

Africa Undertakes Bonn Strategy For Development

Egypt presents Nile plan to OAU as hot spots cool

Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Dr. Butrus Ghali, speaking at the Foreign Ministers' meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Khartoum, Sudan on July 9, announced the creation of an organization of African states for the purpose of rapid

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and comprehensive development of the Nile River valley.

With Ghali's announcement, the government of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat has publicly transmitted to Africa Europe's Grand Design for peace through global economic development.

Egypt's initiative is one of several by African states, undertaken in cooperation with Western Europe and some American leaders, to settle longstanding and divisive disputes on the continent and to move quickly to activate in Africa the vast development initiatives for Africa first outlined at the beginning of May by West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev at their historic meeting in Bonn.

The preliminary settlement of the Namibia question, a cease-fire in the desert war in Mauritania, and a rapprochement between Angola and Zaire — all accomplished over the past two weeks — had major positive effects on the OAU summit and paved the way for an enthusiastic reception to Egypt's development proposal. *New York Times* reports to the contrary,

From July 19 OAU summit speech by Nigerian head of state Olesgun Obasanjo:

Obasanjo asserted that the Soviets "were invited into Africa for a purpose," and in every case of Cuban intervention "they intervened as a consequence of failure of Western policies and on behalf of legitimate African interests."

London-directed maneuvers to split the OAU into warring "pro-West" and "pro-Soviet" blocs during the course of the conference failed completely.

The OAU summit, ending deliberations in Khartoum on July 21, passed a resolution affirming any African country's sovereign right to appeal for assistance to a foreign power if its territory or independence is threatened. Another resolution to expel Cuba from the Non-Aligned Movement, entered by Somalia (in response to Cuba's military intervention to defend Ethiopia from a Somali invasion last year) was ruled out of order and dropped. In sum, the two votes effectively undercut London's efforts to stir up a controversy over the issue of the presence of Cuban troops and advisors in Angola and Ethiopia. Speeches delivered by African heads of state, such as Nigeria's Obasanjo, by-passed this theme in favor of an emphasis on their desire for nonalignment in order to allow concentration on Africa's top priority, economic development.

1. Egypt's Initiatives To Stabilize Northeast Africa

Both Egypt and Ethiopia are undertaking development-based initiatives to bring peace to northeast Africa and introduce Western Europe's Grand Design to the region. For Egypt this involves a dramatic public shift away from its former hard-line position against Cuban and Soviet influence in Africa and reconciliations with Ethiopia and Angola, both formerly accused by Egypt of acting as "Soviet puppets." At the same time, France's President Giscard d'Estaing is applying pressure to isolate or neutralize Ethiopia's enemy, Somalia, while reopening Western ties to Ethiopia.

On July 9 Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Dr. Butrus Ghali announced the creation of a seven-state organization for the development of the entire Nile River valley, emphasizing the importance of this organization in reducing tensions in the area. According to Egyptian radio, Dr. Ghali announced in Khartoum, Sudan, at the Foreign Ministers meeting of the Organization of African Unity that Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, the Sudan, Uganda, and Zaire are to meet in Kampala, Uganda, in the near future to plan

projects all along the river. These include reservoirs, power plants, canals, dredging for navigation, and the expansion of irrigated agriculture.

Dr. Ghali emphasized that "African states, despite some disputes, can cooperate effectively in fields of development." He added that the organization expects loans from Arab countries and "African financial sources." European funds could be invested through these African channels.

Egypt also joined a general move to isolate the expansionist regime of Somalia, whose territorial claim to half of Ethiopia led to a war with that country last year in which Egypt supported Somalia. In response to a Somali proposal to the OAU Foreign Ministers to back the expulsion of Cuba from the Non Aligned Movement (which was ruled out of order), Dr. Ghali told reporters that rather than defend or condemn Soviet and Cuban influence in Africa, Egypt prefers to eradicate the causes for any foreign military intervention in Africa.

Ethiopia is moving to improve its relations with Western Europe and the United States and settle their confrontation with neighboring Somalia, which last year invaded Ethiopia. Significantly, French President Giscard is planning to meet with a high-level Ethiopian delegation in the near future. In a meeting last week in Paris, he publicly pressured Somali President Mohammed Siad Barre to enter into peace negotiations with Ethiopia, suggesting in an after-dinner toast before French Ministers and businessmen that Siad deeply desires peace and should agree to a peace conference.

