Zaire expert, and urban unrest due to the disastrous economic situation, the events in Western Shaba could get out of control and quickly spread.

## Interesting Considerations

In February, Angolan President Agostino Neto charged that Zaire was being used by the U.S. as a staging base for a Green Beret Special Froces operation against Angola, code named Cobra 77, led by Col. Mike Thompson. A week later an invading force of 200 men, led by three whites, from Zaire attacked the northern Angolan town of Panagala, killing 43 people. Yesterday another massacre by forces based in Zaire was reported by Angolan authorities, this time against the village of

Concongo, in the northern province of Cabinda, killing 31 civilians.

Attributing the present disturbances in Zaire to "mercenaries from Angola," is the first stage of a campaign to discredit Angolan policy in relation to Zaire, according to Angolan authorities. In this way the stage is set for stepped-up operations from Zaire into Angola, as well as the possibility for an invasion by Zaire armed forces. A Zaire desk office of a major New York bank said in an interview that a U.S.-Soviet confrontation over the Zaire situation was inevitable, and could happen quickly: "There are a number of people who would want to force this confrontation. It may be a good time for Carter to show his decision-making powers. It is a test of U.S. will."

## Castro's African Tour Part Of Programmatic Drive To Unify Horn Of Africa

Cuban President Fidel Castro's current tour of Africa—including stops in Algeria, Libya, South Yemen, Somalia, and Ethiopia and Tanzania—are part of a joint socialist sector Non-Aligned Nations drive for the programmatic unification of Arab and African countries in the Red Sea area. The basis for such unification was implied in a joint communique Castro signed with Col. Muammar Qadaffi, the president of Libya, early in the tour which announces that the two countries will cooperate to implement the resolutions adopted by last year's meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement in Colombo, Sri Lanka—resolutions which call for Third World debt moratoria and a new world economic order.

President Castro's trip follows an earlier programatic offensive by the Yugloslavian government to defuse the historical border conflicts among these nations on the basis of their common economic interests in development. President Josep Tito was in Libya a month ago, followed by Yugloslavian Foreign Minister Milos Minic's tour through Ethiopia, Somalia, Tanzania and Zambia.

After Castro's visit to Ethiopia, he refurned to Somalia to push for a Soviet-backed federation of Somalia, Ehtiopia, South Yemen and the territory of Afars and Issas (now held by the French). This "common antiimperialist front" in the Red Sea area will end the potential for an East-West crisis over the Horn of Africa. Somalia had previously proposed the federation of Ethiopia and Somalia specifically as a solution to the dispute over the Ogaden area which borders the two countries) after Ethiopian president Mengistu Haile Mariam had successfully quashed a U.S.-backed coup attempt against his government in early February. Then President Mengistu began to talk openly of federation, agreeing that a union with South Yemen could be easily accomplished, and began to discuss joint economic and technical proposals with Somalia and South Yemen, calling for the expansion of production and a rising standard of living.

Regional peace was also aided by the Afro-Arab Summit in Cairo (March 7-9), where the potential for an expansion of the conflict between the Eritrean Liberation Front and the Ethiopian government was quietly defused. At this summit, the representative from the Ethiopian Foreign Ministry, Bernard Dinke, explained that the Eritrean conflict was not created by a national liberation movement, but was a manuever of other countries which intend to destabilize Ethiopia. Mr. Dinke's call for the end to interventions from other countries was quietly supported by the Arabs, who ignored Eritrean Liberation Front leader Osman Sabbe Saleh's memorandum for support of the Eritrean liberation struggle. According to Le Monde March 16, Osman Saleh was "discretely conducted out (of the summit) by the authorities who refused to grant him observer status."

In the spirit of this Afro-Arab summit, President Al-Hamdi of North Yemen will sponsor a conference for the heads of state of North and South Yemen, Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan on March 22 in North Yemen. President Al-Hamdi noted that disputes between neighboring Non-aligned countries in the Red Sea and Horn of Africa area can only benefit Israel, Rhodesia and South Africa, and, for this reason, the summit will discuss the Eritrean question and various border animosities between African and Arab nations. Such discussion could pave the way for the political unity that is necessary to develop East Africa — particularly Sudan which has the potential of becoming the breadbasket of the Mideast and Africa.

The North Yemen heads of state conference is timed to coincide with the arrival of Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny, who will tour Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique — countries which have been pushing for

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 Saudia 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 Somalian 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 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 representaives have declared themselves repeatedly in favour of peace and good relations with neighbouring