—would diminish its promise, dissipate its energies in contention, and open the way for the return of external intervention. The end result is bound to be either domination by one outside power or division of the continent into competing blocs. It is deeply in our common interest that neither take place. The United States calls on all nations to affirm the principle of African unity. It will not impose great-power conflict upon Africa. It will oppose those who seek to do so.

—Second, the United States is prepared for friendly relations with all independent African nations. We, as any country, have our preferences among political, social and economic systems. But we are prepared for cooperative relations with any government of Africa which represents African principles and aspirations. Our concern arises only when an African movement is exploited by outside powers for their own ends.

In this context, let me mention Angola. The United States holds no enmity toward any African faction or government. Their ideology or social system is not of paramount concern to us; it is for each country to choose for itself. We did not oppose the coming to power of FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front], a Marxist movement, in Mozambique, because we considered it an essentially indigenous evolution. We recognized the Government of Mozambique immediately upon independence, and we bring no sense of acrimony to our bilateral dealings.

In the case of Angola, the United States accepted all three Angolan nationalist groups as legitimate African liberation movements. We regret that they were unable to resolve their differences peacefully and without outside military intervention. We could work with the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] in Angola in the same spirit as with FRELIMO in Mozambique. What concerns us is the presence in Angola of large foreign forces from outside the continent. This is bound to raise questions about that government's acceptance of nonalignment and the principle of African self-determination. What can be the purpose of 15,000 troops of an external expeditionary force now that all other foreign forces have withdrawn from Angola? How can a government be considered African if it has stationed on its soil a large force from Cuba?

The United States has no interest in seeing Angola remain a focus of contention. We have no quarrel with that country. We can deal with it in a cooperative spirit. We are willing in principle to open discussions with the Angolan authorities with a view toward normalizing our relations and seeking means of cooperating—including on economic development. We wish Angola well as a unified and independent state. But before we can go far down that road, we want to know Angola's intention with respect to the presence of foreign forces on its soil.

—Third, the United States pledges itself unambiguously on the side of majority rule, racial justice, and human dignity in southern Africa. A few days ago in Lusaka, on behalf of President Ford, I announced a new American commitment to these goals. As part of an international effort, I put forward a concrete 10-point program. In carrying out this program, we shall work closely with the

Presidents of Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia—and with the British Government. We have also called on the South African Government to demonstrate its commitment to African purposes by working with us in bringing majority rule to Rhodesia.

—Fourth, the United States will help African nations develop and strengthen their economies. Africa's development goals are widening opportunity, social progress, self-reliance. The American people have always viewed these goals with the greatest sympathy. We have demonstrated our support in bilateral programs and in our efforts to build a new era of global economic cooperation between the developed and developing nations.

The Economic Dimension

Let me discuss in further detail our approach to the crucial economic challenge, a challenge which will remain with us for the long term.

Africa has broken the shackles of the past and is determined to remain free. Africa is deeply engaged in the struggle to achieve racial justice. But the achievements of the past must be consolidated by the building of a prosperous tomorrow which raises the standard of living and the horizons of life for all the continent's peoples.

The task ahead is formidable—in some parts of Africa, staggering. But Africa brings to the task great resources, vast potential, and the prospect that in the future African energies will be freer to concentrate on positive goals.

Our policy toward African economic development is guided by these principles:

—First, Africa's development must rest on a foundation of economic security. No nation can plan its future effectively or mobilize its effort if its income is buffeted continually by external economic forces over which it has little or no influence. This is especially true in Africa, where the export earnings of many national economies depend upon global market conditions for a single commodity and where higher energy prices or inflation abroad can raise the price of imports to prohibitive levels.

—Second, Africa must have an equitable voice and role in international economic institutions and in the negotiations that shape the global economy. All nations must have a stake in the global economic system if they are to assume responsibility for its orderly evolution. The United States strongly believes that the world economy cannot be the exclusive preserve of the richer nations. An interdependent world demands a new era of economic cooperation.

—Third, the world community must devote special attention to the plight of the world's poorest nations—many of which are in Africa. In many countries the economic issue is simple human survival. And it is those very countries that have been most devastated by the massive and abrupt rise in oil prices. This has made it difficult, even impossible, to obtain modern fertilizers for expanding agricultural production and to afford sufficient fuel for mechanization. Special account must be taken of the needs of the poorest.

Last September, at the special session of the U.N. General Assembly on economic development, the United States presented a comprehensive series of proposals for the world community to respond to the needs of the developing countries on a cooperative basis. Many of these proposals have been implemented and others are moving ahead.

These measures will have a direct impact on Africa. Specifically:

—First, to insure economic security Africa can look forward to more stable export earnings as a result of our proposal to enlarge the compensatory financing facility of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to which developing countries will now have greater access. To stabilize market conditions for key raw materials, the United States has signed and submitted for congressional approval international commodity agreements on tin and coffee. We stand ready to discuss others. And we have proposed producer-consumer forums to discuss meas-

ures to improve conditions for all key commodities.

—Second, to enhance Africa's participation in the global economic system, we have reduced the barriers to African exports into the U.S. market by instituting a generalized system of tariff preferences for developing countries. We have tabled offers to reduce tariffs for tropical products which are of special interest to Africa, and we are prepared to pay special attention to the interests of developing countries in the multilateral trade negotiations now underway in Geneva. To foster industrialization, we intend to make an initial contribution of $15 million to the African Development Fund, and we will be working with others to set up an International Energy Institute to help developing nations devise effective energy programs of their own.

—Third, to promote economic justice, American development assistance programs emphasize the poorest countries and the rural poor. We plan to contribute $200 million to the International Fund for Agricultural Development. We will provide 60 percent of the 10-million-ton food-aid target established by the World Food Conference. In addition, the IMF has approved our proposal for a trust fund for balance-of-payments assistance for poor countries.

The record is promising. But the needs of the developing world are enormous, and much work remains before us:

—We need to address the problem of the crushing international debt burden which many African countries suffer as a result of high oil prices and drastic swings in global commodity markets.

—We need satisfactory arrangements to foster the investment necessary for Africa's growth, arrangements that both respect national sovereignty and assure predictability and fair treatment for foreign investors.

—We must stimulate the flow of modern technology to Africa, to promote growth and diversify national economies.

—We need to mitigate the destructive effects of fluctuating prices for the key raw materials on which so many African economies rely.

—We must enhance the world community's capacity to respond effectively to natural disasters like the Sahel drought, which can wreak vast tragedy on millions of people.

—And we need to continue effective followup to the World Food Conference, especially to realize Africa's great potential for expanded food production.

In a few days, at the UNCTAD Conference in Nairobi, I will present a package of American proposals which will address many of these issues. We are dedicated to continuing the cooperative spirit which was forged at the seventh special session. We expect others to meet us in this same spirit—without confrontation or unrealistic demands. In this way the momentum that has been achieved in recent months can be maintained and accelerated.

I have set forth, on the soil of Africa, concrete policies of the United States on the range of aspirations that Africa and we share—political, moral, and economic. I shall advance others before I return to America.

Our cooperation is offered freely in our common interest. On my trip, I have heard the voices of Africa forcefully and eloquently expressed. The United States respects those voices and will respond in the spirit of the responsible and positive relationship that we seek.

Africa's primary concern is for national dignity and development. The United States shares these goals but, beyond them, has an overriding concern for a just peace and economic progress in the world. If we are to work together, we must understand that our aims are congruent and encourage each other through mutual respect and understanding. The American people will respond to the aspirations of friends, but they will resist pressure or continual rhetorical attacks.

If African nations describe America as inherently hostile, if the dignity and respect which should mark the dealings between mature peoples is lacking, if nonalignment comes to be defined as automatically opposing all

U.S. policies, there cannot be the necessary strong public support in America for a new and mutually beneficial era of relations.

This does not mean that the United States and Africa will always agree. There will always be differences, even among the best of friends. But when we disagree, let us do so without rancor and with an understanding of the importance of maintaining our friendship. Let us always consult early on issues which could divide us, to insure our mutual understanding and to reflect our mutual respect. Let us make our common aims the basis for practical achievement.

My country's responsibility to maintain the global balance of stability is consistent with and reinforces the achievement of African independence and African unity; external intervention, which is our concern, can only diminish African self-determination and undermine the integrity of the continent.

Similarly, Africa's drive for development accords with our own interest in a new era of global economic cooperation; we seek in our own interest to promote the interests of all nations—producers and consumers, developed and developing, large and small.

And so, I will return to America to convey my fresh and deep impressions of this continent's needs and this continent's potential, and with a heightened sense of the importance of strengthened ties between the United States and Africa. With respect for each other's ideals and motives, with determination to meet the challenges of our time, we can make African-American cooperation a model for cooperation and progress in the world.

In the decades to come, a great drama will play itself out on the African Continent: The new Africa will take its destiny firmly into its own hands and will make its fundamental contribution to the world community.

The United States is ready to join with you as this historic process unfolds. The stakes are high, the task is immense, but success will come if we seek it together in the service of humanity.

As we contemplate our future endeavors, we can look to our relations with Liberia as an outstanding example of cooperation. My country is especially pleased to be associated with President Tolbert—a statesman and the driving force behind the modernization and integration of Liberian society.

Today it has been my privilege to convey to President Tolbert President Ford's personal invitation to make a state visit during this Bicentennial year. His visit will further underline the importance of our relations, which have special historic meaning for Americans.

But the truest meaning of our Bicentennial is to celebrate not merely our past, but our future. The highest aim of foreign policy must be to shape the course of history according to our hopes and moral ends. The relationship between the United States and Africa can now enter one of its most fruitful and successful periods. It is up to us, the peoples of Africa and America. There is so much to be achieved.

In this spirit of hope, I raise my glass, ladies and gentlemen, and offer a toast: To the health of President Tolbert, to the historic friendship between the United States and Liberia, and to the triumphs that lie ahead of us in the great collaboration between Africa and the United States.

United States Proposal for Sahel Development

Remarks by Secretary Kissinger[1]

I want to tell you, Mr. Foreign Minister, how pleased I am to be in Senegal. I have come here with the purpose of strengthening the friendly ties that have existed for so long between our two nations. And I am here to continue the discussions on issues of mutual concern which took place last year between President Senghor and President Ford when you, Mr. Minister, and President Senghor visited the United States.

I am delighted to be in this vibrant, exciting city. The cultures, the religions, the races, that meet here in Dakar are a living demonstration that distinctive cultural identities can thrive even as they contribute to the best aspirations of our common humanity in an era of interdependence.

They are aspirations which our two countries share—our hopes for peace, for justice, and for the well-being of our peoples. Today I want to touch on each of these three objectives, particularly the question of economic well-being, which is of such particular importance to the nations of the Sahel.

Since our two Presidents talked in Washington, Mr. Minister, we have seen significant changes in Africa—events that compel our concern, as well as developments that give us greater cause for hope:

—Additional African countries have won their independence, but in Angola there has come a new extracontinental intervention, a profoundly disturbing and unacceptable development.

—At the same time, the cause of self-determination and majority rule in southern Africa has aroused wide concern in Africa and around the world, bringing new claims for human dignity and racial justice.

—The prosperity of Africa has felt anew the impact of troubling forces. The wrath of nature and the instabilities of the global economy have brought suffering and a sense of insecurity to parts of Africa and to many other areas of the developing world. But these developments have led to a new recognition by the world community of a need for responsible and common action. They have brought a vigorous response from my country and others who seek to seize the opportunities before us to help construct a new era of international economic cooperation.