Egypt has also agreed to improve relations with the People's Republic of Angola in an announcement from Cairo last week, scant months after sending military aid to Zaire in its dispute against Angola.

An Ethiopian Diplomat's Assessment

In a July 13 interview, an Ethiopian diplomat in Western Europe expressed his country's desire to re-establish ties with "our traditional ally, the United States. We have established good relations with the East, but we want friends on both sides." Outlining Ethiopia's plans for the future, the diplomat said that Ethiopia is developing "excellent relations with the European Economic Community," from whom they get considerable development assistance. "We have been deluged by German firms," he added, "proposing development plans for the whole region. . . but these ideas are being blocked by Somalia's behavior."

He expressed confidence, however, that the U.S., France, and West Germany would "step up pressure" on Somali President Mohammed Siad Barre to renounce his territorial claims to Ethiopia's Ogaden region and Kenya's Northern Province. He stressed that not only is Somalia isolated in its aggression, but President Siad and his clique is isolated inside Somalia. "Wherever there are Ethiopian and Somali diplomatic delegations," he said, "they are close friends."

2. North Africa, Mauritania, And Franco-Algerian Rapprochement

In a July 15 interview in the Paris daily *Le Matin*, Tunisian Prime Minister Hedi Nouira declared his country's support for the creation of a Euro-Mediterranean community incorporating the European Economic Community, the Maghreb (North African) countries, and the border Mediterranean countries of Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Turkey. To facilitate such an accord, Algerian Foreign Minister Bouteflika met with Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba during a July 12 state visit to Paris to discuss the formation of a Maghreb confederation to institutionalize North African economic cooperation.

The emergence of a global grid of development projects for Africa has provided the basis for Algeria and France to resolve diplomatic differences. Until now, the Franco-Algerian conflict, aggravated by Algeria's support for the Polisario so-called liberation group, has been one of the main stumbling blocks to expanded trade and industrial development projects from Europe to its North African neighbors.

In an extraordinary July 14 national holiday message to the French nation, Algerian President Houari Boumediene invited French President Giscard d'Estaing to set aside past differences in the interests of a future and secure stability between the two nations. "I am expressing the firm conviction that the interests which exist between Algeria and France," said Boumediene, "and which — above and beyond differences — relate to the nature of things, will push us to bring to this cooperation those resources which our two countries are far from exhausting, the dimension of a trusting and efficacious dialogue, so necessary to the deepening of Franco-Algerian relations and so useful to the furthering of justice, peace, and stability in the region."

The Algerian daily *El Moudjahid*, in front-page coverage, praised the successful July 12 Paris talks between Foreign Minister Bouteflika and the French President. Emerging from the talks, Bouteflika said that both countries had agreed on the need to restore "regional stability" and to work for a negotiated settlement to the Polisario question.

Only weeks ago, the Algerian press had carried bitter attacks on French "neocolonialist" designs on northwest Africa and criticized the French government for its refusal to recognize the Polisario Liberation Front's claims to the former Spanish Sahara. Demanding a separate state, the Algerian-backed Polisario declared war on Morocco and Mauritania, who partitioned that part of the Sahara upon Spanish departure in 1975.

Franco-Algerian relations hit a low point last year when Mauritania asked for French air support in curbing guerrilla attacks on its iron ore complex at Zouerate — the country's only source of revenue.

The Franco-Algerian breakthrough was preceded by a coup in which the ailing Mauritanian regime of President Ould Daddah was replaced by a solid pro-French military faction. Greeting the government change as

"good news," the Polisario has declared an "immediate ceasefire as a gesture of good will to the new regime."

At the head of Mauritania's new military "Committee for National Rehabilitation" is Mustapha Ould Salek, a conservative who lost out in a power struggle with ousted President Ould Daddah in the 1970s because of his overt pro-French policies. In addition to maintaining traditional ties with Morocco and Saudi Arabia, the Paris daily *Le Figaro* reported in its July 13 issue, the new government desired to enlist Moroccan support in drawing up a "working agenda which would eventually lead to the peace process."

