



UN Secretariat Item Scan - Barcode - Record Title

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Date

28/06/2006

Time

10:52:37 AM



S-0878-0001-01-00001

Expanded Number **S-0878-0001-01-00001**

Title **Items-in-Africa**

Date Created **01/01/1000**

Record Type **Archival Item**

Container **S-0878-0001: Peace-Keeping Operations Files of the Secretary-General: U Thant: Other Countries**

Print Name of Person Submit Image



Signature of Person Submit



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CHOU IN AFRICA

Some delegates at the UN are of the opinion that the Soviets tried to foil Chou's trip to the African continent. The Soviet concern was not without cause. Some North African delegates with whom I talked believe that Chou's visit aimed at two basic targets: to gain diplomatic recognition in as many countries in Africa as possible and to correct any misconceptions created by SovietRussia about Peking.

The selection of Africa by Chou for his tour is, in the opinion of most delegates, based on the fact that Africa is the key to Peking's entry to the United Nations and that Africa can play an important role in the activities of the third world bloc.

Chou's first and most remarkable victory in Africa was Tunisia's recognition. Tunisia's recognition is the more important ~~one~~ because it has always been identified as pro USA. Moreover, Tunisia's recognition will have its effect on other African countries, namely, Libya .

Peking is at present recognized by 15 African states. Another 19 (mainly former French colonies) recognize the Formosa government while the Senegal and Mali recognize both Chinas and three (Ethiopia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria) recognize neither.

Some African delegates believe that Ethiopia's recognition of Peking is imminent. Since Ethiopia is the ~~headquarter~~ center of the Organization of African States, some delegates at the U.N. believe that recognition of Peking by Ethiopia is a logical step.

Winning diplomatic recognition and acceptance in Africa by Chou is ~~his~~ now a fact, in the opinion of many delegates here. However, the real fruits of the trip will be reaped if and when France accords recognition to Peking. The Brazeville group will then follow suit.

Under these circumstances, it was only logical for many delegates to talk about the next session and whether Peking will be able to make it in 1964. Although most delegates believe that if France recognized Peking and if this is followed c/ by recognition by the Brazeville group and some other African countries, then the chances are that Peking will unseat Formosa in 1964. Nevertheless, there are some delegates who prefer not to predict about next September's outcome.

During his visit to specific African countries, Chou discussed the problems of Africa as a whole and the specific problems relating to the individual countries he visited. In Cairo, for instance, Peking's outright support for Arab rights in Palestine was stressed. In return, he received recognition that Formosa must be related. In his dealings with the Arabs, Chou played on a sensitive chord: Palestine. Here he had an opportunity to 'expose' Russia's intentions. The Soviet will abandon the Arabs if its world policy demands this, Chou told the Arab leaders with whom he conferred, according to an Arab delegate who is in a position to know.

A new Bandung conference is on the mind of Peking for some time. A new Bandung is on the mind of other leaders. Following the visit of the Ethiopian emperor to Cairo, a statement was issued calling for such a conference. It is worthwhile noting that the statement was ~~supposed to include~~ made by Ethiopia, ^{UAR} ~~India~~ and Yugoslavia but India was ignored. Many observers interpreted this as an obvious attempt to isolate India.

In his trip, Chou stressed the point, ~~and stressed~~ that Peking was not against coexistence, as Moscow claims, but that she is against any policy imposed on the world by the USA and the Soviet Union. It has become obvious that Peking's intention is to exclude Russia from the 'Second Bandung' on the basis that it must be a purely Asiatic-African conference.

~~Because~~ France's interest in a third world and Peking interests in the same political bloc has brought the powers together but, as some delegates put it, the relationship between the two ends here.

Should the question of Peking entry ~~however~~ to the U.N. become imminent this year, ~~but~~ some delegates believe that the U.S. will try to postpone the debate till after the Presidential elections, November 4.

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11/1

REPORT ON THE OCCASION OF SCHEDULED VISIT OF SECRETARY GENERAL TO NORTH AFRICA

- 1 - For a long time the governments and people of North Africa have been eagerly awaiting the visit to their countries of the Secretary General. The recent history of the area is deeply related to the United Nations where the issues of the independence of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria were debated and resolved. While the peoples of these countries believe that their battle for independence was won on the battlefield with a great deal of sacrifice, they fully recognize that the entry of their problems on the international stage began at the United Nations.
- 2- The Chiefs of State of Tunisia and Algeria and the Kings of Morocco visited the United Nations where they were warmly received. On the other hand these countries expect and hope to receive a great deal of technical and economic assistance from the U.N.
- 3- North Africa is presently facing a critical phase in the process of its constructive development in the fields of economy and political life. It is obvious therefore that they will lean heavily on the U.N. for assistance and support.
- 4- Despite the fact the the countries of North Africa will strive to solve their problems within the African framework, they feel that in the long run they will have to depend on the U.N.

5- Each of the respective countries of North Africa is witnessing an internal ideological struggle. In some cases this struggle has a common denominator in all these countries and in all cases external forces are exerting their influence with some internal forces to attain certain objectives.

6- While these countries struggle to solve their problems, external forces exploit internal economic problems thereby intensifying the difficulties facing the North African countries.

The above is a general picture of the situation which will be briefly amplified herewith:

MOROCCO

With the exception of Libya, Morocco is the only North African country that has maintained its Monarchical regime since pre-independence days.

Basically, the regime has not changed, but due to constant pressure it has developed to what is now described as a "constitutional monarchy". Despite this development, many elements continue to consider the present regime an anachronism. The life of the regime is dependant on the degree of support that army will continue to give. Relations between Army officers and the throne are at present very strong. The throne is not unaware of the internal currents of opposition. ^{The king} /~~He~~ is doing everything possible to

avert possible surprises. Realizing the fact that there is increased internal pressure and general cool attitude from most African countries, the King looks outside for support. He therefore undertook two trips, one to the United States and the other to France.

