

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 15, 1992

NATIONAL SECURITY REVIEW 30

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

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

In the three decades since the wave of decolonialization produced forty-five sub-Saharan countries, U.S. policy has been influenced by a combination of factors both external and internal to Africa. These factors are, however, changing dramatically. For example:

- Soviet striving for influence among African governments has declined substantially and changed in character. (C)
- The estimate of the military significance of the sub-Sahara has diminished, especially in the aftermath of Desert Storm. (C)
- U.S. domestic debate over the appropriate policy with respect to apartheid in South Africa has greatly abated. (C)
- Rejection by African leaders of multi-party democracy as an acceptable political model has diminished with the emergence of freely elected governments in ten formerly one-party states. (C)
- The influence of socialist ideologies which favor state ownership and centralized economies to the detriment of economic development has waned dramatically. (C)

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- There is greater realization, both among donors and recipients, of the limited role outside assistance can play, and a more realistic assessment of the difficulty in modernizing African societies.
- Environmental awareness is growing in Africa, at the same time the continent's ecological problems intensify. ~~(C)~~

This changed situation requires a new look at U.S. policy in sub-Saharan Africa from the broad perspective of a new world order and from the bilateral perspective of our interests. The Policy Coordinating Committee on Africa is therefore directed to undertake a comprehensive review of U.S. policy toward Africa. Detailed reviews of policy in African sub-regions such as the Horn or Southern Africa should be left for subsequent PCC action, but references should be made to these areas and issues to give balance and specificity to continent-wide perspectives. ~~(C)~~

The review should be completed, and a NSD presented for Presidential signature no later than August 1, 1992. (U)

#### PART I: ASSESSMENT

- Assess our current policy course in light of changing circumstances and interests, e.g. promoting political and economic reform, countering violent instability, reducing narcotics and terrorist activities, and facing environmental problems. ~~(C)~~
- Define U.S. interests and objectives in Africa, including its strategic significance, and relate them to global political, economic and military objectives. ~~(C)~~
- Analyze both current and future needs for access to important raw and strategic materials. ~~(C)~~
- Evaluate the significance of obtaining support from African governments for our international positions. ~~(C)~~
- Determine prospects for how we can best meet new demands for humanitarian assistance. ~~(C)~~
- Examine the prospects for cooperation and coordination with other developed nations to achieve our objectives, and the extent to which our interests diverge and competition is appropriate. ~~(C)~~

#### PART II: OPTIONS FOR POLICY

##### Political

- How can our policies contribute to widespread and sustainable democratization? ~~(C)~~
- Does the goal of democratization conflict with other national security priorities, e.g. collective security,

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combating terrorism and narcotics, and nonproliferation? If so, how should these conflicts be resolved? (C)

- How can we best promote democracy and free markets? Should assistance be made conditional on progress in human rights, democracy, better governance and military downsizing? (C)
- Does Islamic extremism present a threat to U.S. interests and policy objectives in Africa and, if so, what is an appropriate response? (C)

Economic

- Based on recent experience and our current emphasis on structural adjustment and economic policy reform, how can we maximize prospects for desired results? If they are not achieved, should changes be made in our approach? (C)
- Would greater economic integration serve our economic development objectives? (C)
- Since democratization can affect economic reforms and performance, how should U.S. programs and policies take this into account? How might the AIDS crisis affect economies and societies, and how can we take this into account? (C)
- What should be the role and priority of agriculture in African economies and how can we promote the proper balance between urban and rural policies? (C)
- How can we best help to reduce corruption and increase economic efficiency? (C)

Commercial

- What is the role of our private sector -- industry and commerce -- in Africa? What is the market potential and who are our competitors? Can the private sector and the USG assume a greater role in making Africa commercially viable? (C)
- Is our trade policy toward Africa adequate? (C)
- Should more be done within existing economic groupings such as the World Bank and the OECD to coordinate and encourage developed country investor interest? (C)
- Should we encourage intra-African trade and economic cooperation and, if so, how? (C)
- How can we encourage greater domestic capital investment? (C)

Security/Conflict

- What should be the role of the United States in conflict prevention and resolution? (C)

- What can we do to facilitate an African capability for conflict resolution? Should we encourage greater reliance on regional collective action, such as ECOWAS/ECOMOG? (C)
- What is the proper balance between our bilateral efforts, and those of international and regional organizations? In particular, what is the appropriate relationship between the U.S. and the UN, with its continent-wide and multifaceted efforts in Africa? (C)
- Should we be selective in the conflicts we attempt to resolve, and if so, what criteria should be applied? (C)
- What can be done, if anything, to reduce African refugee flows? Is our current relief for African refugees and those who are internally displaced adequate? (C)

**Military**

- What is the proper role of the military in African societies and what can we do to encourage militaries to assume that role? What security assistance programs should we pursue in Africa? (C)
- Should we tie economic assistance levels to limits on military spending, as Japan and Germany wish to do? (C)
- What strategic interests do we retain in the region and what resources and access do we require to protect those interests? (C)

**Borders**

- Should we continue to regard the sanctity of existing borders -- those established in the colonial period -- to be our fixed policy? (C)
- How should we balance territorial integrity and self-determination where these conflict? (C)
- What factors must we consider in evaluating proposals for the establishment of new, independent states? (C)

**Resources**

- Given current resource constraints, what should our priorities be? (C)
- Do we need to change either the kind or levels of assistance or the method of assistance delivery in Africa in light of the recommendations of this review? (C)
- Is the current number of AID missions, and the level of their staffing, appropriate? (C)

-- What changes, if any, are warranted in our current policy of universal diplomatic representation in Africa, including the presence of agencies such as USIA, DOD and CIA? (c)

*By Burk*