Regional Economic Cooperation

The resolution of the Polisario conflict will allow the impoverished Mauritanian government to "rehabilitate the war-weary economy" which under the previous regime had slipped into total bankruptcy. Mauritania is rich in iron ore, and, backed by Saudi Arabian and Libyan funding, the government is planning to open a second mining project in addition to expanding its Zouerate facility.

These plans to further mineral exploitation in the area take place at a time when the Moroccans have signed a 20-year contract with the Soviet Union for phosphate development. From all indications, the Algerian government is very anxious to join in this development bonanza, especially since Algeria has not been able to develop its own iron ore reserves in the southwestern region of Tindouf because of the regional political deadlock. According to *Le Figaro* commentator Paul Marie de la Gorce in a July 17 editorial, Algeria is amenable to negotiating a settlement of the Polisario affair "because of particular interests" — that is, economic development.

The Algerian government has recently signed a major contract with the American Bechtel Corporation for the exploitation of its huge iron ore deposits in the Tindouf region. Plans have already been drawn up for the construction of a railroad linking Tindouf to the Atlantic Ocean via the Spanish Sahara.

These moves toward a regional economic development schema have been spurred by the opening of the historic Trans-Sahara route which links Mediterranean Algeria to the Sahara. Forking at Tamanrasset in southern Algeria, the road branches toward the neighboring countries of Niger and Mali and represents for these landlocked and poverty wracked countries a major link with the outside world. The route, nicknamed the "uranium road," will eventually be used to haul this resource to European and world markets.

3. Angola And Zaire Move To Entente

The May 1978 British and Belgian coordinated "Shaba II" invasion of Zaire has not led to International Monetary Fund dictatorships in Zaire, Zambia, and Angola. Nor has it sparked the East-West confrontation which the U.S. National Security Advisor Zbigniew

Brzezinski, Henry Kissinger and the British Tories had clamored for. Ironically, the net effect of that invasion has been the solidification of an Angolan-Zaire entente backed by West Germany, France, the United States State Department, Cuba, the Soviet Union and Portugal, with support from elements in the Republic of South Africa as well as the majority of black Africa.

Angola's President Agostinho Neto and Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko met in Congo-Brazzaville the weekend before their attendance at the Khartoum OAU summit. In addition to formalizing their agreement on restraining divisive guerrilla forces, and on prisoner exchanges, they announced plans to reopen the Benguela Railroad to the Angolan port of Lobito.

The importance of the Benguela reopening is that it serves as a major route for copper export from both Zaire and Zambia. These two nations are under severe pressure to turn over their sovereignty over domestic economic policy-making to the International Monetary Fund and have both adopted strict austerity measures in an attempt to reduce their crippling deficits. Although technical and military difficulties must be dealt with before the Benguela resumes operation, this announcement will stiffen resistance to austerity as a development-vectored policy is prepared.

An integral part of this entente is the possibility of a peaceful, United Nations-supervised transition to independence for Namibia (Southwest Africa). On July 12, after two days of meetings in Luanda, Angola, between Sam Nujoma, the leader of the SWAPO (Southwest Africa People's Organization) and representatives of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Canada, France, and Great Britain, it was announced

Brzezinski Line Dismissed

Time magazine's July 17 issue finally admitted that the Brzezinski line on Cuban involvement in the Shaba province invasion had been discredited by diplomats and intelligence experts.

Neto and Castro are apparently determined to see that there will be no Shaba III in the near future. As veterans of the Shaba invasion cross the border back into Angola, they are being intercepted by Neto's troops and stripped of their weapons. . . .

Neto thereby raised an awkward question: If his army could disarm the Katangese on their way home, why could it not have blocked the invasion in the first place? The answer may be that Neto tried then to use persuasion rather than military force but found he had insufficient influence on the exiles, who have carved out a semiautonomous zone for themselves in north-eastern Angola.

Diplomatic and intelligence experts now generally agree that neither Castro nor Neto wanted the Katangese to invade Zaire when they did. . . .

that Sam Nujoma had agreed to present a plan for settlement to the United Nations Security Council.