In the course of my trip to this continent, I have sought to convey and to develop the U.S. position on these three aspects of our mutual concern.

Peace is our common goal. But true peace must serve positive purposes. It must, to be meaningful, permit nations to determine their own destiny free from outside pressure or threat; it must enhance the unity of peoples, not fragment them. This is why the massive expeditionary forces which have intervened in Angola to impose a solution there have aroused widespread concern.

The United States has always—since the colonial era—opposed outside intervention in Africa. We lent firm support to the process of decolonization and, ever since, have resolutely opposed the return of great-power rivalry to Africa. As Adlai Stevenson said to the U.N. Security Council in [February] 1961: ". . . Africa for the Africans *means*

[1] Made at Dakar on May 1 at a luncheon hosted by Assane Seck, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Senegal (text from press release 215).

Africa for the Africans and not Africa as a hunting ground for alien ambitions."

If extracontinental powers are free to pick and choose between African factions, if they can proceed to create blocs of client nations, the result can only be detrimental to the freedom of African states and to Africa's continental solidarity.

The United States is prepared to deal with any African faction or government. We do not look to their ideology, but to whether they are the result of African decisions and represent African aspirations. We have most recently demonstrated this policy in our dealings with the Government of Mozambique. We take a similar stand toward Angola. We are ready to open discussions with the Angolan authorities regarding normalizing relations, including eventual economic cooperation. But our commitment to African self-determination and unity compels us first to determine the intentions of the Angolan authorities toward the massive presence of non-African troops on their soil long after all other non-Angolan forces have been withdrawn. How can a government be considered African that requires 15,000 Cuban troops?

The cause of justice in Africa is a compelling concern of all who care for human dignity. I have, in the course of my trip, given America's firm commitment to the cause of majority rule and racial justice in southern Africa. On behalf of President Ford, I put forward in Lusaka a concrete 10-point program on the urgent question of Rhodesia. In carrying out this program we will work closely with the Presidents of Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia and with all other African governments.

There is no need for us to continue the debate between those committed to a peaceful solution and those who see no alternative to armed struggle. For one fact is clear: change will come, and it can only be permanently achieved by negotiated settlement. The United States urges all the parties involved urgently to bend their efforts to negotiations. In our view this is the only way to avoid a needless and tragic bloodbath, the only way to create a harmonious future free from bitterness and reprisal.

Let me turn to discuss in greater detail the third major aspiration which our two countries share: the urgent question of economic well-being.

The United States has taken a leading role in developing the initiatives needed if nations are to build together a new international structure of economic cooperation. Last September at the seventh special session of the U.N. General Assembly, I set forth a comprehensive set of proposals aimed at achieving progress on the central issues of trade, commodities, energy, finance, and the problems of the poorest nations. I will continue this effort next week in Nairobi, at the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development. All these are urgent issues which the nations of North and South must cooperatively address if economic development is to come swiftly and under conditions fair to all.

One of the primary topics I shall address at Nairobi will be commodities and the burden which excessive swings in the world market impose upon nations which, like Senegal, rely heavily upon a single commodity for the prosperity of their economies.

But long-term development must be based upon sustained effort. No plans for the future can be secure if they are carried out under the constant threat of economic crisis or natural disaster. Senegal, a nation of the Sahel, knows this as well as any nation. The tragic cycle of recurrent drought and famine which afflicts this area has dramatized to the world that all our efforts at economic progress depend upon our success in mastering the forces of nature and harnessing them to the service of mankind.

Senegal, along with other countries of the Sahel, has been deeply affected by the deteriorating ecological condition of this region. The recurrent drought of the past few years has made clear that the desert is encroaching on a large scale and that food production capacity in western Africa is seriously threatened.

If present trends continue, in 10 years the Sahel will need to import 1 million tons of

grain in a normal year, an amount equal to the largest imports at the height of the drought. In response to this crisis the United States has, since the late 1960's, more than quadrupled our aid to the Sahel nations. And we are gratified that we have been able to provide emergency food assistance which has done so much to save human life.

But traditional aid levels and methods will not be enough. Nor can any one country or any single donor provide the resources necessary to meet the critical long-term needs of the Sahel. What is now needed is a comprehensive international program that, rather than ease the effects of the drought, will help roll back the desert—instead of relief measures, will develop additional water resources, increase crop acreage, and build food storage facilities in order to insure that hard-won progress in economic development will not continue to be wiped out by recurrent natural disaster.

To meet this challenge, the community of concerned nations should organize an international consortium to undertake a systematic and comprehensive attack on the Sahel's development problems to eliminate the problem of the drought rather than ease it. In the long term this could cost far less than endless relief efforts. This will require mobilizing foreign and local investment on a major scale over the next decade, especially through multilateral institutions.

To this end, the United States is prepared to begin discussions with concerned nations aimed at the creation of an international development investment program to be integrated and dedicated to the goal of eventual self-sufficiency for the Sahel. This will mean:

—Initiating the development of major river basins—the Senegal, Gambia, Niger, and Volta, as well as the Lake Chad Basin—to reduce dependence on annual rainfall and promote food production;

—Developing broader and more comprehensive programs for utilization and conservation of ground water;

—Undertaking a major broad-scale effort to improve the use of dryland areas for crops and livestock, particularly until comprehensive water resources development can have an effect;

—Developing distribution systems commensurate with improvements in agriculture;

—Undertaking major reforestation programs;

—Developing basic transportation and communications networks; and

—Mounting a concerted, massive attack on the problems of disease and inadequately trained local manpower.

Such a program would deal with the challenge of development in a methodical and comprehensive strategy. Each element would be planned to contribute to the primary goal: self-sufficiency and self-sustaining growth for the Sahel. Thus, its organization must:

—Provide mechanisms for donors and Africans to set agreed program priorities and select the appropriate technologies they will require;

—Allow African states to participate either on a national basis or through strengthened regional institutions;

—Provide the means to concert the efforts of donors, even though many of their contributions may in fact be made bilaterally; and

—Utilize the planning, organizing, and coordinative capacity of existing multilateral organizations.

The magnitude of this task makes international cooperation indispensable. Fortunately, a forum already exists in which a comprehensive international strategy can now be elaborated. African nations have welcomed the formation of a new international coordinative mechanism, the *Club des Amis du Sahel*. The United States has been encouraged by the success of the first meeting of the Club here in Dakar in March. Much of the credit is due to President Senghor for his leadership and personal attention to the organization and conduct of that meeting. Thus the stage has been set.

To advance this effort, the United States is prepared to participate in an examination of a major regional development program under the auspices of the Club. The potential

of the Sahel and the responsibility which the international community bears for bringing a new, brighter future to this region compel our attention. All nations and international institutions capable of doing so, the industrial nations, the oil-rich nations, including some African states, should participate with multilateral international institutions.

Mr. Minister, there is much work to be done to construct the kind of peaceful and cooperative world for which we all yearn. Senegal and the United States have important work to do together and in concert with other responsible nations of the world.

Senegal has exercised an influential role both on the African Continent and in the developing world. You are an example of how a small nation, with creative and farseeing leadership, can play a part on the world stage far exceeding its size or power. The United States respects and accepts Senegal's nonalignment; we value Senegal's responsible voice for fair and pragmatic solutions to global problems; we hold a great admiration for Senegal's dedication to reconciliation between black and white, between North and South—and its willingness to explore the creative potential of a world of diversity and interdependence.

The exemplar of this is of course your President Senghor—one of the legitimately great men of our time. He has given us all a priceless awareness of the meaning and the possibilities of the modern predicament. As a renowned statesman and poet he has probed the far reaches of the human condition and the heights of lyrical expression. He has given us hope that the trauma of modernization need not—indeed, must not—let the roots of our traditional culture atrophy. He has shown us that the multitude of the world's distinctive cultures can and must provide the interlocking structure of that wider global community of man which is the ultimate goal of us all.

I ask you to join me in a toast to President Léopold Senghor, to the success of your nation, and to cooperation and friendship between Senegal and the United States.

Secretary Kissinger Visits Six African Nations

Secretary Kissinger visited the United Kingdom, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Zaïre, Liberia, Senegal, and France April 23–May 7. Following are Secretary Kissinger's remarks, news conferences with foreign leaders, and toasts, together with the text of a U.S.-Zaïre joint communique.

DEPARTURE, ANDREWS AFB, APRIL 23

Press release 193 dated April 23

The President has asked me to visit Africa to express the commitment of the United States to the interest in majority rule of the black African countries and to indicate our support for the aspiration for economic progress by attending the meeting in Nairobi of the developing nations and the developed nations at the U.N. conference that will take place there.

There are millions of Americans who have close cultural ties to Africa, and all Americans have ties of values and aspirations. I expect to express this when I visit Africa.

I look forward to meeting leaders whom I have not had the privilege of meeting before. And I hope to learn, to listen, and to perhaps make a contribution.

I would also like to thank the Ambassadors from the African countries who have been courteous enough to come out here to see me off.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in your meetings with African leaders, are you prepared to spell out point by point how the United States will match Soviet efforts in the African Continent?

Secretary Kissinger: We are not in Africa to match Soviet efforts. We are in Africa for our own purposes. I will indicate what our purposes are and what specific steps we are prepared to take.

NEWS CONFERENCE BY SECRETARY KISSINGER AND BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY CROSLAND [1]

Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland: I would like to start simply by welcoming Dr. Kissinger to Lincolnshire, to thank him for his kindness and courtesy—I have done this privately; I would like to do it publicly now—in agreeing to come to Lincolnshire so that I was able to keep a number of rather crucial constituency engagements.

We have had extremely friendly, fruitful, and productive discussions, concentrating largely, of course, on his visit to Africa which starts in about five minutes' time.

Would you like to say something?

Secretary Kissinger: I would like to thank the Foreign Secretary for the very warm and friendly reception I have had here. The close and confidential relationship between the Secretary of State and the British Foreign Secretary is one of the important factors of international life, and Mr. Crosland and I expect to continue this tradition.

We had a very extensive talk about Africa, particularly the problem of majority rule in southern Africa. Our views and those of the United Kingdom—as far as I can determine—are identical. We strongly support the proposals made by the British Prime Minister in Parliament. I benefited very greatly from the advice of Mr. Crosland and his colleagues, and we expect to remain in close touch about this problem, and about the most effective means of achieving rapid majority rule—especially in Rhodesia.

We also reviewed a number of other subjects briefly. And of course since this is only the first of what will be many meetings, there will be many other subjects to talk about when we next meet—I suppose at the NATO meeting in Oslo.

Q. Mr. Foreign Secretary, how can the United States, specifically Dr. Kissinger, play a useful role in working toward majority rule on this trip?

Foreign Secretary Crosland: Well, Dr. Kissinger really made an important contribution, if I may say so, by saying publicly, firmly, and loudly how strongly he agreed with the statement that our then Foreign Secretary Callaghan made in Parliament on March 22. That, if you remember, was a very, very explicit statement of government policy in Rhodesia, and Dr. Kissinger took the immediate opportunity of giving his full backing of support to that statement. And indeed, he has confirmed this very strongly in private conversations this morning and evidently proposes to do so when he reaches Africa.

Q. Beyond that, what else?

Foreign Secretary Crosland: For the moment, the U.K. Government does not propose to take any further new initiative. Our position remains as stated by Mr. Callaghan that until there is some sign that the white Rhodesians are willing to accept the principle of an early move to majority rule—until that principle has been accepted by the white Rhodesians—the British Government does not intend to take another initiative.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what is your present view of the danger of rapid deterioration of the situation in Rhodesia?

