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15 March 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Intelligence
FROM: Director of Central Intelligence
SUBJECT: Africa in the 1990s: Implications for the United States

1. I think the paper on Africa in the 1990s is a very good piece of work.
2. I would consider breaking it into two separate papers issued in succession to each other, one on sub-Saharan Africa and the other on South Africa. They are really two separate problems and each would get more focus and attention if they were separated.
3. I would review the sub-Saharan paper so as not to entirely exclude any possibility of coping with the problem and even perhaps achieving some successes. For example, is there a possibility of the kind of Soviet ouster or withdrawal that occurred earlier in Egypt and Sudan? If not, the paper might state why not.
4. Also, I would like to see the paper address the prospects of limited Western successes through a determined application of Western skills, technology, resources and enterprise, particularly in countries where agricultural and natural resource assets exist.
5. What is likely to develop from the growing informal economic sector or, as they call it in Peru, the "second economy" which is said to be larger than the legal economy there.
6. I agree with the note on page 30 which says that the comment there is too simplistic.
7. The information on the drastic shift from a large preponderance of economic aid in the 1960s to 3-to-1 military aid in the 1980s should be brought up into the Key Judgments in order to get the attention of policymakers.
8. On the South Africa section, pencilled notes beginning "How will it happen?" raise the question which might be addressed a little further. What role will economic forces arising from changing demographics play? The note on page 59 should be brought up front in addressing this question.
9. I also like the note on page 60 relating to how it will happen. The paper might look at the Zimbabwe precedent, as well as Katanga, mentioned in the note on page 60.

William J. Casey

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18 February 1986

NOTE TO: Director of Central Intelligence
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

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1. Some months ago, the Directorate completed a three-year research program on Africa. Drawing on all of that work (some 25 or so research papers), ALA has produced a major overview paper, Africa in the 1990s: Implications for the United States. The paper is in two parts, the first on Sub-Saharan Africa generally, and the second on South Africa.

2. This is a paper of great importance and I do not want to issue it without your having read it. Let me give you two extracts from the key judgments that will suggest to you both the importance of the paper and its potential for controversy:

-- "Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s will face seemingly insurmountable economic and political problems. Enduring political instability characterized by coups and insurgencies will produce ineffective governments whose leaders are guided by xenophobic ideologies and preoccupied with the near term struggle to stay in power. Africa's intractable economic problems are likely to worsen under weak political leadership that is unable to take bold, effective measures to manage the region's crisis. Economic deterioration will persist and Africa will face more food shortages, Western disinvestment, falling production, and declines in the standard of living."

-- "Dramatic political change is already taking place in South Africa and by the end of this century we believe the transition to black majority rule in Pretoria will be well underway, if not complete."

The papers are well done and where there are differences -- as South Africa -- they are explicitly spelled out.

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25X1 3. This paper will break rice bowls all over town. The section on Sub-Saharan Africa will deeply offend AID, the State Department, all liberals and probably a number of members of Congress. The South African section will be disquieting to all who read it. Because the conclusions are so stark and dismaying, I intend to give the paper a relatively limited circulation and to use our numbered paper system. [redacted]

25X1 4. I intend to hold publication until I hear from both of you. I would welcome any comments or suggestions. [redacted]

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Robert M. Gates
Deputy Director for Intelligence

Attachment:
As Stated

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Africa in the 1990s: Implications for the United States

An Intelligence Assessment

This paper incorporates information available as
of 18 February 1986.

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This paper was prepared by [redacted] of the Office of
African and Latin American Analysis. Comments and queries are welcome and
should be addressed to the Chief, Africa Division, [redacted]

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