This startling turnaround in southern Africa was arranged through diplomatic activity which began during the Shaba invasion.

Mobutu and Zairean radio reacted to the Belgian military activity in Shaba by denouncing the Belgians for their ties to the invaders and for being the cause of all of Zaire's major difficulties.

On June 9, Angola's President Neto publicly appealed to Zaire to eliminate the poison between Angola and Zaire. He unilaterally announced that he was disarming and relocating anti-Mobutu populations in Angola. This policy of pacifying the area has been in operation since that time. He appealed to Mobutu to reciprocate by cutting off aid to anti-Angolan forces. The ground had been prepared for this peace initiative by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia who had visited both Neto and Mobutu the previous week.

It is now known that Neto and his ally, Cuba's Prime Minister Fidel Castro, had been in contact with the United States State Department during this same period. They requested meetings to discuss their charges that Brzezinski had "misinformed" Carter in blaming them for the Shaba invasion. On June 21, the State Department announced that Donald McHenry, aide to United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young, would visit Luanda to meet with Angolan officials. He negotiated the kind of deal that should serve as a model for all international relations. The Angolans offered to support peace in Namibia in exchange for Western support of peace with Zaire.

This deal may now open the way for a peaceful solution to the remaining South African hot spots, the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia. South African Foreign

Minister Roelof Botha hailed the Namibia agreement, saying it "would herald a new era in Southern Africa — something which the people of this sub-continent would all welcome." A front-line states diplomat said that everyone wants Namibia settled quickly and that "the role of the Germans was critical in obtaining the Namibia settlement."

L'Aurore:

Young's Policy Debate Wins

The following are excerpts from an exclusive article that appeared in the July 2 conservative daily L'Aurore, authored by Philippe Bernert. While Bernert complains that the current developments in Africa, and specifically around Angola, constitute a "Mini-Yalta," the article nevertheless provides a noteworthy overview of current moves for peace in the region.

The West has just taken a decisive turn on the African question, and more particularly on the Angolan problem. . . . In Washington, the party of conciliation, of the peaceful solution, has won with Andrew Young... and Cyrus Vance. Within days, an entire political-strategic combination has been swept away. This particularly spectacular reversal of programs implies new directives for the entire West, and the establishment of links of a new type with certain African Marxist states. . . .

This is how it will be determined, between diplomats, industrialists, leaders, if peace is still possible, or if, according to the Cassandra cries of President Senghor or King Hassan II, World War III has already started.

Neto: Peace and Development

Following is a translation of portions of Angolan President Agostinho Neto's nationally televised July 9 speech to the Angolan population:

. . . The Angolan State has not trained, has not armed any army, nor organized any expedition against Zaire.

Our Soviet and Cuban allies have not intervened in any way whatsoever in Angolan territory to provoke a rebellion.

This fact (the rebellion), however, did not prevent our manifesting the desire that has always led us to maintain normal friendly relations with our neighbors. Thus, to all those who solicited us, formal guarantees of protection were given — to Belgian, French citizens or whatever other nationality that may have ventured to seek the route of Angola to return to their countries. . . .

It was decided — and long before the rebellion in Zaire — to transfer close to 250,000 refugees located in the provinces of Lunda and Moxico away from the areas bordering on Shaba. The wounded as well as all others who enter Angola will be transferred to refugee camps far from the border if they desire to remain in our country.

Those who arrive from Zaire with arms will be systematically disarmed and taken to refugee camps. In sum, the right to asylum is guaranteed to everyone by the People's Republic of Angola. We believe we can thus alleviate the apprehensions of the Zairean government concerning the possibilities of attacks launched from Angola.

I also take this opportunity to make an appeal to Zaire to withdraw to the other side of the border the bands of the "FNLA," the "FLEC," and "UNITA," as well as the mercenaries, who carry out constant attacks against our territory, undoubtedly with the knowledge of the authorities of that neighboring country.

The People's Republic of Angola does not meddle in the internal affairs of other countries, whether their regimes appeal to us or not. We therefore seek relations of friendship and cooperation particularly with those adjacent to us. And if good relations between Angola and Zaire are necessary for the peace and development of this region of Africa, it is necessary to eliminate the causes of tensions. . . .

