

THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

May 10, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

The Vice President

SUBJECT:

Objectives During Visit to Europe for

Talks with Vorster and European Leaders

We are in the final preparatory stage for my forthcoming visit in your behalf to Portugal, Spain, Austria, Yugoslavia and the United Kingdom.

As currently scheduled, I will depart for Lisbon this Saturday for meetings with President Eanes and Prime Minister Soares on May 16; talks with King Juan Carlos and Prime Minister Suarez in Madrid on May 17; and with Chancellor Kreisky in Vienna on May 18.

The talks with South African Prime Minister Vorster are set for Vienna on May 19 and 20. I will then travel to Belgrade on the afternoon of May 20 for meetings on May 20-21 with President Tito and members of the Yugoslav leadership; then to London on May 22 to debrief Prime Minister Callaghan and Foreign Secretary Owen on the Vorster meetings.

There are three basic elements to the visit, each of priority importance to your foreign policy objectives. My purpose will be:

- -- to demonstrate in Portugal and Spain the United States' support for their return to democracy;
- -- to convey to Prime Minister Vorster your policy toward Southern Africa including the United States' views on the role South Africa must play in current efforts to resolve the Rhodesian and Namibian problems, and on the approach South Africa must take within its society if our relations are not to suffer:

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-- to emphasize to President Tito the importance your Administration places on Yugoslavia's independence, political unity and territorial integrity.

I do not plan to become a negotiator on contentious issues in any of my meetings, but I do anticipate an in-depth discussion with Vorster. The following paragraphs summarize principal issues I expect to be raised during the visit, review the approach I plan to take, and request your guidance.

Southern Africa -- Talks with Vorster. The principal purpose of the meeting with Vorster is to convey authoritatively to the South Africans our new policy on southern Africa: that we seek a progressive transformation of South African society as well as a constructive South African role on Rhodesia and Namibia. Our relations are at a watershed; their future depends on South African actions on all three questions.

A secondary objective will be to seek from Vorster a number of specific assurances -- particularly on Rhodesia and Namibia. Whether or not Vorster gives such assurances, our meeting will make clear to South Africa -- and equally important to the rest of Africa -- exactly where we stand.

I would plan to begin our meeting with a private session to set the agenda and to establish the following general framework for our discussion of Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.

- -- South African actions are pivotal for the future of all southern Africa.
- -- We are gravely concerned about the implications of a gathering racial war in the region: for the destructionthatit would bring to all the peoples of the region, for the ensuing growth in the Soviet influence in Africa, and for the divisive impact this could have on the United States and its allies and friends.
- -- We have been going through a transition in our own society of which we are justly proud. We will not turn our back on this experience in our foreign policy. This makes it inconceivable that we could support governments pursuing contrary principles, or remain politically neutral in a struggle for basic human justice.

	It is imperative therefore that the South African government understand clearly the fundamental character of our position.
	We all have a stake in progress. We would welcome positive
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- -- that if such a new and positive course can be charted, South Africa will have our support and understanding. The press of international events makes such action urgent.
- that without such a change, the United States, more in sorrow than in anger, will pursue the course (both bilaterally and in the UN) dictated by its principles, values and sense of justice.

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## Public Handling:

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Prior to the meeting, I plan to explain to the press in general terms the purpose of the meeting. The statement I propose to use is at Tab B. This is designed to counteract suspicions over the purpose of the talks without prejudging the outcome.

If Vorster is receptive to our approach, at the end of the session, I would brief the press. The most favorable outcome I can foresee is outlined in the statement at Tab C. This will have to be scaled downward to reflect unachieved objectives.

If the meeting fails to elicit a favorable Vorster response, I plan a statement consistent with our overall objective of making America's new policy clear to the world. This will:

- -- show the Africans our determination to work change in South Africa as well as Rhodesia and Namibia and thereby give added credibility to our overall Africa policy;
- -- increase the pressure on Vorster.

I believe this is essential despite whatever risk there may be of making Vorster even less disposed to cooperate on Rhodesia and Namibia.

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Recognizing the current grip that the Portuguese Communists have on the unions, I will say that we are ready to cooperate in the strengthening of Portugal's democratic unions through one or more AID programs.

With your agreement, I will take the position as outlined above on US-Portuguese economic, political and security interests in my talks with President Eanes and Prime Minister Soares.

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Bearing in mind Spain's traditionally friendly ties with Arab countries, I will review your commitment and your efforts to promote a Middle East settlement. I will recommend that Spain encourage Arab moderation and flexibility, and that Spain help to reduce Israel's fear of isolation by establishing diplomatic relations, as other European states have done. With your agreement, I will base my discussions with King Juan Carlos and Prime Minister Suarez on these agenda items.

