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AFIC Director
United States Department of State

Assistant Secretary of State
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Washington, D.C. 20520-3430

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MEMORANDUM

TO: P - Mr. Tarnoff
FROM: AF - George E. Moose
SUBJECT: 1995 Foreign Policy Priorities

Our priorities in AF reflect the dramatic changes taking place in Africa; great strides toward democracy and human rights in some places offer a sharp contrast to horrifying events and societal disintegration in others. For example, conflict prevention/resolution is our main goal in Rwanda, Sudan, Somalia, Liberia, and Angola. Elsewhere, however, our primary focus is on promoting democracy, human rights, sustainable economic development and trade.

Of course, the goals we are focusing on apply in countries other than those mentioned below but, in the interest of brevity, we only listed those which have highest priority, either because they are regional leaders or because their unique situations demand special attention.

Priority One: Promote democracy and human rights

A. Zaire

Policy Objective: To assure a stable transition to democracy.

Substantive timeline: According to the Transition Constitution, presidential and parliamentary elections are scheduled for July, 1995. The U.S., Belgium and France meet periodically to discuss conditions necessary to assure free and fair elections. If Zaire decides to move toward elections this year, the U.S. will have to decide whether and how to support them.

Bureaucratic Timeline: Possible convening of Deputies Committee to determine if U.S. will support elections; if so, to what degree.

Principals' Involvement: Under Secretary Tarnoff to sign off on appropriate Decision Memoranda

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B. Kenya

Policy Objective: To strengthen multiparty democracy and improve human rights.

Substantive Timeline: Since the December 1992 elections, opposition parties have secured a toehold in Parliament, despite internal divisions and government harassment. Ethnic clashes, possibly promoted by elements within the GOK, cloud the horizon. The transition to multiparty democracy remains fragile and will be tested in the run-up to 1997 general elections.

Bureaucratic Timeline: Possible convening of IWG or Deputies Committee in late 1995/early 1996 to determine if and how the U.S. can help to level the playing field for the 1997 elections.

Principals' Involvement: Under Secretary Tarnoff to sign off on appropriate Decision Memoranda.

C. Nigeria

Policy Objective: To encourage a rapid return to civilian, democratic rule within a unified Nigeria.

Substantive timeline: The National Constitutional Conference is scheduled to reconvene on March 6, 1995. Narcotics decertification will be renewed March 1. There may be a need for Departmental review of our policy if the timetable for return to civilian government is too lengthy, ie past mid-1996. If a credible short time frame is announced, we may want to consider seeking a national interest waiver to decertification.

Bureaucratic Timeline: There may be a need to convene an IWG to review Administration policy toward Nigeria if further sanctions are contemplated.

Principals' Involvement: Under Secretary Tarnoff to sign off on appropriate Decision Memoranda. Assistant Secretary for INM to agree to using a waiver to decertification as an encouragement for positive movement.

2. Priority Two: Prevent/Resolve Conflict

A. Rwanda

Policy Objective: Achieve national reconciliation and refugee return. Prevent further loss of life and mass movements of refugees which threaten stability of region. If sustained violence resumes, determine whether it is appropriate to recommend increase of UNAMIR strength and/or possible deployment of U.S. military assets.

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Substantive Timeline: Necessity of renewing UN Security Council mandate for UNAMIR by May, 1995.

Bureaucratic Timeline: Rwanda Coordinator Friedman to initiate and implement policies designed to achieve above objective in concert with AF. If sustained violence resumes, convene Deputies Committee to enhance UN peacekeeping role.

Principals' Involvement: Under Secretary Tarnoff signature on necessary Decision Memoranda.

B. Burundi

Policy Objective: Avoid renewed violence and assist Burundi to remain on a path of democracy, stability and national reconciliation.

Substantive Timeline: If serious inter-ethnic violence breaks out, a Department decision would be required on policy determination (i.e. supporting establishment of UN, OAU, regional or other peacekeeping arrangement).

Bureaucratic Timeline: Convene Deputies to approve support of peacekeeping mission. Create IWG to prepare a policy review of our support.

