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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 23, 1992

NATIONAL SECURITY DIRECTIVE 75

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL
SECURITY AFFAIRS
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
ADMINISTRATOR OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT
DIRECTOR OF THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

SUBJECT: American Policy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa in the
1990s (U)

This Directive establishes a comprehensive United States policy on sub-Saharan Africa for the 1990s based on National Security Review 30. (U)

INTRODUCTION

The dramatic changes underway in post-Cold War Africa present unprecedented opportunities and challenges for U.S. policy. Africans, seeking economic progress and democracy, are beset by ethnic tensions, economic decline, environmental degradation, and new threats from AIDS and narcotics. Progress and stability will require a long-term effort both by the international community and by the Africans themselves. Perhaps more so than ever before, they look to the U.S. for support and a mature partnership, while taking more responsibility for solving their own conflicts and problems. (U)

Maintaining substantial involvement in Africa can yield important benefits. Therefore, bilaterally and with international organizations we will continue to promote peaceful change, political stability, conflict resolution, democracy, improved governance, more commerce, sustainable development, and solutions for transnational issues. To achieve these goals we will maintain an appropriate and active diplomatic presence in each country. (U)

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Africa's global political role is disproportionate to its economic and military strength. It accounts for one third of the UN's membership and fills three non-permanent Security Council seats. Maintaining our role in Africa will also be a welcome signal to others of our willingness to continue as a global leader. ~~(S)~~

With a population of 795 million, 20 percent of the world's land area, and a wealth of natural resources Africa cannot be discounted or ignored. Because of its conflicts and poverty there is a long-term humanitarian imperative to help alleviate acute suffering as much as possible. Domestic cultural and political ties to Africa, especially strong among African-Americans, also argue for long-term involvement. (U)

POLICY OBJECTIVES

The U.S. shall pursue the following policy objectives:

Conflict Resolution and Political Stability: These two objectives are primary, since the degree of success in achieving them will significantly influence our ability to succeed in all other areas. We must maintain an active role in conflict resolution within the limits of our resources and in concert with like-minded states in the region and beyond. When appropriate, we will encourage the United Nations and regional organizations to take the lead. At times and as necessary we will also take independent, bilateral approaches. ~~(S)~~

We will foster politically stable regimes that are committed to political and economic freedoms. In principle we will discourage border adjustments and the creation of new states, but we will not oppose them if they are peacefully achieved, agreed to by the parties concerned, and politically acceptable in the region. ~~(S)~~

Democracy and Good Governance: We will seek greater African acceptance of human rights, worker rights, the rule of law, government accountability, and democratic political pluralism. We will promote smaller, defensive military force structures with missions and leaders responsive to civilian authority and democratic values. (U)

Development and Commerce: We will work for sustained development through market-based reforms that rely more on the private sector and in the long term reduce dependence on outside aid. We view equitable access to markets, investment opportunities, and resources as the best way to sustain growth and U.S. involvement. (U)

Transnational Issues: We must reduce terrorism and narcotics trafficking in Africa, counter the proliferation threat, and limit subversion by radical regimes (e.g. Iran, Iraq, and Libya) that consider Africa a priority target and that are inimical to our interests. Seeking bilateral and multilateral support, we shall confront environmental degradation, AIDS and other health

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threats, and work to curb population growth, to ameliorate the refugee problem, and to improve the status of women. (U)

Military Security: The reduced strategic importance of Africa to the United States in the post-cold war world should be reflected by redirecting some U.S. military resources into peacekeeping and humanitarian relief. Yet, maintaining access to some air and naval facilities for military contingencies in the region and in nearby areas will be important. We will assist in insuring adequate resources and access for international peacekeeping operations. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POLICY PROGRAMS

Fostering Stable Democracies

Our commitment is to help sustain reforms now being demanded by Africans themselves. We will focus on supporting broadly democratic processes and institutions, not personalities or specific partisan outcomes. (U)