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Chancellor Kreisky clearly welcomes my visit to Vienna in your behalf as it will further highlight Austria's international role as an "active neutral" nation and Kreisky's role personally as an international statesman. I will take the occasion of my talks with the Chancellor to review a number of international issues of current importance, issues on which Kreisky and the Austrians can be helpful, including: the approach the U.S. plans to take in the Belgrade CSCE meeting on security and cooperation in Europe; our dedication to the pursuit of human rights as a fundamental tenet of US foreign policy and our appreciation for Kreisky's strong stand on this issue; the encouragement we take from the democratic evolution in Portugal and Spain and our hope that Kreisky will speak out in favor of these positive developments; our policy toward Yugoslavia in the context of East-West relations; and our assessment of developments relating to Greece/Turkey/Cyprus and the Middle East. I will emphasize our very great appreciation for talks with Vorster. With your agreement, I will base my conversations with the Austrian Chancellor on this agenda of international issues.

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Yugoslavia. I believe the Yugoslavs are looking forward to this visit because of the early restoration of high-level US-Yugoslav contacts it will bring. My primary objective in Yugoslavia will be to convince President Tito and leading members of his government of your support for Yugoslavia's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. I will state that the US respects Yugoslavia's place in the non-aligned movement. At the same time, we believe Yugoslavia must respect our interests in multilateral as well as bilateral relations if our relationship is to prosper.

By the time of my visit, we hope to have negotiated a satisfactory solution to the most contentious issue in our bilateral relations -- that of the impasse of an export license for the Westinghous e-supplied nuclear reactor destined for Yugoslavia. We hope the Yugoslavs will give us the assurances we require on reprocessing and disposition of fuel. I will state that we will want to assure dependable supplies of fuel and equipment while taking necessary steps to avoid nuclear weapons proliferation, and I will confirm that Yugoslavia will be welcome to join the nuclear fuel cycle evaluation effort.

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The Yugoslavs have indicated their belief that we are not forceful enough in prosecuting Yugoslav emigre terrorists. Prior to my departure, I will discuss this issue with Attorney General Bell so as to be able to assure Tito that we are determined to prevent and punish terrorists; that we are giving high priority to the bombing of Yugoslavia's Embassy last June and that we will vigorously prosecute those who have committed terrorist activities. In this connection, I will note with satisfaction that the TWA hijacking case has been successfully prosecuted.

Prior to my arrival in Belgrade, Admiral Holloway will have just concluded a visit to Yugoslavia for talks in the framework of our limited military cooperation and exchanges with the Yugoslavs. While stating your priority policy of reducing the level of international arms sales, I will inform the Yugoslavs that we are prepared to continue US-Yugoslav military exchanges and consultations, and to consider some of Yugoslavia's proposals for military equipment

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talk to some of the government's upcoming leader to have increased dealings with in coming years. Of importance, the visit to Belgrade should give me the opportunity to talk to some of the government's upcoming leaders, people we can expect

I will plan to focus my discussions on international issues on the Belgrade CSCE meeting, the Middle East, and our African policy. I believe that if I am candid with Tito about the nature of my talks with Vorster, this may well produce a positive ripple effect in terms of Yugoslav consultations with other members of the non-aligned movement on our African policy. With your agreement I will base the agenda for my talks with Tito on theissues outlined above.

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I am attaching at Tab A proposed letters for your signature to President Eanes, King Juan Carlos, Chancellor Kreisky, Prime Minister Vorster and President Tito. With your approval I will plan to present the letters during my talks with each of these leaders.

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Tab A - Letters for your signature

Tab B - Draft Arrival Statement, Vienna

Tab C - Draft Statement following Talks with Vorster

Tab D - Trip Schedule

Tab E - Trip Manifest

#### STATEMENT TO PRESS ON ARRIVAL IN VIENNA

I am pleased to be in Vienna where I have come for a double purpose: to confer with Chancellor Kreisky on matters of mutual interest and to review developments in southern Africa with Prime Minister Vorster,

(Paragraphs on Austrian aspect of visit to be added)

The talks with the South African Prime Minister will

give us an opportunity to discuss a wide range of southern

African issues. The SAG has a crucial role to play in

dealing with these issues.

We will discuss how best to support the new initiative for resumption of negotiations on Southern Rhodesia on which Secretary Vance and Foreign Secretary Owen have been conferring, and additional steps needed to promote a successful outcome of these negotiations.