Secretary Kissinger: We believe that time is running out, that the opportunity for a negotiated settlement that may still exist must be seized almost immediately; and as far as the United States is concerned, we will give our full support to immediate resumption of negotiations designed to bring about majority rule in Rhodesia in the near future.

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[1] Held at Waddington RAF Base, England, on Apr. 24 (text from press release 196).

Q. [*Garbled.*]

Secretary Kissinger: I have no personal experience in Africa or with African leaders. It is my strong hope that it can be done peacefully, and we believe that this is in the interest not only of the black majority but of the white settlers in Rhodesia. I do not know whether it is possible. We will certainly do our best to make it possible.

Q. But time is running out.

Secretary Kissinger: That is correct.

Q. Mr. Secretary, at the moment, there are various black nationalist groups in Rhodesia vying for power. Does the United States have a position on which of those nationalist groups it prefers to form a majority government?

Secretary Kissinger: The United States does not support any particular group in Rhodesia. And the general U.S. position with respect to African liberation movements is that as long as a solution is sought by African methods and within an African context we will not take sides to express our preferences. It is our general view that the greater unity that can be achieved, either between African states and/or African movements, the better it will be for the Africans. We have no interest in lining up some countries with us and other countries with some other powers or lining up some liberation movement with us and other liberation movements with some other powers. We believe that they should cooperate and that in that way they can guarantee the solution will be an African solution.

Q. Mr. Foreign Secretary, why do you think that negotiations can succeed now when they have failed in the past?

Foreign Secretary Crosland: What has changed, I think, is an increasing realization on the part of the white Rhodesians that the present system of minority rule cannot indefinitely survive. This change of sentiment has not yet got to the point where Mr. Smith's government is willing to start serious negotiations on the subject of majority rule. But, nevertheless, until the possibility of further change in thinking on the part of the white Rhodesians, which we must all hope and pray, will make a negotiated settlement possible.

Q. Mr. Foreign Secretary, can you give us some idea of what period of time you are thinking about when you say that time is running out?

Foreign Secretary Crosland: No, I would not like to put a period of time on it.

Q. Roughly, is it weeks? Months?

Foreign Secretary Crosland: I think it is impossible to put a time on it. What is absolutely clear is that if there is not agreement—a negotiated settlement—then the white Rhodesian government cannot indefinitely procrastinate.

Q. Mr. Crosland, do you see any evidence that the Western powers can be any more effective in bringing their influence to bear on the situation collectively than they have in the past?

Foreign Secretary Crosland: I think there is a possibility, there is a possible hope in the present situation. I think that it is far from a certainty—that for the reason I gave just now that things are moving in southern Africa. I think that there is a possibility, not just that Western influence will work on the Rhodesians, no, but that the changing situation will have the effect of forcing the regime to make a proper settlement on the lines that Mr. Callaghan has laid down. But it is not a certainty; it is only a hope, and the longer it goes on the more the hope diminishes.

ARRIVAL, NAIROBI, KENYA, APRIL 24

Press release 197 dated April 24

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Foreign Minister, the Finance Minister, the Attorney General, Mr. Ambassador: I would first of all like to thank the distinguished members of the Government of Kenya for having come to the

airport to greet me. It is a moving occasion for me to visit the first African independent country in my experience. I was here 15 years ago, before independence.

I have come to Africa in order to help President Ford devise a new approach to the problems of Africa and to the relations between the United States and this great continent. I have come here to make clear that the United States associates itself with the two great aspirations of the independent nations of Africa: the aspiration to human dignity and racial equality and the aspiration to economic progress.

I think it is fitting that this visit should start in Kenya. I have had a special feeling for this country since my first visit as a tourist 15 years ago, and I therefore will have an opportunity to see firsthand what I have heard in the meantime of the enormous progress that has been made in this country since independence. And I look forward to meeting the great leader President Kenyatta, who led the struggle for independence and inspired people far beyond the borders of his own country.

After my trip around Africa, I will return to Nairobi for the meeting of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, in order to put before that Conference the American conception of how the nations of the world, rich and poor, developed and developing, North and South, can cooperate for the common benefit. The problem of development has no greater urgency than on this continent that has only recently achieved its independence and is still suffering from the vestiges of colonial rule. And it is appropriate that this conference take place in a Republic whose motto is *Harambee*—to work together for the good of all.

American cooperation with Africa will be the determination of our government, recognizing that the future of Africa must be shaped by Africans. I am not here to line up one group of African nations, or one-half group of African movements, against another. We believe that the problems of Africa and the aspirations of Africa can best be achieved through the unity of African nations and African movements. And so I hope that when I return to Nairobi in about two weeks' time that we can feel that an important step has been taken in identifying the aspirations of the United States with the aspirations of Africa.

And in the meantime I look forward to an exchange of views and to learning a great deal from the distinguished leaders of this great country.

DEPARTURE, NAIROBI, APRIL 25

Press release 200 dated April 25

Mr. Foreign Minister, Mr. Finance Minister, Mr. Attorney General: First of all, on behalf of all my colleagues, I would like to thank the President and all of his colleagues for the extraordinarily cordial reception we have had here.

We had extensive talks this morning and at lunch with the President that were conducted in a most friendly atmosphere. We dealt with the bilateral relations between Kenya and the United States, which we consider good, and discussed means by which the United States could contribute to the progress of Kenya and to peace in the area.

Needless to say, in dealing with one of the great leaders of Africa, we also discussed general problems of Africa's future, and the discussions have been of very great benefit to me and will contribute to the new Africa policy that President Ford intends to formulate upon my return.

So we could not have had a more auspicious start to our trip in this continent. We established not only political but personal ties. It is of course somewhat unsettling for me to deal with a President who speaks English with less of an accent than I do. [Laughter.]

I will be glad to take a few questions.

Q. Did you discuss, Mr. Secretary, specifically the idea of military assistance to Kenya?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, the United States is giving some military assistance, and we discussed that program and some adaptations of it.

Q. Did you discuss concern about a balance of power between Kenya and her neighboring countries?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, we discussed in general terms the political situation and the military situation in this general area, and this issue arose.

Q. Mr. Secretary, are you aware that Uganda Radio at 1 o'clock was criticizing you for coming here to confuse Africa and saying that you were discussing with Kenya the prospect of balance of arms against neighboring countries, specifically Uganda and Somalia?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, it's of course extremely difficult for me to imagine that any country would criticize me.

But on the theory that I haven't heard this report myself, I have not come here to discuss the military balance as such—I have come here to discuss the concerns that were raised by the Government of Kenya. We have no interest in setting one African country against the other. We agree very much that what President Kenyatta said this morning that he wants peace and progress in the area, and we want the states of Africa to work together in unity. We have absolutely no interest in setting one African state against another.

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you clarify the U.S. position on military aid, either direct or indirect, to the nationalist movements in Africa?

Secretary Kissinger: The United States does not plan to give military aid in any form to the nationalist movements in Africa. The United States will state and has stated its support for majority rule, and it will use its political and economic influence to bring about these objectives.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what's your attitude toward liberation movements?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, I will be meeting with some of the representatives of the liberation movements. And we believe that they must be consulted in certain countries, such as Namibia, and must participate in negotiations in other countries, such as Rhodesia; and we believe they have a legitimate and crucial role to play.

Q. Mr. Secretary, would you possibly offer other kinds of economic aid besides military aid to liberation movements in southern Africa?

Secretary Kissinger: We will deal with the governments in the area, as I have understood the objective of the countries in Africa is that they would like to handle the problem of the evolution of southern Africa as an African problem. We believe that it should be dealt with by African nations together with whatever movements they wish to support. We do not believe it is helpful for outside powers to inject themselves, because it can only lead to the division of Africa. But we are prepared to discuss economic programs with various countries in Africa, and we will make concrete proposals both on our trip and when I return to Nairobi for the UNCTAD Conference.

TOAST BY SECRETARY KISSINGER, DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA, APRIL 25 [2]

Mr. Foreign Minister, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: I have always known that it is dangerous to have professors in high office, particularly when one is forced to reply to them in a toast.

I would like, first of all, on behalf of all of my colleagues, to express our profound appreciation at the warmth with which we have been received here and for the revolutionary cordiality with which we have been greeted. I believe that the talks we have already had have led to a greater understanding and to the possibility for increasingly fruitful cooperative action. In China once I learned a Chinese proverb which no Chinese present understood—they thought I was talking German—and I now would like to say

[2] Given at a dinner hosted by Ibrahim Mohamed Kaduma, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Tanzania (text from press release 202).

two words in Swahili on behalf of all of my colleagues: *asante sana* [thank you very much.]

As I said, Mr. Foreign Minister, I am honored by this occasion and gratified by your kindness. The strengthening of relations between Africa and the United States and between your country and ours is and, as President Ford has made clear, will henceforth be one of the key elements of our foreign policy. We believe that the major issues facing Africa today—the political issues of self-determination, majority rule, racial justice, and African unity and the economic issues of development in a fair and mutually beneficial global economy—are objectives on which international stability will depend and on which cooperation between African nations and the United States is essential.

We agree, Mr. Foreign Minister, with the principle of self-reliance, and we know that the problems of Africa must ultimately be solved by Africans. But we believe as well that practical cooperation between Africa and the United States can be helpful and even decisive if we are to realize successfully those aspirations which we hold in common.

This year the United States celebrates the 200th anniversary of the Revolution which brought us from colonialism to independence. Today the United States is often thought of in terms of material success and not sufficiently in terms of revolutionary ideals we announced to the world 200 years ago. These ideals are, it seems to me, more important today than ever.

The first is the ideal of freedom. We think of ourselves as a free people. Having thrown off the burdens of colonialism in the 18th century, we did our best to insure that we did not fall under the control of any oppressor thereafter. We have been successful. Americans remain today what their ancestors were: a people upholding their liberty and the liberty of their friends and confident that our children will defend the legacy of freedom and pass it on to future generations. Of course America is critical of itself, but our open criticism reflects our attachment to the ideal of freedom and an idealism which is never satisfied with anything less than perfection.

The second ideal is equality. When foreign visitors came to the United States in its early years, they were struck by the refusal of the American people to accept the rigid class lines then common in Europe—the average American's healthy conviction that he was the equal of anyone. But visitors to the early United States noted as well that equality did not extend to black Americans or to native Americans. It took a civil war for America to determine that it could not exist half slave and half free. In this century, Americans have continued to wrestle with the conflict between the ideal of equality and the reality of occasional inequality.

I believe that great gains toward fulfillment of the ideal have been made in recent years. Much more remains to be done, today and tomorrow; but few, if any, nations have done more to create a model of a harmonious multiracial society. We will continue to work for the full realization of this vision.

And a third ideal is the ideal of progress. The generation of Americans who made our Revolution expressed it as "the pursuit of Happiness." We have never been satisfied with things as they are. To Americans the future has always meant movement toward a better life through prosperity and justice, widely shared by all the people. In this century, we have sought a society which would both grow in wealth and yet offer its bounty and its opportunity to all. In this, too, our ideal, like all ideals, has not yet been fully attained. But we believe that we have given our people the widening prospect of a more hopeful future on a scale never achieved previously.

It is because America accepts these ideals that we identify ourselves with those who work for similar ideals in Africa. We and Tanzania have our differences. We do not agree on the social structure to achieve these objectives. But, as free peoples, we can tolerate disagreements in the service of larger goals.

There are many objectives that we have in common. We welcome the efforts Tanzania

has made as mediator and conciliator on the problems of southern Africa and as a strong advocate of the principles of racial equality and of majority rule. We wish every success to your great President and to the three other Presidents who met recently at Lusaka to seek urgent progress on this issue which has aroused the concern of Africa and the world. We stand with you in your work to extend the frontiers of freedom and equality throughout Africa. I have already learned much from my talk with your President and Foreign Minister.