Human rights will have a significant role in our diplomacy and programs. Post-colonial, authoritarian regimes in Africa have been dismal failures. As they disappear, we have a historic opportunity to show Africans how stability and development can be achieved through participatory political life and responsible government. (U)

Strong U.S. programs to propagate democratic values are essential. We will support rule of law, improvements in human and civil rights, freedom of the press, free and fair elections, improved governance, improved status for women, and other pillars of a democratic society. By strengthening such institutions and values, we and other democracies can help make democratic experiments in Africa permanent realities. (U)

U.S. and International Engagement in Africa

African conflicts and resulting humanitarian emergencies, poor governance and bad economic policies lead to heavy drains on resources and lost economic opportunities. There is much to be gained through a selectively activist policy in Africa seeking to eliminate the causes of these phenomena. The U.S. role in resolving conflicts in Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and Ethiopia, and in humanitarian relief in Somalia, has earned us prestige, respect and influence in Africa and will help us build on these successes. However, we should engage militarily only under extraordinary, compelling circumstances. Instead, we must rely on well-informed and vigorous bilateral diplomacy, and multilateral engagement to preempt and mediate strife. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

As a complement to U.S. bilateral efforts, we have good reason to look to collective engagement with G-7 and other partners in Africa: a dwindling U.S. resource base for assistance, legitimate European interests (notably French, British and Portuguese), the expanding role of the EC, Japan's growing involvement on the continent, African efforts to revitalize the

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OAU, and the already heavy participation of the UN and international financial institutions. The capacity of the UN, the OAU and other organizations to respond to conflicts must be improved. Collective engagement among Africans for peacekeeping and economic development should be both a goal of U.S. policy and a modality for pursuing our interests. (U)

South Africa continues to require special attention. The end of apartheid and the creation of a new, multiracial South African society will continue to be a high U.S. priority and therefore warrant an especially activist policy. The high regard of the U.S. held by all elements in that country will be a great asset.

Achieving U.S. Economic Objectives

Sustainable economic growth driven by the private sector is essential to the achievement of U.S. objectives in Africa. Our economic assistance and support must focus on countries committed to free-market economic policies. The democratization process is essential since tough economic reform measures need popular support to endure. The U.S. will seek and support economic and political reforms that provide a broader role for the private sector. To maximize the impact of U.S. assistance, coordination with other donors will continue to be essential. (U)

U.S. Aid: We will thoughtfully apply good governance and structural reform objectives in U.S. aid programs and seek them in programs of the international financial institutions. We will continue to employ the Development Fund for Africa (DFA) to promote free markets and sustainable economic development. Economic performance, need and progress towards democracy and good governance should be the primary considerations in allocating the DFA. Consistent with sound development policy, assistance must also support broad U.S. foreign policy objectives. (U)

The U.S. will continue to respond quickly and substantially to the suffering caused by natural or man-made disasters. We will seek equitable burdensharing among all international donors. (U)

Demobilization and Military Spending: Resolution of conflicts throughout Africa creates a critical need to convert former combatants into productive participants in ravaged economies. We will encourage African countries to reduce military spending and put freed resources into more productive sectors. (U)

Trade and Investment: We will promote continued growth in U.S. trade and investment in Africa by improving the climate for the private sector, ensuring non-discriminatory treatment for U.S. business and enhancing private sector support and services needed to sustain trade. The U.S. Government and its representatives in Africa shall seek aggressively equal access for American products, services and investors. Of equal importance, U.S. ambassadors and other official representatives shall assist U.S. business to realize trade and investment opportunities, energizing U.S. and African private sectors to expand our

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commercial relationships and presence in Africa. An open trade and investment regime is especially important for the future of South Africa. (U)

To enhance U.S. exports we will encourage governments to bring their trade regimes into conformity with GATT provisions and play an active and constructive role within GATT. African countries will be urged to institute modern intellectual property rights regimes, conform to non-discriminatory investment policies and support trade-in-services provisions of the Uruguay Round. Liberalization of trade, especially in agriculture and textiles, is in Africa's long-term interest as well as ours, and Africa must move in this direction. In addition, African countries must move towards internationally recognized workers' rights. The U.S. will support viable, GATT-consistent regional economic groupings as appropriate. (U)