Principals' Involvement: Under Secretary Tarnoff approval of necessary decision memoranda.

C. Somalia

Policy Objective: To ensure a smooth departure from Somalia for UNOSOM peacekeepers and staff, due to be completed in March 1995. After that the objective will be to prevent a return to the conditions prompting the original international intervention.

Substantive Timeline: The withdrawal will be completed o/a March 11. U.S. military planners arrived in Mogadishu on January 19; they intend to remain on-and-off until the process ends. On January 26, Amb. Simpson, Amb. David Shinn, and senior military officers will reiterate previous warnings to the faction leaders in Mogadishu not to interfere. The main body of U.S. forces arrives in the region by February 8. Combat forces are prepared to come ashore for about one week during the last phase of the withdrawal, probably in late February/early March.

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Bureaucratic Timeline: To deal with new and continuing issues, there are two weekly interagency meetings on Somalia. One is normally at the office director level, and the other is at the working level. The Hill will be a focus of activity during the next six weeks. Among other events, the AF subcommittee of the HIRC intends to hold hearings on Somalia during the first half of February. There may be a need in the spring for an IWG or Executive Committee-level review of Somalia options.

Principals' Involvement: Should major problems develop, the Secretary may have to deal with Somalia during his regular meetings with Mr. Lake and Secretary Perry. Similarly, Amb. Albright may be called upon to discuss Somalia with senior UN officials.

C. Sudan

Policy Objective: To assist regional efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement to the Sudanese civil war.

Substantive Timeline: The IGADD regional peace initiative for Sudan is an ongoing process, requiring regular monitoring and periodic action to encourage the IGADD partners to persist in their efforts.

Bureaucratic Timeline: Possible need in spring 1995 to identify and appoint a new President's Special Representative on Sudan, due to the onward assignment of Ambassador Wells.

Principals' Involvement: Consultations with Under Secretary Tarnoff concerning the possible appointment of a new President's Special Representative. Also, consultations as necessary between Under Secretary Tarnoff, the President's Special Representative, and AF concerning developments and possible USG actions regarding the peace initiative.

D. Angola

Policy Objective: Support the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and a successful transition to peace, national reconciliation, and economic development.

Substantive Timeline: The Security Council will address the authorization of a 6,500-person peacekeeping operation (UNAVEM III) by February 8; assuming UNAVEM III is authorized, then its mandate will be subject to subsequent periodic review.

Bureaucratic Timeline: Possible convening of the Deputies Committee to determine if U.S. will support UNAVEM III. State-DoD coordination of possible airlift support for UNAVEM III. Ongoing coordination with Troika partners Russia and Portugal.

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Principals' Involvement: Consult with Congress on UNAVEM III, as necessary. Possible high-level visit to Angola late in 1994 (assuming continued progress in the peace process). Possible discussions with Angolan leaders visiting the U.S. Participate in meetings of the Deputies Committee.

E. Liberia

Policy Objective: To help Liberians reach a negotiated settlement to the five-year civil war which accommodates the interests of all parties to the conflict, and includes provisions for full disarmament of warring factions; the return home of refugees and displaced persons; credible democratic elections; and the establishment of a unified government based on respect for human rights, democratic principles, and economic accountability.

Substantive Timeline: A new peace accord was signed in Accra on December 21 and a cease-fire, which is generally holding, went into effect December 28. It will be necessary to review UNOMIL's mandate by April 13. Release monies to the UN Trust Fund to meet CY94 commitment to support expanded ECOMOG from July - December 1994. Make decisions whether to: (A) supply equipment (helicopters; excess defense articles) requested by Ghanaian President and ECOWAS Chairman Rawlings; (B) appoint U.S. special envoy; (C) recognize new transitional government; and (D) provide economic/demobilization assistance. Complete humanitarian/civilian protection force disaster-preparedness scenario.

Bureaucratic Timeline: May require reconvening Deputies Committee to decide key issues.

Principals' Involvement: Deputy Secretary Talbott and Under Secretary Tarnoff to sign off on appropriate Decision Memoranda to release monies to UN Trust Fund. Under Secretary Tarnoff to participate in Deputies Committee meeting.