The United States will lend its support to majority rule in southern Africa and for economic progress for all of Africa. Tanzania is working for economic progress as well. By the example of its people, by its self-reliance and the wide respect in which President Nyerere is held, Tanzania is playing a significant part in international deliberations on the great new questions of progress in an interdependent world.

Over the years, the United States has participated in Tanzania's program of national development. It is our intention to continue to do so. And on the global scale, the United States is committed to building a new era of international economic cooperation between the developed and developing nations with programs that will be of particular benefit to the developing nations of Africa.

Indeed, America has already begun this vital task, but this commitment to cooperation should not be carried out in an atmosphere of confrontation. We are ready to go forward energetically, with dedication and in a spirit of good will; but it is essential for our mutual respect and our mutual dignity that we deal with each other not by threats or pressure but by reason and good will. Our shared hopes can best be fulfilled in an atmosphere of cooperation, and in our view, the prospects of cooperation in the world can best be achieved by the unity of African countries and by the unity of African movements.

We have no interest in the continent of Africa to divide peoples or movements. We do not want blocs or factions. We stand for unity, which we believe is fundamental to Africa's hopes for a free and progressive future. There will occur differences between us. We expect this, for we know that even the closest friends have issues on which they differ, just as we do not expect total agreement, nor do we expect that there will be constant disagreement. We are confident that on the fundamental issues before our two nations we will find a means of dialogue and a means of joint action. We have much in common; when we differ we shall do so as friends, without rancor.

So let us put aside slogans and get to work on the common problems which we face. Let us seek to resolve our differences wherever we can. Let us strengthen our relationship in the cause of a better world for all, and let us work together for human dignity, racial equality, and economic progress for all mankind and for all the people of Africa.

Mr. Minister, ladies and gentlemen: I ask you to join me in a toast to President Nyerere, to my colleague the Foreign Minister, to the United Republic of Tanzania, and to the friendship and understanding between our two peoples.

DEPARTURE, DAR ES SALAAM, APRIL 26

Press release 203 dated April 26

Ladies and gentlemen: Above all, I would like to thank President Nyerere, Foreign Minister Kaduma, and all of their colleagues for the very warm hospitality that they have extended to me. I have considered this visit to Tanzania one of the key stops on my journey through Africa.

The Government of Tanzania is pursuing in its internal organization different principles from those that govern the United States. Nevertheless, it is important for people that follow different approaches in their internal organization to be able to carry out parallel objectives in the international sphere. And since the United States is committed to a world in which each nation must be able to develop according to its own values, we attached very great importance to this stop.

We thought this stop was all the more important because of the enormous esteem that is enjoyed by President Nyerere, not only in Africa but throughout the world.

Needless to say, the subject that most concerned us was how to move southern Africa toward majority rule and, secondly, issues of economic progress for all Africa.

I have assured President Nyerere of the U.S. commitment to pursue an active policy in southern Africa in support of the principles of majority rule, and I expect tomorrow in Lusaka to make a formal statement of the U.S. position, which will have benefited very greatly from the talks I have had here with President Nyerere.

The future of Africa must of course be shaped by Africans. There is no outside power that can prescribe its course. The United States hopes that the future of Africa will be achieved through the unity of African nations and the unity of African movements. The United States will not make any effort to create blocs of nations or preferential movements of its own.

I would like to thank you all again for the warm hospitality that we have enjoyed here. It meant a lot to us to be able to participate in one of your national holidays.

It is my strong hope and conviction that we have made a new beginning in the relations between Tanzania and the United States which will contribute importantly to a new relationship between Africa and the United States. It is now our task to keep this spirit of frankness and respect and friendship alive.

I'll be glad to answer a few questions. Let the local people ask first.

Q. Mr. Secretary of State, to the problems of southern Africa you have advocated a rapid and peaceful settlement. In the face of what's going on now in southern Africa and particularly in the face of the continuing intransigence of the white minority regimes in south Africa, how exactly do you propose to go about it?

Secretary Kissinger: We will state in our program what the United States can do, and proposes should be done, tomorrow. I have had an opportunity to discuss it in some detail with your President. We hope that this program, together with other pressures that may come into play, will move the situation toward majority rule in a rapid period of time.

Q. The United States, Mr. Secretary of State, as one of the world's most highly developed nations, has well-established explicit foreign policy goals and guidelines for most parts of the world. Why is it that the United States has failed to develop as serious a stance toward Africa and, as a result, seems to support the policies of all of the colonial powers, such as Portugal and Britain?

Secretary Kissinger: The United States in the last decade has had a huge agenda of problems before it. It has had to deal with the problems of Southeast Asia, with the problems of recasting its relationships to Western Europe and Japan, the problem of opening to the People's Republic of China, and starting an improved relationship with the Soviet Union. And it has, in the last three years, begun a new foreign economic policy toward the developing nations.

It has not been possible—rightly or wrongly—to move in all areas simultaneously. It is quite true that we have not given the same priority to Africa that we have to the other issues that I have mentioned to you.

Whatever the past, however, my trip here symbolizes that the United States will pursue an active policy in Africa. President Ford has sent me here in order to be able to report to him so that a new and more active approach to Africa can be formulated. So by the time I come back, I don't think you will be able to ask the same question.

Q. A follow-up—the United States own policy on southern Africa is both interesting and confounding. Mr. Secretary, at one point the U.S. Government agrees that freedom and justice is inalienable for the oppressed black majority; at the same time their anti-Communist stance is so great that any Communist support is suspectible (sic) to U.S. alternatives [indistinct]. This, of course, is a contradiction. Now where would the

United States stand in the case of an application by either side, the south African liberation movements or the minority racist regimes, for U.S. arms and personnel?

Secretary Kissinger: There are many African countries, including this, that have friendly relations with Communist governments without opposition from the United States. Where the United States has drawn a distinction is between situations where established governments, or even movements, were accepting some normal support from Communist governments or where Communist governments attempted to take over the whole process and introduce large numbers of troops. I know that there are some who do not agree with this assessment, but I have given you our interpretation of events.

We believe, as I understand your President believes, that the problems of southern Africa can be dealt with by Africans and by African countries and by African movements. This we have no difficulty supporting, even if these African countries also accept support from other countries with which we may not fully agree.

Q. The United States achieved its independence by armed struggle about 200 years ago. Now can you tell us why do you oppose the usage of arms in liberating Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa?

Secretary Kissinger: I have stated no view about the appropriate methods. We prefer that the solution be found through negotiations. If war has started, as we have been told, then it is clear that at some point it will have to be ended by negotiations. We support majority rule. We will indicate specific methods by which that can be achieved, in our judgment, in which we can participate.

Q. [*Indistinct*] *advocate always the U.S. policy of championing freedom of mankind. But in some cases, you have been reported to have issued what I would like to call threats to some countries in their own use of their rightful self-determination in international forums; say the countries for example who voted in the United Nations for Costa Rica's independence—Puerto Rico—and your Department issued a statement condemning those countries which said that this was interfering with U.S. internal affairs. And how do you see this question of the people's independence being sort of an interference in your internal affairs?*

Secretary Kissinger: Our view with respect to discussing Puerto Rico in the United Nations would be very similar to Tanzania's view to discussing Zanzibar in the United Nations. It is our view that the people of Puerto Rico have expressed in a number of referendums overwhelmingly their desire to have their present political affiliation with the United States; and therefore we are, to be sure, taking a very strong view on the issues connected with Puerto Rico.

On the other hand, we recognize that countries have different national interests. We do not expect that a country like Tanzania, or any other country, automatically supports us in the United Nations. We are adult enough to understand that you will pursue your own national interests in your own way; and therefore, if another country votes against us in the United Nations in the pursuit of its own national interests, this is a matter that we can understand.

If a nation—and I don't apply this to Tanzania—but if a nation automatically opposes everything that we stand for, then it is harder to consider it nonaligned, because then we would have to consider it as opposed. But we accept that nonaligned nations will pursue their own course—which means that sometimes they may agree with us, sometimes they may disagree with us. And we are realistic enough to deal with this without a crisis in our relationship.

Q. Maybe we could elaborate this point. I would like some kind of emphasis, Mr. Secretary of State. Can you explain, then, why is the U.S. establishment always abusing other sovereign states by issuing ultimatums and warnings—like, for example, in Angola you warned Cuba? And what kind of credibility and confidence do you expect to enjoy from the weak countries in the circumstances then?

Secretary Kissinger: To us, the introduction of 15,000 Cuban troops into Angola, a place thousands of miles away, is a matter of massive military intervention; and Cuba being a country in the Western Hemisphere, 80 miles off the coast of the United States, it is a matter that we take rather seriously. The United States supported a coalition among all of the factions in Angola, and we were prepared to implement in Angola the principles which I have enunciated here, of all the groups here working together. But I want to repeat this. We understand that Tanzania and we had a different approach to Angola. We now face a problem for the future, and I had the impression in my conversation with your President that there are many respects in which our points of view can be parallel; and I see no great advantage in going over all the events of the past and rehashing all of the disagreements.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, excuse me, in view of those disagreements between Tanzania and the United States, which were quite extensive over Angola, to what extent would you say the two countries now have in any way overcome their differences in viewpoint on approaching the Rhodesian problem specifically?

Secretary Kissinger: I found my conversations with President Nyerere the most instructive that I've had with any leader, and I consider the results extremely constructive. There will still be, I'm certain, occasional points of disagreement but on the main lines of objectives and the understanding of what each party can do with its capabilities, I believe that considerable progress has been made.

Q. I would like to follow that up, sir. Has any special provision been made for following up these discussions here between you and President Nyerere?

Secretary Kissinger: We will stay in close touch with each other and there will undoubtedly be followup.

Q. [Indistinct] the fact of the liberation struggle, the liberation war is started in Zimbabwe. Now in the face of this, don't you find your views of a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia rather archaic?

Secretary Kissinger: I believe that, at some point, there will have to be a negotiation; it is, after all, the purpose of every war to be ended by negotiation. I'm stating the objectives that should be realized and the purposes that negotiations, when they occur, should serve.

Q. Sir, President Nyerere said that, unless the United States is willing to apply the economic sanctions voted by the United Nations and end U.S. trade in chrome with Rhodesia, that the American policy will not have much credibility. Is the United States now prepared to take such an action?

Secretary Kissinger: I will address this question tomorrow, and I had a full talk with President Nyerere about it. His views will be taken most seriously.

Q. Your country has been—time and again your country has come under strong attack from a number of African countries—lately Angola—that you work toward the sabotaging of the economies.

Secretary Kissinger: The economy of Angola?

Q. Yes, one of the three major areas of your concern is that Africa attain prosperity for its people and become a strong participant in the economic order. How do you reconcile this obvious contradiction?

Secretary Kissinger: I think that you realize that I cannot answer every charge that is made in every African newspaper in the course of a week. We have no objection to the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] in Angola as an African institution or as an African movement. FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front], with which you are very familiar, and whose philosophy, I think it is safe to say, is not fully identical with that of the United States, nevertheless found no significant—found no opposition from the United States. We recognized FRELIMO as soon as it came into power

and established diplomatic relations very rapidly; and we are gradually improving our relationship with Mozambique. We have no national differences with Angola, and we have no interest in sabotaging the economy of Angola at all.