Another topic involves the urgency of moving forward to implement Namibian independence within the framework of UN Security Council Resolution 385. Late last month representatives of Canada, France, FRG, UK and US met in Cape Town with the SAG to consider ways and means to accomplish this. By virtue of its position in Namibia the SAG has a special responsibility to work with the United

Nations in finding a solution which allows all the people of Namibia to decide freely the nature of their independence government.

I will also be speaking with Prime Minister Vorster about developments in South Africa. I will explain to Prime Minister Vorster why the new administration as a matter of national policy attaches so much importance to respect for human rights and why we regard it as a key element in determining the nature of our relationship with other countries.



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Of importance, the visit to Belgrade should give me the opportunity to talk to some of the government's upcoming leaders, people we can expect to have increased dealings with in coming years.

I will plan to focus my discussions on international issues on the Belgrade CSCE meeting, the Middle East, and our African policy. I believe that if I am candid with Tito about the nature of my talks with Vorster, this may well produce a positive ripple effect in terms of Yugoslav consultations with other members of the non-aligned movement on our African policy. With your agreement I will base the agenda for my talks with Tito on the issues outlined above.

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I am attaching at Tab A proposed letters for your signature to President Eanes, King Juan Carlos, Chancellor Kreisky, Prime Minister Vorster and President Tito. With your approval I will plan to present the letters during my talks with each of these leaders.

Approve			_	Disapprove			те _				

Tab A - Letters for your signature

Tab B - Draft Arrival Statement, Vienna

Tab C - Draft Statement following Talks with Vorster

Tab D - Trip Schedule

Tab E - Trip Manifest

## STATEMENT AT CONCLUSION OF TALKS WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER

This statement is based on the most (NOTE: favorable outcome one can expect. It will have to be adjusted according to the results of the talks.)

Prime Minister Vorster and I have had a frank and useful exchange of views centering on:

- support of the new initiative to achieve a settlement of the Rhodesian problem based on majority rule;
- ways to bring Namibia to independence in a manner which genuinely reflects the will of all the Namibian people; and

the need for basic change in South Africa in the direction of full exercise of human rights, equal opportunity, and meaningful participation by all people in the political and economic life of the country.

> On Rhodesia, we reviewed carefully British Foreign Secretary Owen's plans for consultations on a constitution for an independent Zimbabwe. We discussed the various difficult issues which might arise in the preparation of that document and the transition to independence requiring flexibility on the part of Zimbabwe nationalist leaders and Mr. Ian Smith. Prime Minister Vorster agreed to use South Africa's influence with Mr. Smith in support of

moderation and compromise in reaching an agreement on a settlement within 1978.

I reviewed with the South African Prime Minister all aspects of the initiative taken by the five powers (Canada, France, F.R.G., U.K. and U.S.) to bring about a settlement of the Namibian question consistent with U.N. Security Council Resolution 385. We discussed the role of the United Nations in the transition process to insure unimpeded participation of all Namibians in determining the nature of their independence constitution. Prime Minister Vorster pledged his cooperation in seeing that satisfactory arrangements are made to facilitate this process. We also discussed other aspects of Resolution 385 which are essential elements of an internationally acceptable formula. Mr. Vorster gave me to understand that his government would cooperate in the achievement of these aspects.

With respect to South Africa itself, I explained to

Prime Minister Vorster why the United States thinks it is is
the long term interest of South Africa to (make) a progressive transformation of its society in the direction of
full political rights for all its people. I told him that
this is not a demand but the counsel of a friend and that
we would not presume to prescribe formulas. This is for
the South African people to work out among themselves

through constructive dialogue between leaders of the different population groups. If South Africa moves away resolutely and quickly from racial discrimination and towards full political participation, further domestic unrest can be averted, the dangers of region conflict avoided, and South Africa's proper place in the international community restored. On the other hand, if the South African Government cannot make fundamental changes to meet the aspirations of its citizens of all races, then he must realize that inevitably our relations must be affected.

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SUBJECT: ANNOUNCEMENT BY PRESIDENT OF VICE PRESIDENT MONDAL'S VISIT TO EUROPE

1. I LEAVE FOR LONDON LATER THIS WEEK FOR SUMMIT TALKS OF THE VERY GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO THIS NATION'S INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS. THESE TALKS ARE CENTRAL TO THE PRIORITY STEPS I AM TAKING IN THE FIRST YEAR OF MY ADMINISTRATION WITH OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES TO ENSURE THE GREATEST POSSIBLE UNDERSTANDING, COOPERATION AND PROGRESS IN OUR COMMON INTERESTS.