Renewal of the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program beyond 1993 would underscore that growth through trade can lead to less reliance on assistance. The U.S. should liberalize products that benefit the world's least developed countries. (U)

Debt: External debt in sub-Saharan Africa is the highest per capita of any region and many countries face serious debt burdens. While there is statutory authority for debt reduction, there is no appropriation for additional debt forgiveness in current or proposed budgets. (U)

In light of debt servicing problems in many African countries, debt relief should continue to be provided through the Paris Club, as appropriate, for those countries undertaking reforms. The extent of the debt burdens on African countries, the effectiveness of current policies to address these problems, and the prospects for continuing debt forgiveness programs for newly reforming countries shall be kept under review. ~~CONF~~

Resources: We must accomplish our economic, assistance and commercial objectives without, in the aggregate, additional resources. In fact, vigorous promotion of stable, democratic societies and free market principles will lower the costs the U.S. inevitably bears from civil conflict and humanitarian crises by reducing their likelihood and intensity and by sustaining economic development. Conflict resolution and promoting stability leading to democracy will be given heavy emphasis in allocating USG resources and assistance in Africa. Adequate resources will be made available to support the electoral process in newly democratizing countries. (U)

Achieving Our Transnational Objectives

Africa's regional and subregional organizations have potential utility for the achievement of U.S. objectives. Their effectiveness is often limited by lack of sufficient political will, management skills and resources. When appropriate, the U.S. will assist individual states to address the underlying weaknesses of these organizations through training and technical assistance. ~~CONF~~

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The OAU is Africa's most inclusive and important organization. The issue on which we have the greatest identity of interest with the OAU is regional conflict resolution. In cooperation with other donor nations, the U.S. will support OAU initiatives to enhance its capability to resolve conflict. Beyond the OAU, U.S. assistance should be given to those bodies which currently, or with assistance, have the best prospects for achieving U.S. objectives. ~~407~~

Women: Women play an essential role in the management of natural resources. The low status of women in Africa contributes directly to economic, social and health problems. U.S. policy in Africa will emphasize the key role women have in sustainable programs of development. Greater technical assistance and training should be provided for women and U.S. assistance should promote women as partners and equal beneficiaries of development. (U)

AIDS: The U.S. will support African leaders in implementing the OAU Council of Ministers' Action Plan on AIDS (June, 1992). U.S. assistance will focus on developing comprehensive HIV prevention programs in both civilian and military medical systems, transferring knowledge and technologies to prevent HIV infection and providing technical assistance to strengthen local capacity to provide cost-effective care for infected individuals. Prevention and control efforts should extend beyond the health sector and be addressed in programs for education, industry, agriculture, population, and private enterprise. Finally, U.S. development programs will identify strategies for mitigating the impact of AIDS. (U)

Population Growth: Slowing population growth is essential if Africa is to achieve sustainable development. The U.S. will continue to support comprehensive health care and family planning programs in Africa in order to help reduce the need for humanitarian assistance. (U)

Environment: U.S. development assistance efforts should continue to focus on assisting African countries to develop institutions and capacities to promote sustainable environmental practices, including improved management and conservation of tropical forests, biological diversity, fisheries, and coastal resources. (U)

U.S. assistance should also address urban environmental problems. Debt-for-nature swaps and other innovative financing should be considered. These activities should be coordinated with National Environmental Action Plans and with multilateral environmental programs. (U)

Narcotics: The U.S. will encourage non-signatories to support the 1988 UN Vienna Convention which criminalizes drug trafficking and encourages cooperation in drug law enforcement. We will engage in bilateral discussions with countries which tolerate traffickers and, if required, take other steps, including counternarcotics decertification and air carrier sanctions, to

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induce cooperation. In major drug transit countries we will fund purchase of drug control equipment and strengthened regional training programs for drug control officers. Finally, we will continue demand reduction programs in countries most affected by drug consumption. (U)

