

Malagasy Demonstrators Quietened After Power Is Transferred to Army

By Jim Hoagland

Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIRUT, May 21—After a week of seeming to teeter on the edge of plunging Madagascar into civil war, dissidents on the 1000-mile-long Indian Ocean island appear to have accepted a compromise that leaves President Philibert Tsiranana as a figurehead ruler while transferring power to the army.

The announcement that Maj. Gen. Gabriel Ramanantsoa, military chief of staff, would become prime minister with full executive powers has quietened the angry demonstrators who were surging through Tananarive, the island capital, according to agency reports.

He served in the French colonial forces in North Africa and fought in France during World War II. He commanded and fought in North Vietnam during the Indochina war.

Ramanantsoa, who reportedly has earned a reputation in Madagascar for honesty and efficiency in a government not noted for either quality, takes charge of an island with 7 million people who are a kaleidoscopic mélange of differing cultures, races, and religions.

Located off East Africa's Mozambique Channel, Madagascar is the world's only important crossroads of African and Asian civilizations. Malay and Polynesian peoples drifted from the east centuries ago and mingled with smaller numbers of African inhabitants. French colonization from 1895 to 1960 added a new cultural veneer.

The island's economy, which has grown slowly (2.5 per cent a year real growth) since independence, is based on agriculture. More than 60 per cent of the Malagasy work force is involved in growing rice. There is no significant industry nor even a national transport network.

Madagascar's commerce

speculated that French interests fearful of outside competition may have persuaded Tsiranana to force out Marshall, who had aggressively attempted to attract American business and ranching investment to Madagascar.

The French have at least 2,000 military personnel, including a Foreign Legion and import-export business continues to be dominated by the 70,000 French citizens who live on the island, which receives 60 per cent of all its imports from France.

Economic discontent may have helped to swing Tananarive's workers into the demonstrations against Tsiranana, which erupted May 13. The protests appear to have been started by students and others exasperated by the erratic and increasingly authoritarian internal political moves of the 59-year-old Tsiranana, who has been seriously ill since he was struck with primary hemiplegia, or injury to brain centers, in 1966.

A European diplomat who has met periodically with Tsiranana over the past few years recently described the president as having increasing periods of incoherence. When one trade delegation called on him a few months ago, he gave them a lecture on geography, although it had nothing to do with the talks that were scheduled.

More importantly, he reacted to signs of mounting discontent with his rule by sharply curbing Madagascar's traditionally free and open political activity.

A serious revolt in the southern part of the island in 1971, which may have caused up to 1,000 deaths, led to the jailing of opposition figures and the preventing of parties from entering national elections. Tsiranana alternatively accused China and the CIA of being behind plots to overthrow him.

Even his popular vice president, Andre Resampa, was last year placed under

house arrest where he remains. The president indicated that Resampa had been plotting with the United States, a charge that led to the withdrawal of American Ambassador Anthony Marshall last June.

Reflecting the widespread belief that French influence is pervasive on the government, American diplomats on the African continent company, at a base at Diego Suarez, in the northern part of the island.

France and Madagascar are linked by a defense pact similar to those that were used as justification for France's intervention in Gabon in 1964 to keep the government of Leon Mba in power, and more recently for France's role in helping the government of Chad put down an insurgency.

Paris spokesmen asserted shortly after the upheaval in Tananarive began that France had no intention of intervening. As long as the French-oriented upper echelons of the Army remain in control, there would seem to be little call for intervention.

But if the Malagasy army were to split, as Gabon's did in 1964, President Georges Pompidou might be faced with his first tough decision on how strong the French connection with its former colonies is to be in this decade.

For South Africa, Tsiranana's effective loss of power could conceivably turn out to represent a setback in the outward policy of seeking friends in the Third World and especially in Black Africa. But it is still far from clear that this will be the case.

Tsiranana signed a trade pact with South Africa in November, 1970, and the South African government and private sources are putting up a \$6.3 million loan to develop tourist facilities in Madagascar.

A reversal of these ties would come at a particularly bad time for the South Afri-

cans, who already this year have seen Kofi Busia, who supported a dialogue with South Africa, overthrown as prime minister of Ghana; Uganda's President Idi Amin switch from backing dialogue to calling for an African war of liberation against the white government; and Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan become increasingly critical of apartheid.