On the contrary, at the seventh special session of the General Assembly we put forward a program for development which applies to all Africa, including Angola. And I'm returning across the continent from Senegal next week to deliver a speech in Nairobi at a meeting which is not attended by any other foreign minister, simply to emphasize the political interests that the United States has in development. The proposals that I shall make there will exclude no African country.

ARRIVAL, LUSAKA, ZAMBIA, APRIL 26

Press release 204 dated April 26

Mr. Foreign Minister, ladies and gentlemen: I would like to thank my old friend Foreign Minister Banda and the other officials of Zambia who so kindly took the time to come to the airport to welcome me.

Important questions, political and economic, now face the nations of Africa and the world community. Among the most urgent of these are the problems of southern Africa: the issues of independence, majority rule, and racial justice. The time has come for us to address these issues squarely and with a sense of solidarity. I will tomorrow present the view of the United States of how we believe these questions can be dealt with in some detail.

President Kaunda is well known to the American people as one of the most dedicated and respected statesmen in Africa. We admire and endorse his constructive approach to the problems of southern Africa, problems which are of special concern to Zambia. President Ford was very pleased to meet and exchange views with President Kaunda in Washington a year ago, and I look forward to my talks with President Kaunda and his colleagues while I am in Lusaka.

As we deliberate the issues before us, we will do so from a firm foundation of friendship. Our effective cooperation in the past has built up a reservoir of good will plus a mutual respect with the United States and Zambia from which we can draw strength and confidence as we work together to solve the problems of the future.

I am delighted to be able to accept an invitation that you have so long extended to me. I have come to listen and to learn and to offer ways in which the United States can join its effort to Zambia's in the cause of the aspirations and values we share and the aspirations and values of the people of Africa. I look forward to my stay in Zambia, and I thank you for your warm welcome.

U.S.-ZAIRE JOINT COMMUNIQUE, KINSHASA, ZAIRE, APRIL 28

Press release 208 dated April 28

From the 27th to the 29th of April 1976 Dr. Kissinger, United States Secretary of State, accompanied by the Deputy Secretary of State Charles Robinson, made an official visit to the Republic of Zaïre.

During his visit he was received by President-Founder of the MPR [Popular Movement of the Revolution], President of the Republic of Zaïre, Citizen Mobuto Sese Seko.

The American Secretary of State and Citizen Nguza Karl-I-Bond, Permanent Member of the Political Bureau and Commissioner of State for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, held several meetings.

These took place in a particularly friendly atmosphere marked by frankness and mutual understanding, and permitted the two interlocuters to make a *tour d'horizon* of the range of questions concerning cooperation between the United States of America and Zaïre on the one hand, and current world problems on the other.

The Zaïrian party outlined for the American delegation the highlights of the stabilization plan decided upon by the President-Founder of the MPR, President of Zaïre, with a view to coping with the difficulties which Zaïre is presently experiencing.

The American party expressed its esteem for the effort exerted by the Executive Council to deal with the unfortunate effects of the international crisis on the Zaïrian economy and agreed to consider ways whereby the United States Government might provide assistance. In this connection, the Commissioner of State for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation and the American Secretary of State signed

an agreement whereby the United States will provide Zaïre with $5 million for cotton under the terms of U.S. Public Law 480. This agreement follows other recent American assistance, notably $15 million for rice through the Commodity Credit Corporation and $8 million for rice through the PL–480 program. The two parties discussed other forms of assistance, including possible American Export-Import Bank credit of $20 million to finance the purchase of U.S. mining equipment for GECAMINES [Générale des Carrières et des Mines].

The two parties also explored ways to attract American private investment in Zaïre.

Several current international problems received the special attention of the two parties.

Particularly with regard to the forthcoming meeting of the IV Session of UNCTAD, the two parties noted a close convergence of views and emphasized the need for the international community to cooperate to achieve practical solutions to the economic problems it faces and thereby to improve the well-being of all nations.

Addressing the problem of decolonization, the Secretary of State and the State Commissioner for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation reaffirmed their faith in the right of peoples to self-determination.

Particular attention was accorded the situation in southern Africa and in this regard the Zaïrian side expressed its appreciation of the American Secretary's recent exposition in Lusaka of U.S. policy.

Both sides expressed their firm desire to see the majority accede to power in Rhodesia and deplored the refusal of the illegal regime to agree to serious negotiations.

They paid tribute to the Government of Mozambique for its courageous decision to apply the sanctions against Rhodesia called for by the Security Council of the United Nations.

The two parties registered their mutual opposition to South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia and called on the South African Government in cooperation with the United Nations to move Namibia swiftly to independence.

The American delegation expressed its gratitude for the warm welcome accorded it.

Done at Kinshasa, the 28th of April 1976

For the United States of America

The Secretary of State

HENRY A. KISSINGER

For the Republic of Zaïre

The State Commissioner for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation

NGUZA KARL-I-BOND
Permanent Member of the Political Bureau of the MPR

NEWS CONFERENCE BY SECRETARY KISSINGER AND COMMISSIONER NGUZA KARL-I-BOND [3]

Q. Has the United States made any representations to Ghana, Nigeria, or the Soviet Union over the cancellation of your visit to Ghana?

Secretary Kissinger: The decision of which country to visit is up to the country concerned, and we have made no representations to any of those countries. We do regret that certain foreign countries found it necessary to express their views about the visit, but it is entirely up to the Government of Ghana, and we will not make any representations.

Q. Could you share your views with us about why the Soviet Union is determined to sabotage your visit to black Africa?

Secretary Kissinger: I do not know whether the Soviet Union is determined to sabotage my trip through black Africa. My trip through black Africa is designed to establish a relationship between the United States and the countries of Africa with respect to the aspirations for majority rule and economic progress. This policy we pursue for our own purposes and out of our own convictions, and I do not believe that the Soviet Union has the capability to sabotage this trip. I have been extremely well received in every country, and I believe that the trip has strengthened the bonds between the United States and black Africa, which was its purpose; and this cannot be affected by any other country.

Q. Do you have President Mobutu's support now for your initiative for negotiations between the Smith government and black liberation movements?

Secretary Kissinger: I think my friend the Commissioner should reply to this question. I have the impression, and the communique in effect expresses it, that President Mobutu approves of the general direction of my

[3] Held at Kinshasa on Apr. 28 (text from press release 209).

speech in Lusaka. And I must say that I have found the talks I have had with the President, as well as the Commissioner, extremely friendly, extremely constructive, and leading to a strengthening of the relationship between Zaïre and the United States. But perhaps the Commissioner could answer this question.

Commissioner Nguza: The reply to the question is contained in the joint communique. President Mobutu congratulated Dr. Kissinger. In the course of our talks he expressed how much we appreciated the Lusaka speech, particularly those parts pertaining to Rhodesia, South Africa, and Namibia.

The position of Zaïre is well known. We stand for majority rule in Rhodesia. We would wish to see it come into being as peacefully as possible.

Where we particularly appreciate Dr. Kissinger's speech is in that the United States removes all hopes from the minority in Rhodesia that it can with impunity continue to spurn the wishes of the majority, and it must weigh very heavy in the balance and must be also a very strong point to consider from the liberation movements, because if stubbornness should set in, then the liberation movements would be forced to attempt to secure their rights through armed struggles.

Q. The Smith government today said it was a shame you hadn't visited Rhodesia before you made your speech in Lusaka. Are you willing—or do you believe that you could play a useful role in trying to mediate a peaceful transition to majority rule in Rhodesia?

Secretary Kissinger: I first want to complete my tour through black Africa and then return to the United States and report to the President. In principle, the United States is willing to assist the parties insofar as they would request it to bring about the objectives of the Lusaka speech—that is to say, a rapid achievement of majority rule, a guarantee of minority rights in southern Africa, and if the parties asked us to be helpful we would certainly take that very seriously.

Q. Then are you coming back to Africa?

Secretary Kissinger: I have no immediate plan to return to Africa, nor am I saying that I personally will necessarily be the party that will extend the good offices. We now have to see what responses we receive from the various parties that are most concerned. So far President Kaunda, in the name of the other four Presidents, indicated support for my speech. So has President Mobutu. We will now see what reaction we will receive from the countries of southern Africa after we have made various approaches to them before we can decide where the United States can be most useful.

Q. I know you have said on several occasions that you do not want to tip one African bloc against another. Does it not appear that the United States and the Soviet Union, at least diplomatically, are fighting for influence in Africa as a whole?

Secretary Kissinger: The United States has stated its positions in terms which we believe can command the support of all the African nations. This is not directed against the Soviet Union. We do not want any American blocs to be established in Africa. It is up to the Soviet Union to see whether it wishes to bring great-power politics to this continent. We don't believe that this will happen, and we believe it would be in the best interests of Africa if the great powers did not export their rivalries into this continent. That will be our attitude.

As I said in Lusaka, if one country tries to establish hegemony, then inevitably another country will respond. That is not our attitude, and we hope that for the sake of the peoples of Africa it can be avoided.

Q. What would be the reaction of the United States in the hypothesis of a Russian-Cuban action on the side of the liberation movements?

Secretary Kissinger: I have the impression in my trip through black Africa that no African country wants the intervention of Soviet-Cuban forces in African problems, and the United States certainly supports this attitude. I also hope that the policies that

we are now pursuing will lead to a positive conclusion.

Q. Outside of the economic measures against Rhodesia, does your country contemplate any other measure, and as a follow-up, are you optimistic about the acceptance by your Congress of those measures against Rhodesia?

Secretary Kissinger: As some of you present know, I have not always proved to be the best judge of what the Congress will support. However, I have the impression which has been confirmed in various messages from Washington that there is a good chance of passing the repeal of the Byrd amendment. With respect to other measures, you should consider that the speech that was made in Lusaka yesterday is the beginning of an American effort and other measures will be considered as time goes on, and we will have to await developments.

Q. Concerning southern Africa you have said that the United States supports the accession of the black majority to power in Rhodesia. Do you also support the coming to power of the black majority in Pretoria although the problem does not occur immediately?

Secretary Kissinger: The problem of South Africa is in some aspects different from the problem of Rhodesia in the sense that all African countries recognize that South Africa is an African country, that the white settlers in South Africa are Africans in tradition. I stated yesterday that the United States opposes the principle of the institutionalized separation of the races expressed in the policy of apartheid and that it urges that this legal and institutionalized separation of the races be ended, and this will have its own political consequences.

Q. Concerning cooperation between Zaïre and the United States, some financial agreements have just now been signed. May we look beyond these agreements, which are perhaps dictated by the present economic circumstances?

Secretary Kissinger: Next week I am crossing this continent again to put forward the American position in Nairobi at the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, in which we will attempt to deal with the fundamental issues that have caused the economic difficulties for Zaïre, particularly the rise in oil prices and the fluctuation in copper prices. Therefore the United States, while at the same time cooperating with Zaïre in its immediate emergency, believes that there are some fundamental measures that should be taken by the international economic community as a whole in order to prevent these fluctuations that are the basic cause of the difficulties.

Q. Have any of the parties asked the United States to take a more active role in the possibility of negotiations, and have you the possibility of adding any stops to your present itinerary for this trip?

Secretary Kissinger: No, there has been no opportunity to be in touch with any of the parties. Of course, the leaders of several of the states that I have visited, in fact all of the states that I have visited, have urged the United States to play a more active role. We have had no responses from any other country up to now, nor do we expect any. There is no plan to add any additional stops to my journey. I will have an opportunity in Nairobi to see several foreign ministers, perhaps of countries that I have not visited on this trip.