- 2. I AM VERY PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE TODAY THAT I AM ASKING VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE TO UNDERTAKE AN IMPORTANT OVERSEAS MISSION IN MY BEHALF LATER THIS MONTH.
- 3. THE VICE PRESIDENT WILL BE TRAVELLING TO PORTUGAL, SPAIN, AUSTRIA, YUGOSLAVIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM ON A MISSION THAT WILL ENABLE THIS ADMINISTRATION TO PURSUE AS EFFECTIVELY AS POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL FOREIGN POLICY DEJECTIVES THAT ARE ALSO CENTRAL TO THE GOALS OF MY ADMINISTRATION. IN LISBON AND MADRIO, THE VICE PRESIDENT WILL CONTINUE THE IMPORTANT CONSULTATIONS WE HAVE BEGUN WITH THE PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH GOVERNMENTS. I BELIEVE I SPEAK FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHEN I SAY HOW VERY DEEPLY ENCOURAGED WE ARE BY THE RETURN TO DEMOCRACY IN PORTUGAL AND BY THE STEPS SPAIN IS TAKING TO BUILD A TRUE AND JUST DEMOCRACY. WE VALUE THE CLOSEST POSSIBLE CONSULTATIONS WITH THESE GOVERNMENTS AT THIS IMPORTANT TIME IN THEIR HISTORIES --

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CONSULTATIONS WHICH WILL ENABLE US TO BUILD ON OUR CO-OPERATION IN ALL FIELDS OF MUTUAL INTEREST.

4. THE VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO VIENNA, AUSTRIA WILL HAVE TWO PRIME OBJECTIVES. WE VIEW AUSTRIA AS A GOOD FRIEND OF THE UNITED STATES. I HAVE THE HIGHEST RESPECT FOR THE AUSTRIAN CANCELLOR, BRUND KREISKY, WHOM I REGARD AS AN IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL STATESMAN AND I HAVE ASKED THE VICE PRESIDENT TO MEET WITH THE CHANCELLOR AND OTHER LEADERS OF THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT NOT ONLY FOR BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS, BUT ALSO SO THAT WE MAY HAVE THE BENEFIT OF THEIR VIEWS ON A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.

5. A FEW WEEKS AGD I MENTIONED THAT I HAD ASKED THE VICE PRESIDENT TO PLAY A KEY ROLE, IN CLOSE COORDINATION WITH SECRETARY VANCE AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG, IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY TOWARD AFRICA. IN KEEPING WITH THAT ROLE THE VICE PRESIDENT WILL MEET WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA WHILE HE IS IN VIENNA. PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, LIKE DURSELVES, HAS AN INTEREST IN MEETING TO DISCUSS DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN WE HAVE BEEN WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN'S EFFORTS TO MAKE PROGRESS ON RHODESIA. SEPARATELY WE HAVE BEEN WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE BRITISH AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS ON THE ISSUE OF NAMIBIA. THE TALKS IN VIENNA WILL ENABLE THE VICE PRESIDENT, IN MY BEHALF, TO DISCUSS THESE COMPLEX ISSUES WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER AND TO STATE DUR VIEWS ON THE CRUCIAL ROLE WHICH CAN BE PLAYED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN BRINGING THE NEEDED CHANGES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

6. IN THIS REGARD WE ARE K VERY GRATEFUL TO PRIME MINISTER KREISKY FOR THE HOSPITALITY BEING GIVEN BY THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT.

7. THE VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA FOR TALKS WITH PRESIDENT TITO AND MEMBERS OF THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP

WILL MARK THE FIRST HIGH-LEVEL U.S.-YUGOSLAV CONSULTATIONS UNDER MY ADMINISTRATION. THE U.S. PLACES IMPORTANCE ON YUGOSLAVIA'S INDEPENDENCE, POLITICAL UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND WE RECOGNIZE YUGOSLAVIA'S AND PRESIDENT TITO'S VITAL ROLE IN PROVIDING LEADERSHIP TO THE NON-ALIGNED

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WORLD. I BELIEVE THESE EARLY CONSULTATIONS WITH PRESIDENT TITO WILL BE OF GREAT VALUE.

8. FINALLY, I HAVE ASKED THE VICE PRESIDENT TO INCLUDE A STOP IN THE U.K. TO CONTINUE THE CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WE ARE CONDUCTING WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO SOUTHERN AFRICA.

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