Thus, there are no indications that Tsiranana's sometimes controversial foreign policies played any significant role in his downfall after 14 years as leader of the Malagasy Republic, as the island is officially known.

But the aftermath of the collapse of the government is likely to be closely scrutinized by at least three countries. France, the former colonial power there and still the overwhelming foreign influence on the island; South Africa, which had been wooing Tsiranana with promises of aid and investment; and perhaps the United States, which may have a chance to heal a year-old diplomatic breach with the Malagasy government.

There would seem to be little reason to expect any immediate change in Madagascar's extremely close ties to France. The soft-spoken Ramanantsoa, who is in his sixties, was trained at Saint-Cyr, the French military academy, and reached the rank of colonel in the French army before Madagascar achieved independence in 1960.

29 NOV 1971

DRUGS:

The French Connection

Over the past fifteen years few espionage organizations have suffered so many damaging scandals as France's *Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre Espionage*—the French equivalent of the CIA. Up until last year, the SDECE recruited ex-convicts and members of the underworld as agents, and brawn was valued over brains. This, inevitably, led to all kinds of mishaps:



Joe Petrella—New York Daily News



Stern with drug haul (left) and ex-agent Delouette

SDECE agents were implicated in the sloppy public erasure of a prominent Moroccan, Mehdi Ben Barka, in 1965, and another SDECE agent recently got fifteen years for slipping French secrets to the Yugoslavs. Last week, the SDECE's tarnished reputation suffered yet another blow. A U.S. Federal grand jury in Newark, N.J., indicted an SDECE official, who uses the *nom de guerre* "Col. Paul Fournier," as the leader of an international heroin-smuggling organization. The indictment set off a round of bitter transatlantic accusations and shook the French spy network to its foundations.

The first scent on the trail leading to Fournier was picked up last April when the freighter *Atlantic Cognac* docked at Port Elizabeth, N.J., and customs agent Lynn Pelletier, 22, played a hunch and checked out a 1971 Volkswagen camper. She found 96 pounds of raw heroin (street value \$12 million) stashed inside. When Roger Delouette, 48, a French citizen, showed up to claim the VW, he was arrested and soon afterward began recounting a startling story to a young, crime-busting U.S. Attorney for

New Jersey named Herbert J. Stern. On Dec. 15, 1970, Delouette told Stern, Colonel Fournier asked him to smuggle the heroin into the U.S. for \$60,000. As a former SDECE officer, Delouette was well acquainted with Fournier, whose real name is Paul Ferrer—and who directs the worldwide operation of all SDECE agents. Several years ago however, Delouette was fired by Ferrer for "unreliability." And as Delouette told the story, when Ferrer got back in touch with him last year, it was not to offer him his old job—but a totally different kind of assignment.

Allegedly, Ferrer put Delouette in contact with other heroin smugglers. And acting, so he said, on Ferrer's instructions, Delouette flew to New York, where he was to pick up the heroin and deliver it to a contact thought to be some-

trial of sorts was already under way, for at the end of the week, one Col. Roger Barberot went on Radio Luxembourg and charged that narcotics smuggling had indeed been organized by French intelligence agents. Barberot's motives, however, were open to question. A fanatic Gaullist and anti-American, Barberot had hired Delouette immediately after Ferrer fired him from the SDECE. Further, Barberot is head of the Bureau for Agricultural Production Development, a cover for intelligence operations overseas, and his accusations may simply reflect infighting between two French intelligence groups. In fact, there was speculation that Barberot was incensed over President Georges Pompidou's approval of a purge against old-line Gaullists within the SDECE and was trying to discredit the entire organization.

Nor did the speculation end there. Characteristically, some sources advanced the hypothesis that the smuggling case had been masterminded by the CIA. As they saw it, the CIA had a simple motive for blackening Ferrer's reputation. This past summer, the U.S. ambassador to Malagasy was kicked out of that country after charges against him had been trumped up by the French (*Newsweek*, July 5). What's more, since Ferrer is also responsible for the French spy network in the U.S., it was conceivable that his agents had often stepped on the toes of their American counterparts. In the U.S., there was speculation that, if Ferrer was in fact involved in the heroin racket, the motive was either to line his own pockets or to finance French intelligence operations in the U.S.