Thanks to exclusive information, we are in a position to reveal that the Western countries concerned with the African problem are ready to definitively recognize the pro-Soviet regime of Luanda and renounce any more support, in one way or another, for the UNITA grouping of Jonas Savimbi and the FNLA of Roberto Holden. . . . To negotiate a détente which it thinks is still possible, the West would sacrifice its allies. Marxist Angola, plagued by considerable economic difficulties, would warmly welcome Western financial aid which would permit it to resist collapse. Thus recognized, reassured and reinforced by the West itself, rid of its adversaries, President Neto would, on his side, make certain concessions. He would reduce the SWAPO to silence. . . He would reopen the Atlantic Benguela railroad route, transporting copper from Zambia and from Zaire. France itself would obtain exclusive oil exploration permits in Angola. . . .

What is being drawn up is an extraordinary attempt at peaceful coexistence between Western interests and Marxist ideology. . . . Technicians from the Western world will soon be elbow to elbow with specialists from the East bloc countries. Western equipment will reinforce a communist beach-head in Africa. In exchange for a promise: the projected attack against Namibia, forward line of South Africa, will not occur. A kind of insurance policy against an invasion. . . .

On June 20 Andrew Young's direct assistant, Donald MacHenry, arrived in Luanda. Secret conversations have already taken place in a United Nations office in New York between Andrew Young and Angolan Foreign Affairs Minister Paulo Jorge.

Americans and Angolans are preparing a reconciliation between Presidents Neto and Mobutu. The Shaba affair will be erased. . . .

Also remarkable is the summit meeting between Portuguese Chief of State General Eanes and Marxist President Neto, under the auspices of the President of

Guinea-Bissau, Luis Cabral. How was Eanes... able to start up normal relations with Neto? "Very simply," explains a high official, "because the Americans asked him to. Portugal must play a key role in the Western plan. Eanes has promised Neto considerable financial support. But Portugal is too poor for such an adventure..."

In fact, these accords are guided by the United States, which does not want to appear as the new lenders to Angola. Portugal will constitute a relay.

And this is not all: the entirety of Western financial circles is moving into this breach, deciding to invest in Angola in order to neutralize that "powder keg" which could blow up South Africa. . . .

In greatest secrecy, France and Angola have already had talks on the reconciliation between Angola and Zaire... (Even though) recently, and notably in May 1978, Paris had put together, with the chief of UNITA, Jonas Savimbi, who came specially to France, a vast guerrilla and sabotage campaign in Angola. . . . But by mid-June everything was cancelled and Savimbi found himself left in the lurch. . . .

In this immense balancing act, France rejoined the other Western countries and (discretely) renounced becoming the gendarme of Africa. The Angolan Ambassador to Brussels, de Almeida — more than a diplomat, a political man of the highest rank — came to Paris to meet several French leaders, including Foreign Affairs Minister de Guiringaud. They talked oil, and understood each other perfectly. Ambassador de Almeida also contacted one of his best friends, Claude Cheysson, the Frenchman who is European Commissioner for Development Aid, and had him invited by the Angolan government. Invitation accepted. . . .

Even South Africa is moving in behind the will for détente manifested by the West. . . .

Israel Faces Geneva

Dayan, Sharon plot war to halt growth of peace faction in Israel

The diplomacy of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat has sparked the severest political crisis in Israeli history.

For the first time since the early 1950s, there are signs of an emerging peace coalition inside Israel, comprised of important military personalities, the fledgling "Peace

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Now" movement, the Sephardic Jewish community, and some Israeli political parties like Mapam. According to authoritative sources, in the coming months this coali-

tion will be pulled together by several prominent politicians in Israel to become a powerful new force on the Israeli scene. The program of the group, sometimes explicitly enunciated and sometimes only hinted at, is for Israel to announce its willingness to talk to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In addition, there is overwhelming evidence that this emerging peace coalition is backed directly by American intelligence and the Pentagon.

Increasingly, over the coming period, Israeli politics will be defined by a polarization on the issues raised by the peace movement. The government of Menachem Begin's Likud bloc is severely isolated and, in the opinion