Q. An African chief of state has said that there is great risk to see Africa becoming the new Middle East. Do you consider that there is still an opportunity for negotiations, or is it the case, as President Kaunda has said, in southern Africa and Rhodesia the hour of armed combat has come?

Secretary Kissinger: I believe that the possibility of a negotiation still exists. Even if armed combat should have started in southern Africa, all combat eventually must be settled by negotiations; and the more rapidly negotiation is achieved the more lives will be saved and the more rapidly the objectives of the majority and the protection of the rights of the minority will be realized.

TOAST BY SECRETARY KISSINGER, KINSHASA, APRIL 28 [4]

Mr. Commissioner, distinguished guests: Let me first express my great appreciation for the exceptionally warm hospitality which you have extended to me. I take it as an expression of the respect and affection that lie at the heart of the relationship between our two countries. The United States was present at the birth of this nation, and we have been a proud partner ever since to the dramatic progress which Zaïre has made.

It is for these reasons that today I feel at home—among old friends, official and personal. And I want to tell you that the United States will stand by its friends. We will support our friends in their efforts to increase their nation's prosperity and insure that its benefits are widely spread. And we will support our friends as they resist external forces which would impose their will on African independence and African unity.

We are discussing both these important topics during my stay here in Zaïre. And the relaxed, confident, and understanding mood of our talks reflects the close bonds between our two nations. They continue the constructive and friendly course appropriate to dealings between major nations and sovereign equals and most recently exemplified a few weeks ago in Washington during your visit.

The United States has long been associated with Zaïre's economic development. The vast potential which this country can bring to its people, to this region, and to the cause of international economic cooperation compels America's support. I can assure you today that the United States will continue to stand by Zaïre in promoting its economic progress. Since independence we have provided steady and substantial economic assistance to Zaïre. And in international forums, we have launched new initiatives designed to alleviate the burden borne by nations like Zaïre as a result of the recent arbitrary rises in the price of oil and the severe fluctuations in the world markets for key commodities like copper.

It is distressing to all who value self-determination and African unity that Zaïre, which seeks to dedicate its energies to enormous economic problems, now must also seek to bolster its defenses. These currents strain the unity of Africa, threatening to divide it into contending nations and factions, and open the way for renewed great-power ambitions to assert themselves in the continent.

The United States remains convinced that African problems should be resolved by African solutions. And this in turn can only be done successfully and lastingly by a united Africa. The United States is committed to the proposition of African unity as the most effective course toward African development and the most certain protection against the big-power rivalries that could turn this continent into a gravely destabilizing factor on the world scene.

The United States will cooperate with those who seek an end to the injustices of the past and with those who oppose the most recent challenges to African nationalism and African integrity. But I want to stress that the United States does not seek to line up a pro-American bloc. We have long accepted genuine nonalignment as valid—indeed as a necessary concept in today's world. The United States recognizes that each nation must find its own way to serve its people and to meet the challenges of our era of interdependence. We support the concept of authenticity to which the Commissioner contributed so much.

Our policy toward Africa is clear:

—We want Africa to enjoy its fair share of prosperity. It should play a major role in the dialogue between developed and developing nations begun at the seventh special session of the U.N. General Assembly last September and which will continue next week in Nairobi at the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development. There I will plan to put forth a program designed to advance the substantial progress we have made toward building a new era of international cooperation between the nations of North and South.

[4] Given at a dinner hosted by Commissioner Nguza (text from press release 210, which includes Commissioner Nguza's toast).

This program will be of special benefit to African countries.

—We support the principles of self-determination, majority rule, and racial justice in Africa. As you have said, Mr. Commissioner, "If there is one aspiration which African states hold dearest, it is to see the continent totally liberated from the scourges of colonialism and racism." Let me assure you that the United States will do all we can to see that Africa realizes its full potential under conditions of liberty and justice. Yesterday in Lusaka on behalf of President Ford, I put forth my country's position on these issues, especially as they pertain to southern Africa. We outlined a 10-point program designed to speed majority rule in Rhodesia. And we underlined the urgent need for independence in Namibia and racial justice in South Africa. I appreciate the very generous words that you have spoken this evening about this program.

—We seek to insulate Africa to the greatest extent possible from great-power rivalries. It would be a great tragedy if this continent, whose liberty and sense of unity are so well underway, should be revisited by the external ambitions and suffocating oppressions of the past eras.

—And we attach great importance to our relations with Zaïre. Your country is destined for greatness and economic well-being. With greatness and prosperity comes responsibility. The United States values the friendship of Zaïre. But we value as well the responsibility we must both bear as major nations. We are ready to fulfill that responsibility with you.

We believe these goals are entirely consistent with Africa's own objectives. The road to their achievement will be long and hard, but it will also be exhilarating and rewarding. As President Ford has said, my visit is intended to open a new chapter in African-American relations. It will be, I am convinced, an era which will serve the aspirations of Africa and the interests of the world community for peace, justice, and a widening prosperity for all peoples.

My country has been since its birth an eloquent voice for human dignity, for freedom, and for prosperity. We achieved great things. We consider our achievements to be a summons to greater effort.

In this postindependence period, Zaïre, like the United States in its early years, is a land facing vast challenges but inspired by the prospect of success and progress. Zaïre is poised to forge ahead to a new position of leadership in this last quarter of our century. Your country has enormous resources, not only for its own development but for the potential benefit of your neighbors as well.

The dream of harnessing the Zaïre River will shortly become a reality. The power to be produced at Inga-Shaba will increase Zaïre's productive capacity many times over. And beyond national development lies a vision of regional cooperation, in which Zaïre is destined to play a crucial part. Just as important as the material benefits will be the knowledge of having harnessed nature for the national good and the demonstration that man can work his will in this huge land.

Zaïre can count on the United States. Economically, we will propose measures at the UNCTAD meeting in Nairobi which we believe will benefit Zaïre and all developing nations. And we will, in our bilateral relations, do all we can to contribute to the cause of Zaïrian development and to alleviate Zaïre's special difficulties, which have been brought about by the recent plunge in world copper prices. On questions of security, we have increased our foreign military sales program substantially in the past year, and we plan to increase it in keeping with the perils Zaïre faces.

Our two countries thus share the promise and the potential for great achievement. Let us turn to the exciting work before us and go forward together with good will and resolve. Let us grasp the opportunities that await us and turn them to the service of our peoples and to that human community whose ultimate creation is the goal we all share.

Mr. Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, I propose a toast to a statesman, to a leader of a new Africa, and to a shaper of this con-

tinent's destiny: To President Mobutu, to his vision for Zaïre and for Africa, to the people of Zaïre, and to our partnership in the effort to bring prosperity, peace, and social justice to Africa and the world.

DEPARTURE, MONROVIA, LIBERIA, MAY 1

Press release 211B dated May 1

Mr. Minister and friends: I would first like to take this opportunity, Mr. Minister and your distinguished colleagues, to thank you for doing me the great honor of making me Paramount Chief, an honor which to my knowledge has not been conferred previously on any Secretary of State, and I am conscious of all the perquisites that go with this position. It is a very pleasant occasion, and I am very grateful to you.

I'm sorry to have to leave Liberia, because of your extraordinary hospitality. My visit here, brief though it was, deepened the sense of close friendship between our two countries. I take with me renewed appreciation of your hopes for development and your support for human dignity and racial equality. And I want to reiterate the intention of the United States to provide Liberia with the kind of assistance that will help you in your great effort and with the support that will achieve your human and moral and political aspirations together with other African nations.

The United States and Liberia have always had a special relationship. In the modern era, this relationship has shown its durability, which derives from our shared purposes. It is our future, as well as our past, that truly unites us now.

I recognize that the test of my visit will not be the speech that will be delivered, but the actions that will follow. And the purpose of this visit is to inaugurate a program of action when I return to the United States and have reported to President Ford. My talks with President Tolbert and other members of your government added much to my understanding. I look forward to resuming our dialogue and to the opportunity to reciprocate Liberia's warm hospitality when President Tolbert honors the United States with a state visit during the Bicentennial celebrations. President Ford looks forward with pleasure to these meetings.

I value not only the serious political talks I have had but also the friendship that was demonstrated on the human level. I thank you on behalf of my entire delegation. I came to Liberia knowing we were friends, but I leave Liberia feeling that we are part of the same family, a family working together for the mutual success, for achievement of African goals and the greater good of the world community.

Q. Just before you arrived here, President Ford exchanged telegram messages with President Tolbert and you have come to listen to the advice and counsel of President Tolbert and his ministers. I want to know just how much advice you'll be taking with you and what effect this advice will have on your foreign policy orientation?

Secretary Kissinger: President Tolbert and I had an extensive talk yesterday afternoon with a very few advisers. We spoke very frankly and as old friends. He expressed his views on all the problems of Africa, being himself in good relations with the African states, and he gave me his analysis of the problems of southern Africa and economic problems of all of Africa. And his views will be taken very seriously when I return to the United States.

DEPARTURE, DAKAR, SENEGAL, MAY 2

Press release 216 dated May 2

Mr. Foreign Minister and gentlemen: On departing your beautiful capital, I would like to express my appreciation and the appreciation of all my colleagues for the hospitality we have received here and for the extraordinarily helpful talks I have had with your President, your Prime Minister, and Foreign Minister.

Dakar was the last capital on my bilateral part of the journey—a journey in which I attempted to bring a message of economic

progress, racial justice and human dignity, absence of external intervention, and willingness to work with all governments in Africa that represent African aspirations and not foreign domination.

My meeting with your President was one of the highlights of this trip. He is known throughout the world as one of the great intellectuals, and he deepened my understanding and contributed to the shaping of the policy which we expect to undertake when we return to the United States.

This morning we had the opportunity to visit Goree Island, which is a symbol of the inhumanity that man has historically inflicted upon each other and which should call all of us to our duty to build on this continent a period in which all human beings—black as well as white—can work together, in which all Africans can achieve dignity and human progress, and in which the foreign intervention that has been the tragedy of Africa for centuries will at last be banished forever from this continent.

And it is in this spirit that I will now go to Nairobi and then return to the United States to work with our Congress after the President has formulated our policy of cooperation, racial justice, and economic progress.

And now I will be glad to take some questions.

Q. What significance do you attach to the UNCTAD Conference at the time when the North-South dialogue is marking time? Do you believe that the UNCTAD Conference will be able to get things moving again?

Secretary Kissinger: The United States attaches very great importance to the dialogue between the developed and developing nations. For the last year and a half the United States has proposed a series of major initiatives to express a spirit of cooperation —most recently at the seventh special session of the General Assembly. The reason that I am traversing Africa again, after completing my visit to the various countries, to go to Nairobi is to underline the importance the United States attaches to a world in which developed and developing, consumers and producers, rich and poor, all have a stake and all have a sense of cooperation.

I would like to emphasize also that a distinguished congressional delegation from the United States has agreed to accompany me to Nairobi and that Senator Javits has joined me here in Dakar and will be joined by other delegates in Nairobi.

In other words, we are going to Nairobi with a serious effort to help contribute to a constructive dialogue and to move forward the relations between developed and developing nations, and I believe I speak for a bipartisan consensus in the United States.

Q. In your Lusaka speech you said that the United States would work on your Congress in order to associate yourself with the economic sanctions against Rhodesia. What means do you have upon Congress, when we know that in the Angolan situation your Congress did not follow the lead of your government?

Secretary Kissinger: We have had extensive conversations with Members of the Congress of both parties, and we have the impression that it will be possible to repeal the Byrd amendment. Several Senators have introduced a resolution supporting the Lusaka speech, and the congressional reaction to the Lusaka speech has been extremely favorable.

