

the implementation of the Colombo resolutions. This commitment to the Colombo program was underscored at the Cairo summit by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia who said: "There exists no debt which has to be paid back. And we are not supporting the Afro-Arab cooperation just to get money. Neither individually, not in separate groups can we meet face-to-face with the powerful forces which stand behind the present economic order, forces which are blatantly against our interests."

This defusing of the war potential in the Red Sea area has caused Wall Street to put pressure on more malleable Arab nationalist networks in Egypt, Sudan, and Saudi Arabia to form a counter-federation of moderate Arab countries. Such an attempt to turn the

Red Sea into an "Arab Lake" would heighten the ability of Wall street to engineer an East-West confrontation in the area. Jaafar Numieri is now on tour of North and South Yemen, Oman, and probably Somalia. On behalf of Saudi Arabia and Egypt, Numeiri will ask Somalia and South Yemen to join the joint political command of Sudan, Egypt and Syria, which is now strongly behind the Eritrean secessionist movement. The Saudis are reportedly supporting Numeiri's efforts by offering Somali President Barre a \$300 million bribe if he will kick the Soviet advisors out of his country. This counter campaign is being attempted at the same time that the Somalians are sending delegations to the Soviet Union to strengthen ties between the two countries.

## Foreign Influences At Work In East Africa To Wreck Non-Aligned

*The following is an excerpt from an article by Slobodan Rankić on "Mounting Tension on the Horn of Africa" which appeared in the Yugoslav weekly Review of International Affairs.*

The dramatic showdown in the top echelon of the Ethiopian Revolution has aroused the attention of watchers of the African scene and broader factors of world politics too. Ethiopia is faced with numerous internal contradictions and difficulties which are first of all the result of the conditions of extreme backwardness in which the imperial regime had kept the people. However, the fateful developments in this non-aligned country are organically linked to developments in neighboring countries and may strongly influence further trends throughout the region of North-East Africa, an area of great strategic importance. They also affect non-aligned policy very much so because of the non-aligned movement.

There were and there still are quite a number of regional disputes in the area of the non-aligned world. They have different social backgrounds, sources and causes, and they differ too according to the relation of internal forces and according to their links with foreign centres of power and influence. They do have one thing in common, though. By their practical effects, such conflicts detract from the overall strength of non-alignment, they serve to undermine the unity of the movement and they lead to the linkage of certain non-aligned countries with alien alliances and systems.

Regional disputes were revived in a particularly intensive way in the period preceding the Colombo Conference. This fact alone indicates sufficiently clearly that foreign influences are constantly at work in the region. Recognizing the danger of an expansion of such conflicts and disruption of the movement, the Fifth Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo gave careful study to these questions. It put the accent on the global and strategic themes of non-aligned policy, and through a positive intonation contributed in a decisive manner towards calming down passions in

different regions.

An easing of tensions was thus noticed around Sahara and also in relations between Somalia and Ethiopia. The Arab countries directly involved in the Middle East conflict had been, so to say, on the verge of going to war between themselves. The meetings in Riad and Cairo altered this situation and made it possible to bring the Lebanese civil war to an end. The divergences and frictions over Angola, although they have not quite vanished, are no longer in the forefront of inter-African relations. Further points have been scored in the process of uniting all the forces of the black continent around a single anti-colonial platform to liquidate racism and to liberate Rhodesia and Namibia.

But, on the other hand, we have seen some earlier controversies being revived. After having lain dormant, just below the surface, they recently began to erupt. This primarily refers to the situation on "the Horn of Africa", where the deterioration of relations primarily involves Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan.

The Ethiopian Revolution has not improved its relations with neighbours to this day. The proclamation of cultural and national freedoms, the granting of greater autonomy to the provinces, do not appear to have been adequate measures for the internal situation to be radically changed. There is unrest, sabotage, subversive activity and guerilla warfare in individual provinces. The appearance of guerillas in Ogaden, a province with a pro-Somali makeup, has been blamed by official Addis Ababa on a subversive conspiracy by Somalia, whence arms and aid are alleged to be coming. At the same time, Eritrea remains the chief internal trouble-spot. Military action against the guerillas has been shown to have only a temporary, shortlived effect, after which the secessionist movement gains further momentum. It is thus obvious that the problem needs to be resolved by political means.