Internal currents in Morocco

Like every country that won its independence recently, Morocco faces ^{three} ~~two~~ concurrent internal currents:

A group still under the influence of the past and strives to maintain the institutions of the past. This group surrounds the throne and struggle for its survival. This group presently runs the country. Another group looks around to adapt whatever is applicable in the ideological sense to the country through evolution and peaceful development. Then there is a third group determined to wipe out the remnants of the past by all possible means and to realize this it is ready to cooperate with any external force that can be useful to attain this goal.

Two strong currents underway in Morocco are the Nasserite current and the Baathist current. The Egyption revolution under Nasser and its philosophy have won the admiration of many segments of the population. On the other hand, the Baathists have their admirers in the circles of the intelligentsia.

Despite the existence of these conflicting currents, there is nothing to indicate that the country is threatened by a strong political shock.

When the question of Morocco was being debated at the United Nations, attention was focused on two Moroccan names: Allal el Fassi and Ahmad Belafrej.

Mr. Belafrej is ~~x~~ in the innermost circle surrounding the throne and at present he represents the King in matters pertaining to foreign affairs. He is the King's spokesman in many conferences and he represented him at Addis Abeba during the African conference.

Allal el Fassi ^{is} ~~was~~ considered as the strongest supporter of the unity of North Africa. His face ^{is} ~~was~~ very familiar at the United Nations. He wrote several books on the subject of North African unity. His speeches at the U.N. during the debate of the Moroccan question are still remembered.

TUNISIA

Under President Bourghuiba, Tunisia is fundamentally oriented towards the West. Bourguiba has established himself as the only person fit to rule the country as long as he is alive and physically able to rule. There is no doubt that his strong personality has made the position of the opposition extremely difficult. On the other hand the opposition cannot find in Tunisia a monarchial

regime which it can attack or accuse of being reactionary. Moreover, the opposition finds that dictatorial rule is the order of the day in almost every independent country in Africa. Even the opposition does not attempt to deny the reforms undertaken by Bourguiba in various fields including the religious field. One of his fundamental principles which he often referred to during his struggle with the West is one should take what is given and wait for more. For a would be successor, the opposition expect Munji Slim to take over when the time comes. This does not mean, however, that Mr. Slim opposes Bourguiba. In her struggle for independence, Tunisia has brought to the limelight two personalities : Bahi Ladgham and Salah Ben Youssef who led the struggle at the United Nations. When Tunisia won her independence they separated. Ladgham remained with Bourguiba as his right hand man and Ben Youssef was warmly received by Cairo. His presence in Cairo was one of the direct causes of differences between Nasser and Bourguiba. Later, Ben Youssef was murdered in Switzerland.

ALGERIA

As soon as the struggle for independence ended in Algeria, Ben Bella opened his guns against his friends in a bid for sole leadership. He adapted a socialistic brand of economic regime for his country which he calls the "Algerian brand" .

To many observers it does not differ much from the Nasserite brand.

The strongest struggle for leadership is conducted by Belkacem and Ayet Hassan who believe in collective leadership. At present everything indicates that Ben Bella has won the first round. It is too early to state that the position is secure for Ben Bella. For all considerations, the struggle continues. The strong army man and strong friend of Nasser is Boumedien. He does not talk much but he is feared even by Ben Bella. At present he is an enigma. But his power must not be underestimated. The biggest headache for Algeria is the economic situation.. Algeria is in need of tremendous economic aid from every possible source.

CONCLUSIONS:

The struggle of the North African countries for supremacy dominates the scene. Any call for unity ~~which~~ among them ~~must~~ is based on the fact that each country wants to be the corner stone of such union.

1- The Casablanca group - Nasser's dream was the establishment of a group which he can control. The group encountered difficulties on various fields. There was ~~competition~~ competition by other African blocs. Furthermore, the admission of Algeria to the group made things more difficult because the struggle for leadership was not solely confined to Nasser. Ghana also began to play a prominent part in the struggle for leadership.

2 - While there are many things in common between the three North African countries, the differences of ideology and patterns of regime are obstacles in the face of any practical union or federation. The North African Federation (Al Maghreb) is still a deram far from realization.

3- Border questions - France was planning ahead. Hoping that Algeria will always remain French, she adjusted the frontiers by grabbing as much as possible from Tunisia and Morocco. Even during the Evian talks, Tunisia raised the question of adjusting frontiers without success despite the threats of Bourquiba. ^{The} same situation persisted as far as the Moroccan government is concerned. Morocco always boasts about the assistance, economic as well as military, that she gave Algeria which she considers as ingrate. Tunisias as well as Morocco's aim will continue to be a persistent effort to bring Ben Bella towards their rank as far as possible from Nasser. Morocco and Tunisia continuously talk of conspiracies plotted by Ben Bella. Under such circumstances, the atmosphere is not conducive to any fruitful negotiations. A truce, may be.

It is expected that the reception for the Secretary general in the three countries will be great and very warm. Other African countries are eager to be honored by a similar visit. They ~~feel~~ that the Secretary General is 'one of them' and that personal contact

is the best form of any relationship.

It may be suggested that personal souvenirs (momentos) from the Secretary General to the Chiefs of state will be greatly appreciated, namely photo albums of pictures depicting admission to the U.N. of respective countries, the thank you speech of the representative of each country, picture of the raising of the flag, verbatim texts related to admission, etc. etc. Also as a suggestion, folders of stamps (African Hall) stamps of the 15th Anniversary of the declaration of Human Rights for presentation to Premiers or Foreign Ministers. Preparation of these gifts can start immediately upon approval.
