

192

***** N U C L A S S I F I E D *****

PRIORITY

DE NTE #2287 1282048

P 292040Z APR 76

FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOMAK 45//

TO PASSAGE/COVEY/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

UNCLAS VIA BLACK PATCH WH00594

TOMAK 45

FOREIGN POLICY: COMMENT ✓

COMMENT

KISSINGER AND AFRICA (EDITORIAL, EXCERPTED, CHICAGO TRIBUNE):
ONCE IN A WHILE WHILE, PRAVDA GET THINGS RIGHT. THE SOVIET PARTY
PAPER DEFINES SECRETARY KISSINGER'S TRIP TO AFRICA CORRECTLY AS AN
EFFORT "TO TRY TO STRENGTHEN THE AUTHORITY OF THE U.S., WHICH HAS
BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY UNDERMINED IN THE EYES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES
RECENTLY."

THE UNITED STATES HAS LOST FACE IN AFRICA NOT BECAUSE WE
SUPPORTED THE ANTI-SOVIET FORCES, BUT BECAUSE OUR SUPPORT WAS
CONFINED TO WORDS AND WAS INEFFECTIVE.

DR. KISSINGER'S TASK MUST BE VIEWED AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND.
HE IS TRYING TO DEVISE A "NEW AFRICAN POLICY" TO FIT A CONTINENT
WHERE WE HAVE LOST INFLUENCE NOT BECAUSE OF "BLATANT" ACTIONS, BUT
RATHER BECAUSE OF THE ABSENCE OF ANY ACTION.

WE'RE NOT SAYING THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY IN AFRICA
HAS ALWAYS BEEN RIGHT, OR EVEN IDENTIFIABLE. IN A WORLD BUBBLING
WITH CRISES, THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS PAID TOO LITTLE ATTENTION TO
AFRICA. BUT WHETHER IT'S CONGRESS' FAULT OR DR. KISSINGER'S, THE
U.S. IS IN DANGER OF LOSING -- IF IT HASN'T ALREADY LOST -- THE
CHANCE TO MOBILIZE ANTI-SOVIET SUPPORT AMONG BLACK AFRICANS.

MEANWHILE SOVIET SUCCESSSES HAVE STRENGTHENED MOSCOW'S CLAIM
TO BE THE CHAMPION OF BLACK AFRICA AGAINST THE WHITE "IMPERIALISTS"
AND THE WHITE MINORITY GOVERNMENTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE KREMLIN
WOULD LIKE NOTHING BETTER THAN TO FORCE US INTO AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
THAT AFRICA'S CONFLICTS ARE PURELY RACIAL AND THUS INTO A POSITION

***** WHSR COMMENT *****

HYLAND, MCFARLANE, RODMAN, SEC FILE, SOO

NSN1202067

PAGE 01

TOR:120/20140Z

DTG:1202040Z APR 76

*****U N C L A S S I F I E D*****S COPY

*****U N C L A S S I F I E D***** COPY

WHERE WE HAD TO DECIDE BETWEEN SUPPORTING THE BLACKS (THEREBY PLAYING SECOND FIDDLE TO THE SOVIET UNION) AND SUPPORTING THE WHITES (THEREBY ALIENATING JUST ABOUT ALL THE REST OF AFRICA AND CONFIRMING THE SOVIET CHARGES AGAINST US). WE ARE RAPIDLY BEING PUSHED IN THAT DIRECTION BY FOES AND BY UNWITTING FRIENDS.

DR. KISSINGER'S STATEMENT THAT "AFRICAN PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOLVED BY AFRICANS" AND HIS GENERAL SUPPORT FOR MAJORITY RULE HAVE BEEN INTERPRETED AS MEANING THAT WE HAVE CHOSEN TO SUPPORT ALL BLACKS REGARDLESS OF OTHER FACTORS, SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY ARE BLACK. WE HOPE THIS INTERPRETATION IS WRONG. NOT BECAUSE WE HAVE ANY USE FOR APARTHEID OR FOR MINORITY RULE BY WHITES, BUT BECAUSE GIVING THE GREEN LIGHT TO RED-BACKED BLACK AFRICAN NATIONALISTS WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY PLUNGE ALL OF SOUTHERN AFRICA INTO WAR AND INTO POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHAOS.

THEREFORE IF WE ARE TO HAVE A "NEW AFRICAN POLICY," IT MUST AVOID BOTH EXTREMES. IT MUST HAVE TWO GENERAL GOALS: FIRST, TO PERSUADE AFRICANS THAT THERE IS HOPE FOR PROGRESS IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA; AND SECOND TO PERSUADE AFRICANS THAT THEIR BEST HOPE LIES IN FREEDOM WHICH DOES NOT LEAVE THEM SLAVES OF THE SOVIET UNION, THAT THERE IS STILL A CHANCE FOR IT, AND THAT IT IS WORTH WAITING FOR.

-- (4/26/76)

0520

PSN:020267

PAGE 02

OF 02

IOR:120/201482

DTG:292040Z APR 76

*****U N C L A S S I F I E D*****S COPY