F. Mechanisms to prevent/resolve conflict

Policy Objective: To strengthen the capacity of African regional, subregional and local organizations to prevent and address conflicts on the continent.

Substantive Timeline: The financial investment we have made in the Organization of African Unity's Conflict Resolution Mechanism will begin to show results this year.

By October, the Conflict Resolution Mechanism should be housed, at least partially equipped, and staffed by more better trained individuals. Our own efforts will be buttressed by contributions from the British and perhaps the French. The

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relationship of the Mechanism to conflict resolution efforts of subregional organizations, such as ECOWAS, will be better defined. Meanwhile, pilot projects to encourage grass roots' conflict prevention activities will begin.

Bureaucratic Timeline: We have already begun working with the OAU on making the conflict resolution mechanism a more effective, functioning organization. Coordinating our efforts with British and the French initiatives will continue to ensure that we complement one another. As part of the Horn of Africa Initiative and reconciliation efforts in Rwanda and Burundi, we will help organize and encourage AID funding of grass roots conflict mitigation activities that build on traditional methods of conflict resolution/prevention.

Principals' Involvement: Possible trip in the fall by Deputy Secretary Talbott to follow up on his peacekeeping swing through Africa late last year.

3. Priority Three: Promote Sustainable Development and Trade

Policy Objective: Increased prosperity in Africa, offering greater access for U.S. goods and services to a potentially vast market of 500 million people through market reforms, the expansion of the private sector, and public sector discipline.

Substantive Timeline: African participation in the WTO (incorporated 1/95 but countries eligible to transfer from GATT until 1997.) Economic reforms as demonstrated in periodic IMF/IBRD reviews. U.S. Export and Investment promotion at State-Commerce Africa Trade and Investment Conference, April 4-5; Africa/African-American Summit, May 1-5; South Africa Private Investors Forum, August.

Bureaucratic Timeline: State-assisted USTR implementation of McDermott Amendment to UR implementing legislation calling for Africa policy on trade and development, first meeting January 20 with periodic follow-on. FY '96 Budget allocations to be announced February 6 to (1) USAID bilateral programs supporting economic reform, e.g., Southern Africa Initiative, and (2) international financial institutions. Planning underway for State-Commerce Africa Conference. State currently leading discussions with Rev. Sullivan's organization on Africa/African-American Summit with interagency coordination foreseen in near future. South Africa Private Investors Forum well underway with weekly interagency meetings with AF DAS chair and periodic meetings in South Africa.

Principals' Involvement: Lead budget process for State and USAID. Consider role in Africa Trade Policy process and

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State-Commerce Africa Conference. Presidential Delegation possibility at Africa/African-American Summit with proposed attendance by Secretary Brown and USAID Adm. Atwood. Possible visit to South Africa by Energy Secretary O'Leary in Spring, 1995.

4. Priority Four: Lessen the effects of transnational problem

Policy Objectives: Decrease the level of terrorist and drug trafficking activities; promote AIDS prevention programs; improve the status of women; arrest the further degradation of the environment.

Substantive Timeline: Review the status of Nigeria's narcotics decertification by March 1. Use Eritrean President Issias' visit in late January/early February to explore additional responses to Sudan's continuing openness to terrorists. After the USG foreign policy strategy on AIDS has cleared the interagency process, implement the action plan that is relevant to Africa. In visits and speeches of high level officials, continue to focus on activities and policies that uplift the status of women. Implement the Decertification Treaty.

Bureaucratic Timeline: Interdepartmental review of Nigeria's actions to stem drug trafficking activities. Continuing AF-NSC consultations on Sudan. AF-G-AID coordination on AIDS strategy. Interagency coordination on women activities leading up to the Beijing Conference next October.

Principals' Involvement: Any policy changes on the status of Nigeria's decertification may require Under Secretary Tarnoff's signature. USG policy toward Sudan may arise in conversations Eritrean President Issias will have with President Clinton and National Security Council Advisor Lake. Secretary of Health and Human Services Shalala may visit Africa sometime in 1995 to focus attention on AIDS.

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