Refugees: Continuing tensions (especially ethnic ones), human rights abuses and the competition for resources coupled with the easy availability of modern weaponry can be expected to generate substantial numbers of additional refugees. Committing increased resources to conflict resolution is therefore a high priority. Coupled with adequate aid for those returning to their homes, such a commitment could make voluntary repatriation a reality for most of today's African refugees. (U)

Terrorism: As civil order breaks down in African states, the resulting turmoil provides opportunities to terrorists and their state sponsors. There are indications that Iran is seeking recruits within Islamic communities in Africa. Libyan subversion has long been a problem throughout the continent. In the case of Libya, the remedy lies in exerting pressure on that country's leadership. In the case of Iran and Sudan, greatly expanded U.S. intelligence briefings of African leaders and active American diplomacy will alert African governments to the threat and help them counter it. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Achieving Our Security Objectives

A vital element of successful U.S. diplomacy is an effective security policy and a program of military activities which directly supports conflict resolution and our other policy objectives in Africa. The United States has no vital (war fighting) interests in Africa, although protection of U.S. citizens could require the use of force. Shared values will be a key determinant in developing our military relationships with African states. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (C)

Access: Secure lines of communication across and around Africa are needed for contingency operations in Africa, the Middle East and Southwest Asia. U.S. forces will continue to require access to selected airfields, airspace, ports, and sea lanes in order to respond effectively to crises. Current formal access agreements, such as the arrangement for special facilities in the Seychelles, will be adequate for the foreseeable future. Past investments in securing access to specific African countries have not proved to be reliable in the long-term. Our efforts should therefore be directed at expanding informal access where possible by cultivating cooperation with host country governments and militaries. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

There is no requirement to station troops or construct bases in Africa; however, U.S. forces should occasionally train there for experience in the region. A requirement also exists for sites from which to stage emergency evacuations of embassy staff during political upheaval and conflict. Such instability at times requires military-assisted evacuations, on-site planning, and access. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (C)

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Downsizing: Reducing the size of militaries in impoverished African states and creating defensively-oriented, apolitical militaries is essential to democratization and economic progress. We need a coordinated program that works toward this goal. (U)

Democracy: Disciplined, apolitical militaries are key to political progress and economic development in Africa. Assisting the defense of countries making progress toward democracy, better governance, and improved human rights is a legitimate purpose of military aid, including support for previously provided military equipment. Civic action, health and humanitarian relief, and other nonlethal assistance programs can also effectively promote desired reforms and development goals. (U)

All military assistance (e.g., IMET, exercises) should be structured to promote the clear subordination of military to civil authority and military participation in development. (U)

Conflict Resolution: We shall support both ad hoc peacekeeping operations, such as ECOMOG in Liberia, and the development of African institutions for conflict resolution in organizations such as the OAU. Active U.S. diplomacy and the encouragement of African initiatives to resolve conflict are both necessary to achieve our objectives. (U)

U.S. Military Activities: Attaining our objectives requires a U.S. military engagement which will provide direct, personal contacts with African military leaders. Our policy should aim to build positive relationships with the military through maintaining an adequate presence and a pattern of activities. Such presence is particularly important for countries undertaking political and economic reforms. ~~(S)~~

On-site U.S. military training and exercises improve our capability to carry out contingency operations in Africa while signalling our interest in and commitment to the region. In addition, Africa provides a unique training environment from the point of view of terrain, climate, and local culture for U.S. forces, such as special operations and medical/public health units. ~~(S)~~

Tools: Where an American military presence is considered desirable, we shall employ specific tools including: an effective U.S. security assistance program, with emphasis on nonlethal development activities and international military education and training; participation by U.S. forces in combined exercises, deployments for training, senior officer visits, port visits, and humanitarian assistance; well-trained and well-equipped U.S. conventional and special operations forces available for regional contingencies; cooperative security efforts with key allies who have interests in Africa. ~~(S)~~

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