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Jennifer Davis and I spent about an hour with Andrew Young in his office at the U.S. Mission to the UN. Just the three of us were sitting comfortably and informally in his office during the time of the discussion. A summary of some of the points we discussed is indicated below, but not in any particular order.

The Maputo Conference

This UN conference is co-sponsored by the Decolonization Committee and the Council for Namibia. Andy Young is heading an American delegation which is going. This is something of a departure from policies of previous administrations which have not attended such a conference as this for over a decade. Inasmuch as the Carter administration is attempting some initiatives both on Namibia and Zimbabwe, they feel it is important to be present for these discussions.

The Role of Mondale on Africa.

We gather from Young that the vice president is essentially focused on South Africa, and the internal struggle and racial situation there. There is a staff working on the issue. Jay Katzen of the U.S. Mission to the UN has gone to Washington to join the Mondale staff representing the Mission to the UN. Mondale has not been involved in the discussions on other issues such as Namibia, Zaire, or Ethiopia. Thus, according to Young, at least at this point the role of Mondale is confined to South Africa. We gather that the plan is for Mondale perhaps to visit Vorster in South Africa. But this is being delayed both by the meeting of the five Western ambassadors with Vorster and by the fact that there are elections on May 11th in South Africa. It is not expected that there could be as frank a discussion as is necessary before those elections have been held and Vorster wins whatever mandate he will be getting from the South African people. It might be, Young hinted, that Mondale and Vorster might just "happen" to meet each other sometime in Europe or someplace else. So I gather that this meeting is something which is in the discussion stage and may be done very quietly. According to Young, when Botha visited Carter before leaving the U.S. he carried a letter from Vorster proposing "discussions" with the President's representative. Young also mentioned that while Scranton was still Ambassador he sent Rhodes to South Africa to talk with Black leaders. While there he also met with Connie Mulder at his home. In a long discussion Mulder indicated that many changes were possible and that South Africa would find it preferable to make these in response to U.S. proposals than internal pressure!

Zimbabwe

We spent a few minutes discussing the Zimbabwe Development Fund. The \$100 million figure was only one really discussed. Young indicated that there seemed to be no interest in the Fund from any of the other Western countries. He said that as far as he knew only the \$100 million could be counted upon. There was some vagueness, as has always been the case, regarding this Fund. Andy seemed to give the impression that it was a Fund which would in effect be turned over to a Zimbabwe government as soon as it was in power. I asked if there would be any strings attached and he indicated there certainly would be some conditions. He didn't know what they would be and I don't know whether this has been discussed very thoroughly yet. He seemed to imply that the Fund would be used as an incentive for a settlement by the Zimbabweans more than an incentive to the Europeans. The "prize" should be big enough to get the nationalists together, he said. This was within the context of a different approach by the present administration than the one which Kissinger was

following. There is no such Fund, he said, as far as Namibia is concerned.

He thought that there should be another constitutional conference held in Geneva or someplace else, fairly soon. He said that all of their information is that Smith is ready which he was not before. He said the information coming from Vorster indicates the same.

Incidentally he seemed to accept the theory that the nuns and priests who were killed in Rhodesia were not attacked by the Zimbabwe guerrillas who, he pointed out, looked upon missionaries as friends rather than enemies.

He indicated that he did not see any sense in the Muzorewa proposal for a referendum. A distinction was made between a referendum to choose a leader and elections to choose a government.

Zaire

Not much time was spent discussing this question because our time was running out. Obviously there is an attempt to keep a low U.S. profile and the view that things seem to be settling down. When we raised the question about this being a time when the United States could extricate itself from too close a relationship with Mobutu, Young said what is the alternative?

The Meeting of the Western Ambassadors with Vorster

This exercise is being handled by the U.S. Mission to the UN. It really is tied in with the recent Security Council meeting in spite of the fact that the discussions with Vorster are focused on Namibia. Don McHenry is heading the U.S. delegation because it was logical for him to do so as the deputy representative of the U.S. on the Security Council. Furthermore he indicated that McHenry had really been slated to become the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa. He was a little less definite as to whether this still remained the case. The reason Andy didn't head the delegation to South Africa was that it would have caused a bit of a storm after his recent comment about the "illegitimacy" of the South African government. This would be especially true before the May 11th elections. He also said that McHenry would probably be tougher on the South Africans than he himself would be. He said McHenry has been dealing with the issue for a long time and while some Americans who talked with the South Africans were cowed by the experience, McHenry would not be.

He indicated that he did not expect this discussion with Vorster to be successful in terms of any real agreement. But he thought that the discussions were important to have. The United States position is for elections under UN supervision and control. However, when we raised the question about the US taking membership in the Council for Namibia he said he thought it more important to work through the Security Council. The implication of course was that the Council for Namibia has plenty of built-in problems and there's more effective action and more power involved in the Security Council. The U.S. position is not just to transfer power to SWAPO but to support elections so that the people can choose their own government.

The Recent Security Council Meeting

Andy said he was surprised how much progress was made on the statement of principles which he and the U.S. had initiated in place of the resolutions sponsored by the Africans. He said that the critics of this position (and high among them were those in the African Bureau of the State Department) were wrong on three points:

1) the Western countries were prepared to accept the formula; 2) Vorster was prepared finally to meet with representatives of the Western countries; 3) the Africans were prepared to enter a discussion of the principles. He also said everything was going fine until the Soviet Union intervened and then the liberation movements began to object. It is up in the air at the moment as to whether or when the Security Council will reconvene for its discussion. Young indicated that he was not really interested in dealing with the African-sponsored resolutions. He said he didn't know what the U.S. would do at this point if it had to vote again on the mandatory arms embargo and cutting off trade. He realized that this could come at some point, but he thought that this wasn't the time to do it and really didn't know what line the U.S. would take. On the arms embargo question he said South Africa is almost self-sufficient at the moment. Therefore it wouldn't really accomplish that much. He didn't know when the real crunch would come in South Africa and what options the U.S. would have at that time. But the implication was that this wasn't the time yet. The only really effective economic sanction would be to cut off oil. The question on this would be what was South Africa going to do and what would the timing be for such action.

Two additional points occurred to me after I had dictated the above notes. One had to do with the "chicken" remark that Andy made regarding the British policy on race. He told us that he was prompted to make this remark because of the pressures the British were putting on him not to go so far in meeting African demands for language changes in the draft on the principles being discussed in the Security Council. He also commented "The British are afraid of liberation movements."

A second item: Young noted that during the "corridor" discussion of the Security Council statement of principles, the Chinese and the Russians were on the sidelines. The point he was making, I think, was that this was an unusual position certainly for the Russians. The initiative was in the hands of the United States and its Western allies on the one side and the Africans and their third world allies on the other.