Q. Mr. Secretary, a few months ago you said that countries who do not support us at the United Nations should not expect to receive aid from us. For many Africans this sounds like blackmail and is unacceptable and particularly coming from a country which is considered to be the bastion of democracy, bulwark of democracy. Do you believe that this is the best way to secure friendships or develop your relations in the Third World?

Secretary Kissinger: I have never made such a statement, and this statement is a total misrepresentation. The United States respects nonalignment, and it is obvious that the opinions of other countries will not always coincide with ours. And I may say that the distinguished Ambassador from Senegal to the United Nations has often expressed

views that are not identical with our own without affecting in any way our economic relationship. If a country opposes the United States on every issue, if it is no longer nonaligned but is in total opposition, this is something that we would obviously have to take into account in our public opinion and in our congressional presentations. But we respect genuine nonalignment, and we are not in the business of buying votes in the United Nations.

TOAST BY SECRETARY KISSINGER, NAIROBI, MAY 3 [5]

Mr. Secretary General, distinguished delegates, gentlemen: I think it is appropriate that the American delegation begin these meetings by meeting their colleagues from developing countries, because the purpose of this conference to speed economic progress concerns, above all, the developing countries and the ultimate goal of our efforts, which is to build a world in which all countries feel a sense of participation, can be achieved only through a sense of cooperation between the developed and the developing countries. It cannot be achieved by confrontation. It cannot be attained by rhetoric.

The day is long past when nations could expect to determine their economic destinies by isolated national policies. The world economy has evolved into a single global system in which all our countries sell our goods, buy needed products and materials, support our currencies, and otherwise seek to earn our way and enhance the economic well-being of our people.

The cooperative economic institutions which were created a generation ago have only increased our mutual dependence. The statesmen of a generation ago deserve our gratitude for their historic contribution to mankind's well-being. They shaped the world's economic evolution in the direction of multilateral collaboration. The institutions for trade, monetary affairs, and development have helped accelerate worldwide growth and thereby expanded the economic system. We have all flourished in reliance on these institutions.

Today, a second generation of international economic cooperation must begin. We face challenges of adapting institutions to fundamentally new international conditions. The number of the world's nations has tripled since 1945. The complexities of maintaining international cooperation are formidable. Yet the political role and economic power of the new nations is undeniable. The structure of international cooperation must be brought to embrace their constructive participation. A world that is permanently divided between rich and poor cannot be a world that will be considered just or acceptable. This is the fundamental task of building a world order in our time.

Both the industrial world and the developing world have to recognize some realities in this process. The industrial nations must recognize that the developing nations have legitimate claims for equity and for a voice in international deliberations affecting the world's trade and monetary institutions because of their relative weakness. The developing nations are not always automatically heard. But we must realize—we in the industrial nations must realize—that their prosperity can become a powerful force for global prosperity and is, in addition, a moral imperative of our time.

At the same time the developing nations must recognize that they, too, are dependent on the flourishing of the economic system for achievement of their own development goals. Attempts to wield bloc economic power disrupt the entire system, as we have seen in recent years, and ultimately redound to the detriment of all. The nations of the Third World have a choice, just as the industrialized nations do, between slogans and solutions, between rhetoric and reality.

[5] Given at a luncheon for delegates to the fourth UNCTAD ministerial meeting hosted by Secretary Kissinger (text from press release 221, which includes UNCTAD Secretary General Gamani Corea's toast).

In the last few years, the international community has in fact gone through another period of extraordinary creativity. Major improvements have been made in the world's institutional arrangements to broaden the participation and to effect new means of strengthening the role and performance of developing countries in the world economy. New forums and institutions have been created. Imaginative use is being made of institutions and forums that have long existed.

But we must always remember that we are not dealing in dry economic statistics and specialized technical mechanisms. We are speaking of the well-being of peoples, of the age-old struggle against poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, hunger, disease, unemployment, and social conflict. Whether we describe ourselves as materialists or men of religious faith, we share a universal aspiration to raise all men and women to a level of well-being and personal fulfillment and dignity.

The issues we grapple with as governments are not simply political and economic but, at their roots, moral. If our efforts show visible success, our period will be looked upon someday as another historic moment of transformation and achievement. This is the attitude with which my colleagues and I have been sent here by President Ford to begin our discussions on difficult problems of development.

We will do our best to listen to your concerns, and we will present proposals which go as far as is possible for the United States but which we are prepared to modify and to discuss in the weeks that are ahead of us.

We believe that this conference will be judged not only by the concrete, technical measures that are before us but by the spirit with which we deal with each other, by our ability to create a sense of community, by our conviction that our prosperity, our security, and our development can only be achieved in a world of cooperation and mutual respect. And therefore I would like to ask my colleagues here to join me in a toast to our cooperation, to the success of this Conference, and to the great goals of peace, justice, and progress.

TOAST BY SECRETARY KISSINGER, NAIROBI, MAY 4[6]

Mr. President of the European Community [Gaston Thorn]—I cannot possibly mention all your other titles, because other people have appointments—distinguished Ministers, gentlemen: My friend Gaston has indicated he will make a reply, and I know that it will be crushing, so I will get to him as quickly as possible.

I am grateful for this opportunity to meet with you. The members of the OECD who are at this conference have, in our view, a particular responsibility and a particular opportunity. The problem of how to organize a world in which there are 153 nations, the large majority of which has come into being within the last generation, a world which, for the first time in history, is united by instantaneous communication and by shared aspirations, is an absolutely unprecedented problem. It occurs, moreover, at a time when there are profound political divisions in the world and important ideological divisions, and where the day-to-day events of diplomacy produce a great consciousness of contention and of insecurity. And yet the fact is that just as we are doomed to coexistence by the nature of modern weapons, so that the only practical problem is the method of coexistence in the political field, so we also face an imperative of developing a common approach to the one issue that unites us all: the problem of development, of economic growth, and of respect for the human personality.

We of the industrialized world have gone through periods of grave transformations, and we are here with a challenge of defining a future that is hopeful, but at the same time a future that is within the realm of

[6] Given at a luncheon for UNCTAD delegation heads of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development hosted by Secretary Kissinger (text from press release 235).

what our countries can do domestically and what the world can support economically. We have to avoid the twin dangers of rigidity and continuing old slogans, but we also have to avoid the danger of a sort of competitive sentimentality in which each of us attempts to outbid the other with programs that we have not fully thought through, programs that may solve a temporary difficulty but offer no hope of real achievement.

I had the opportunity to talk to Mr. Van Lennep [Emile Van Lennep, Secretary General, OECD] at lunch about his idea that perhaps we all ought to think about the kind of world we in the industrialized countries would like to see come about, a world which of course must include hope and promise for the developing world, because only an international order in which all countries feel that they have a stake can be permanent.

I want to make clear what our position at this conference will be. We are not here to score any debating points vis-a-vis other OECD countries. We believe that the problem of development is one that none of our nations can solve individually, and it is a problem that all of our nations must cooperate in if it is to be realized. It is a problem in which none of us can try to score points against the other.

We attempted at the seventh special session to put forward a series of concrete, detailed proposals in order to avoid this endless debate between whether we are shaping a new economic order or improving the old economic order, between our economic system and some other economic system. We thought that the problems of development and of economic growth, if they were serious, had to be summed up in some concrete and do-able proposals. It is obvious that one cannot come up with a new agenda every six months, and the attempt to do so is in itself a sign of restlessness and inward insecurity that will doom the overall effort.

So what we have done—and you will all see our remarks—is to take the basic principles of the speech of the seventh special session and tried to carry them further within that general framework—in the area of commodities, in the area of transfer technology, in the area of balance of payments, and in the area of the poorest countries. All of our proposals depend on the cooperation of other OECD nations and of course depend on the sense of cooperation of the developing nations. There are no American schemes that can be implemented, or are intended to be implemented, by the United States in a solo performance.

And I believe that the great challenge of our economies, which really becomes a political and moral question of how we define our future, requires first of all that the OECD nations define for themselves what sort of cooperative future they want and not engage in a whole series of random efforts unrelated to some general approach. So our effort is to put before UNCTAD our conception of how the initiatives of the seventh special session can be carried forward, how the developed and the developing nations can cooperate.

In my meetings with the developing nations, I have made it clear that while we are openminded, while we are willing to listen to counterproposals, we are at the limit of what we can do within the framework of our domestic possibilities, and that therefore we should use this year and next year to do the attainable and then look at the world again, because this is not going to be the last UNCTAD Conference.

So I would like to stress that our delegation here is instructed to work with your delegations on the basis of the closest cooperation. We hope that our proposals will find the agreement, at least in principle, of those countries whose future is so intimately tied with our own. And our proposals are also put forward in a spirit of conciliation and good will toward the developing nations, so that we can advance the progress and the challenge of building an international order, which is the preeminent problem of our time and the one which will face us for as far ahead as we can see.

So I am grateful for this opportunity to see you here. I've worked with almost all of you in so many different contexts so that we

know that we can cooperate here for the good of all of our countries, and I hope for the good of all other nations represented at this conference. So I'd like to propose a toast to the success of our common efforts and to the success of this conference.

DEPARTURE, NAIROBI, MAY 6

Press release 228 dated May 6

Ladies and gentlemen: As I am leaving the continent of Africa, I would like to express my appreciation, first of all to the Government of Kenya and then also to the other governments that have received me in this extraordinarily cordial manner. I came to Africa in order to enable our government and our President to formulate an approach to this continent and to its aspirations the American people can support and sustain, that will enable this continent to achieve its aspirations for racial justice and for economic progress with the cooperation of the United States.

The United States seeks a peaceful solution of all the issues on this continent, free of great-power rivalry; and I think that my talks to the various leaders have taught me a great deal and will help shape American policy in a positive way.

I believe also that the session here of UNCTAD has made—can make—a very great contribution to the aspirations for development of all of mankind.

So I leave with a sense of appreciation and again particular appreciation to the Government of Kenya that has hosted this conference in such an excellent manner and has treated my colleagues and me all so well. Particular thanks also to Senators Javits and Ribicoff for having taken the time off from their busy schedule, not only to come but to contribute in such a dedicated manner to this bipartisan enterprise.

Thank you very much.

Q. Mr. Secretary, how was your speech received by the Third World? Are the early results in?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, the preliminary reactions that my colleagues have heard have been positive. Of course, some time will be needed for the various delegations to analyze all these proposals. But we have heard only positive comments up to now. Of course, I suppose some of the negative ones may not come to us.

Q. Mr. Secretary, have you heard positive comments from people you feared might have had negative comments?

Secretary Kissinger: We haven't really had a chance to canvass all the delegations. [Deputy] Secretary Robinson is staying here. Senator Javits, in fact, is staying here this afternoon to meet with some of the delegations. I've met with Pérez Guerrero [Manuel Pérez Guerrero, Venezuelan Minister of State for International Economic Affairs], who has been one of the leaders of the Group of 77 at the seventh special session, and we had very constructive and cooperative talks. So we are optimistic that something positive can be achieved.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you recall at the outset of your trip there were many forecasts in Africa that your trip was doomed to fail. How do you feel you would currently assess it yourself?

Secretary Kissinger: Of course the success and failure of any foreign policy move can only be judged over a period of time. And no one could ever—should ever—believe that any trip of less than two weeks could by itself determine the success of the policy of such a major continent. But in terms of the fact that the United States needs to relate itself to a continent, to one of the largest continents, containing the largest numbers of nations of any of the continents, in terms of the issues before us, I believe that we have begun to build areas of understanding and areas of cooperation.

