January 21, 1977

Presidential Review Memorandum/NSC 4

Dist to: The Vice President
        The Secretary of State
        The Secretary of Defense

        ALSO: The United States Representative to the
        United Nations
        The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
        The Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: South Africa and Rhodesian Negotiations

The President has directed that the Policy Review Committee, under
the chairmanship of the Department of State, undertake a review of
U.S. policy toward Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia.

The review should:

1. Review the current status of the Rhodesian and Namibian
   negotiations, including the negotiating positions and indigenous public
   support for all participants. The positions of the Front-Line states,
   and other African and non-African governments involved, should be
   included.

2. Review current U.S. policy toward these negotiations and identify
   policy options for future U.S. roles in the area, including timing of the
   negotiations, and the effects of different U.S. policies on our relations
   with other black African states.

3. Review U.S. policy toward South Africa, and analyze options for
   future U.S. posture toward that nation, in light of different possible U.S.
   roles in the Rhodesian and Namibian negotiations.

4. Assess the effects of U.S. policies in Southern Africa on the U.S.
   position in the United Nations and other North-South forums.

5. Assess the possibilities of the repeal of the Byrd amendment by
   Congress this year and the effects of repeal or non-repeal on the status
   of the Rhodesian conflict and on U.S. relations with African states.
6. Examine likely reactions by Congress and the American public to various U.S. options.

The review should be no longer than 30 pages. It should be completed by January 31, in time for consideration by the Policy Review Committee immediately thereafter.

The President has further directed that a comprehensive, long-term review of Southern Africa be undertaken by the Policy Review Committee. The review will be due in the spring and a follow-on tasking memorandum will be forthcoming.

Zbigniew Brzezinski