In numerous statements and documents, official Somali representatives have declared themselves repeatedly in favour of peace and good relations with neighbouring

Ethiopia. At the same time, they have not denied the existence of territorial issues such as the problem of Ogaden which, in Somalia's view, is part of Somali territory. Mogadishu mentions as proof of its good intentions the fact that it had proposed to the new leadership in Ethiopia that a federation of the two states be established. Ethiopian government circles, on the other hand, have been inclined to see this offer as a propaganda move. For, they say, the road to a federation is a long one, and it cannot be showered with roses, but what are needed are concrete efforts to foster friendly cooperation and understanding. And so mutual mistrust is making the problems even more difficult.

The third side involved in this triangular dispute is Sudan. Khartoum claims that a large portion of the Sudanese opposition has concentrated in Ethiopia, preparing there for subversive activities. Ethiopia has denied such allegations and made counter-accusations of its own, indicating the ever-increasing support Sudan is extending to the guerilla movement in Eritrea in the aim of bringing about its secession from Ethiopia. In the view of Addis Ababa, a broad and carefully planned conspiracy against the Ethiopian Revolution, financed by reactionary Arab oil circles and designed to revise the map of this part of Africa, has been launched via Sudan.

In view of the multitude of contradictory information it is sometimes difficult to establish the full and objective truth in particular situations which arise and change daily in this triangle of mutual suspicion and mistrust. But it is not hard to see that there are partial and small truths on each side. In such an atmosphere of shifting positions the relation patterns between individual countries are often changed, too. Sudan, for example, has so far maintained a comparatively peaceful and constructive attitude in regard to the internal difficulties in Ethiopia. Contacts were maintained on its territory with representatives of the Eritrean movement in an effort to find a compromise, peaceful solution. And even if this is not feasible at the moment, it still does not mean that the impaired relations between the two countries cannot be restored to their previous condition. Particularly as there are no territorial or any other major disputes between them....

The great powers, of course, are not keeping aloof. A dramatic struggle for positions and influence, using all kinds of ways and means, is going on at every step in this exceedingly important strategic region. The role of France, in particular, needs to be emphasized. France is under obligation to decolonize Djibouti. Since the Colombo Conference, at which sharp criticism was made of certain French moves connected with the decolonization of the Comoro Islands, her obligation in this respect has taken on an added weight. French diplomacy is at great pains to convince the world that, if she relinquished Djibouti, war could easily break out between Somalia and

Ethiopia and ignite a large-scale conflict in the region which controls the entrance into the Red Sea and thereby passage through the Suez Canal.

The current turmoil on "the Horn of Africa" is a source of grave concern to the factors of nonaligned policy. All the countries in dispute are well-known protagonists of non-alignment. It is therefore not difficult to conclude that a kind of "special war" is going on in the region. Underneath the current happenings is an organized effort to becloud the true and essential interests of the countries in the region and to highlight temporary gains. Old disputes are being revived and old accounts put on the agenda, historical injustices are being brought to the light of day, frontier and territorial problems are being exacerbated, and religious mysticism and national antagonisms are being encouraged. This form of struggle against non-alignment is not new, but in the present circumstances it is acquiring new dimensions.

As a result, certain liberation movements have found themselves in an unenviable position. Through a combination of external developments they are becoming an instrument of foreign vested interests. In consequence, they break up into different factions which operate under the control of different financial centres. In this way, even the justified demands for national rights become distorted and are transformed into their opposite. The national question is not settled by a mere change of masters. Only the natural alliance of the most progressive revolutionary forces within the frameworks of a country or a region can work towards positive changes which will do away with past injustices.

We are faced here with a specific paradox. Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Libya have all carried out their own revolutions and they all endorse similar goals and ideas. All four belong to the movement of non-alignment within the scope of which they are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and all kinds of subjugation. They are all at approximately the same level of material development and they all share the problems which invariably attend a country's efforts to pull itself out of age-old backwardness and to create a modern economy. They are all engaged in a full-scale effort to transform their socio-economic relations on the lines of socialism, on the principles of a prosperous, free and just society. Yet, for all this, deep antagonisms are developing between them.

Over the past fifteen years, non-aligned policy has done a lot to raise the consciousness of colonial peoples and to promote the political emancipation of the newly-independent countries. It is faced with the same task today, too. For this reason the soundest currents in the non-aligned movement must give their full attention to any new development and to disputes such as the one discussed here and encourage those forces and processes which create fresh scope for peace, equitable cooperation and good neighbourliness.