Q. In your talk with African leaders do you find that they recognize that the United States has made a significant departure from its previous policies?

Secretary Kissinger: That is my firm impression, and I have been very well impressed by the spirit of cooperation of the African leaders with whom I have talked. I've told them frankly what American concerns were, they have told me frankly what theirs were, and I think we have narrowed the areas where our views do not always coincide and have established many areas of cooperation.

DEPARTURE, PARIS, MAY 7

Press release 232 dated May 7

Ladies and gentlemen: I wanted to express my appreciation to the President of France and to the Government of France for the manner in which we have been received here. My conversations with President Giscard d'Estaing covered the problems of the future of Africa, discussions of Lebanon, and his forthcoming trip to the United States. I consider them extremely constructive, and they were conducted in an atmosphere of great cordiality.

With respect to Africa, we reviewed the convictions of both of our countries that Africa should be free of outside interference and the problems of fulfilling the aspirations of the African nations.

I also had an extremely useful talk with President Houphouet-Boigny [of Ivory Coast] reviewing my trip to Africa and again with agreement that the development of Africa and the realization of its aspirations should be left to the Africans, with the support of all the Western countries that have an interest in helping the aspirations of African nations. I have indicated the support of the United States for these efforts, and of course there are many European nations with traditional roles and links to Africa that will make their own decisions with respect to the role that they will play.

I am grateful for the meetings I have had, and we look forward with very great anticipation to the visit of President Giscard to the United States, since we consider his views extremely important in charting our own course.

ARRIVAL, ANDREWS AFB, MAY 7

Press release 235 dated May 7

Ladies and gentlemen: The President sent me to Africa on a mission of hope. I went to a continent that was torn by racial and other conflicts, in which foreign—mostly Communist—powers were beginning to exploit the tensions, in which the hopes of the peoples were being increasingly frustrated and the relationships between the United States and the Western World and that crucial continent were in jeopardy.

On a trip of two weeks, we managed to make some progress with a message that the United States favors negotiation and not struggle; that it favors majority rule but also minority rights. The United States, as always in its history, stands for human dignity and human progress, and the peoples that we met and the leaders to whom we have talked heard that message and are prepared to reciprocate.

I will now report to the President; and after I have talked to the President, I will talk to the congressional leadership and to the American public about this trip. And I am confident that the American people will support—as they always have—conciliation and progress and peace.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Arbitration

Convention on the recognition and enforcement of foreign arbitral awards. Done at New York June 10, 1953. Entered into force June 7, 1959; for the United States December 29, 1970. TIAS 6997.
Accession deposited: South Africa, May 3. 1976.

Coffee

International coffee agreement 1976, with annexes. Approved by the International Coffee Council

December 3, 1975. Open for signature at U.N. Headquarters January 31 through July 31, 1976.[1]
Signatures: Benin, April 14, 1976; Brazil, February 17, 1976; Colombia, April 21, 1976; Costa Rica, February 5, 1976; France, February 23, 1976; Federal Republic of Germany, March 19, 1976; Guatemala, March 19, 1976; Honduras, April 22, 1976; Mexico, February 2, 1976; Nicaragua, March 2, 1976; Paraguay, March 30, 1976; Rwanda, March 31, 1976; Switzerland, April 5, 1976; Togo, March 25, 1976; United Kingdom, March 31, 1976.
Notification of provisional application deposited: Colombia, April 21, 1976.

Economic Cooperation

Agreement establishing a financial support fund of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Done at Paris April 9, 1975.[1]
Ratification deposited: Portugal, May 3, 1976.

Health

Constitution of the World Health Organization, as amended. Done at New York July 22, 1946. Entered into force April 7, 1948; for the United States June 21, 1948. TIAS 1808, 4643, 8086.
Acceptance deposited: Papua New Guinea, April 29, 1976.
Amendment to articles 34 and 55 of the Constitution of the World Health Organization of July 22, 1946, as amended (TIAS 1808, 4643, 8086). Adopted at Geneva May 22, 1973.[1]
Acceptance deposited: Pakistan, April 29, 1976.

Maritime Matters

Convention on the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization. Done at Geneva March 6, 1948. Entered into force March 17, 1958. TIAS 4044.
Acceptance deposited: Papua New Guinea, May 6, 1976.

Postal Arrangements

Constitution of the Universal Postal Union with final protocol signed at Vienna July 10, 1964 (TIAS 5881), as amended by additional protocol, general regulations with final protocol and annex, and the universal postal convention with final protocol and detailed regulations. Signed at Tokyo November 14, 1969. Entered into force July 1, 1971, except for article V of the additional protocol, which entered into force January 1, 1971. TIAS 7150.
Accession deposited: Surinam, March 4, 1976.
Second additional protocol to the constitution of the Universal Postal Union of July 10, 1964 (TIAS 5881, 7150), general regulations with final protocol and annex, and the universal postal convention with final protocol and detailed regulations. Done at Lausanne July 5, 1974. Entered into force January 1, 1976.
Ratifications deposited: Denmark, February 12, 1976; Luxembourg, March 11, 1976; United Kingdom on behalf of its Overseas Territories, March 11, 1976.[2]
Accession deposited: Surinam, March 4, 1976.
Money orders and postal travellers' checks agreement, with detailed regulations. Done at Lausanne July 5, 1974. Entered into force January 1, 1976.
Ratification deposited: Luxembourg, March 11, 1976.
Accession deposited: Surinam, March 4, 1976.

Reciprocal Assistance—Inter-American

Protocol of amendment to the inter-American treaty of reciprocal assistance of September 2, 1947 (TIAS 1838). Done at San José July 26, 1975.[1]
Ratifications deposited: Costa Rica, April 8, 1976; Haiti, April 15, 1976.

Satellite Communications System

Agreement relating to the International Telecommunications Satellite Organization (INTELSAT), with annexes. Signed at Washington August 20, 1971. Entered into force February 12, 1973. TIAS 7532.
Accession deposited: United Arab Emirates, May 12, 1976.
Operating agreement relating to the International Telecommunications Satellite Organization (INTELSAT), with annnex. Done at Washington August 20, 1971. Entered into force February 12, 1973. TIAS 7532.
Signature: Ministry of Communications of United Arab Emirates, May 12, 1976.

Tin

Fifth international tin agreement, with annexes. Done at Geneva June 21, 1975.[1]
Signatures: Thailand, February 10, 1976; France, February 23, 1976; Denmark, March 11, 1976; Federal Republic of Germany, March 12, 1976; Japan, March 16, 1976; Malaysia, March 18, 1976; Austria, April 20, 1976; Canada, European Economic Community, Indonesia, Poland, Romania, Spain, April 29, 1976; Bolivia, Hungary, India, Italy, Zaïre, April 30, 1976.
Ratification deposited: Malaysia, March 18, 1976.

Wheat

Protocol modifying and further extending the wheat trade convention (part of the international wheat agreement) 1971 (TIAS 7144, 7988). Done at Washington March 17, 1976. Enters into force June 19, 1976, with respect to certain provisions, and July 1, 1976, with respect to other provisions.
Accession deposited: Libya, May 11, 1976.

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[1] Not in force.

[2] Including Antigua, Dominica, St. Christopher, Nevis and Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Brunei, Belize, Bermuda, British Antarctic Territory, British Indian Ocean Territory, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands and Dependencies, Gibraltar, Gilbert Islands, Hong Kong, Montserrat, New Hebrides (United Kingdom-French Condominium), Pitcairn Group, St. Helena and Dependencies, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Southern Rhodesia, Turks and Caicos Islands, Tuvalu.

Women

Convention on the political rights of women. Done at New York March 31, 1953. Entered into force July 7, 1954; for the United States July 7, 1976.
Accession deposited: Mauritania, May 4, 1976.

BILATERAL

Brazil

Agreement relating to trade in man-made fiber textiles and textile products, with annex. Effected by exchange of notes at Brasilia April 22, 1976. Entered into force April 22, 1976.

Agreement relating to trade in cotton textiles and textile products, with annex. Effected by exchange of notes at Brasilia April 22, 1976. Entered into force April 22, 1976.

Canada

Treaty on extradition, as amended by exchange of notes of June 28 and July 9, 1974. Signed at Washington December 3, 1971. Entered into force March 22, 1976.
Proclaimed by the President: May 6, 1976.

Colombia

Procedures for mutual assistance in the administration of justice in connection with the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation matter. Signed at Washington April 22, 1976. Entered into force April 22, 1976.

Egypt

Agreement relating to privileges and immunities for U.S. civilian personnel assigned to the Sinai in connection with the early warning system. Effected by exchange of letters at Cairo April 22, 1976. Entered into force April 22, 1976.

Guinea

Agreement for sales of agricultural commodities. Signed at Conakry April 21, 1976. Entered into force April 21, 1976.

Indonesia

Agreement for sales of agricultural commodities. Signed at Jakarta April 19, 1976. Entered into force April 19, 1976.

Iran

Agreement on technical cooperation. Signed at Washington March 4, 1975.
Entered into force: April 5, 1976.

Agreement amending and extending the agreement of December 29, 1975, and January 19, 1976, relating to interim understandings concerning air transport services. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington March 31 and April 28, 1976. Entered into force April 28, 1976.

Korea

Agreement amending the agreement for sales of agricultural commodities of February 18, 1976. Effected by exchange of notes at Seoul April 9, 1976. Entered into force April 9, 1976.

Agreement amending the agreement of June 26, 1975 (TIAS 8124), relating to trade in cotton, wool, and man-made fiber textiles. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington March 24 and April 1, 1976. Entered into force April 1, 1976.

Mexico

Agreement extending the air transport agreement of August 15, 1960, as amended and extended (TIAS 4675, 7167). Effected by exchange of notes at Tlatelolco and México April 14 and 29, 1976. Entered into force April 29, 1976.

Nigeria

Procedures for mutual assistance in the administration of justice in connection with the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation matter. Signed at Washington April 20, 1976. Entered into force April 20, 1976.

Sri Lanka

Agreement for sales of agricultural commodities, relating to the agreement of March 25, 1975 (TIAS 8107). Signed at Colombo April 9, 1976. Entered into force April 9, 1976.

Trinidad and Tobago

Agreement amending and extending the agreement of June 20, 1968 (TIAS 7712, 7968), relating to a program of technical assistance in the field of tax administration. Effected by exchange of notes at Port of Spain March 29 and April 26, 1976. Entered into force April 26, 1976.

United Kingdom

Agreement for the continuation of a cooperative meteorological program in the Cayman Islands, with memorandum of arrangement. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington April 6 and 13, 1976. Entered into force April 13, 1976.

Name Index

Checklist of Department of State Press Releases: May 10–16

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of Press Relations, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

No.	Date	Subject
†238	5/10	Comments invited on text of ad referendum U.S.-Canada transit pipeline agreement (rewrite).
*239	5/10	Advisory Committee on Transnational Enterprises, June 8.
*240	5/10	CENTO ministerial meeting, London, May 26–27.
†241	5/10	Interim convention for conservation of North Pacific fur seals amended and extended.
*242	5/10	Advisory Committee for U.S. participation in the U.N. Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat), May 17–18.
†243	5/12	Lewis: Governor's Conference on the United Nations, Milwaukee.
†244	5/12	Kissinger: interview for Hearst newspapers.
†245	5/12	U.S.-U.K. understanding on acceptance of air charters.
†246	5/13	Kissinger: Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.
*247	5/14	Program for the official visit of President Giscard d'Estaing of France.
†248	5/16	Kissinger: Interview for NBC "Today" Show.

* Not printed.
† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.