It was, of course, impossible to verify any of these theories. But those with inside information on the French drug scene were convinced that if Stern's charges against Paul Ferrer are in fact true, then the scene may well be set for a scandal that could rock the French Government. For if it can be demonstrated that a top official of the *Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre Espionage* was, for any reason, involved in the narcotics trade, even the total dismantling of the organization may not be enough to put Franco's allies at rest.

Last week, Fournier-Ferrer came out of hiding to give five hours of secret testimony before a French magistrate. As he emerged from the Palace of Justice in Paris, a photographer snapped his picture—but Ferrer persuaded the police to confiscate the film on the ground that his identity was "a secret affecting national defense." Meanwhile, the French Government brushed aside all charges against Ferrer and refused to extradite him for trial in the U.S. Safe in Paris, Ferrer challenged: "If I'm guilty, Mr. Stern, prove it and justice will follow its course." From Newark, Stern replied: "If you're innocent, Mr. Fournier, come to this country and stand trial."

That appears unlikely. Yet a public

STATINTL



Tsiranana and Marshall in happier days: A cloud of mystery in Tananarive

MADAGASCAR:

The Big Frame-up

Until recent months, the Malagasy Republic on the island of Madagascar had a well-earned reputation as a place where nothing much ever happened. And that seemed to suit its 7 million citizens just fine. For if life on the Texas-sized island, which lies some 300 miles out in the Indian Ocean off the east coast of Africa, lacked a certain vibrance, it was, at the least, tranquil. But of late the peace of Madagascar has been shattered by political tensions. Last week as the former French colony marked the eleventh anniversary of its independence, police and troops manned roadblocks in the capital of Tananarive to check identity papers and search for guns. And amidst charges of plots and counterplots, newspapers in the capital complained of the "cloud of mystery" surrounding two startling incidents: the imprisonment of a Malagasy Vice President and the expulsion of the U.S. ambassador.

The first hint of this strange turn of events in Madagascar came late in May when President Philibert Tsiranana charged in a speech that "Malagasy who pretend to serve us have prostituted themselves to sell us out to an imperialist power." To support that charge the Malagasy President claimed to have intercepted a letter linking a foreign embassy in Tananarive to a plot to overthrow his government. While Tsiranana mentioned no names in his speech, it was soon evident that the main target of his wrath was André Resampa, former Malagasy first Vice President who, as recently as six months ago, was regarded by many as Tsiranana's heir apparent. Since that time, however, Resampa had suffered a series of demotions. And shortly after Tsiranana's angry speech,

the ex-Vice President was arrested and imprisoned.

Even more astonishing, it turned out that Tsiranana had the United States in mind when he accused an "imperialist power" of conspiring to do him in. The day after Tsiranana's speech, U.S. Ambassador Anthony D. Marshall was summarily called to the Malagasy Foreign Ministry and told to "go home for consultations" within five days. To underscore Tsiranana's displeasure, strict orders were issued forbidding anyone in the foreign diplomatic corps to extend the traditional courtesy of seeing Ambassador Marshall off at the airport.

Enthusiastic: In Washington, State Department officials categorically rejected the notion that Marshall had abused his diplomatic privileges. "He was enthusiastic, and he was doing a good job," a department superior told Newsweek's Henry L. Trewhitt. Personable, energetic and privately wealthy, 47-year-old Tony Marshall entered government service in 1950, putting in stints in the lower echelons of both the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency. He received his Tananarive appointment in 1969. In that post, he worked hard to drum up U.S. private investments in Madagascar, primarily in cattle ranching and oil explorations. And at one time his popularity was so great that he was the only ambassador invited to accompany Tsiranana on a visit to the President's home village. Nor could Marshall's previous CIA connections have had anything to do with his expulsion, according to the State Department, because the Malagasy Government had known about it at the time of Marshall's appointment and had not objected.

In the absence of any clear explanations, speculation abounded. One theory was that Marshall had simply been caught in the crunch of Malagasy politics

and had been made a fall guy to buttress Tsiranana's case for alleged imperialist intrigue. Another had it that Marshall was too dynamic and had alarmed the politically influential, economically dominant French community on the island with a growing "*présence Américaine*." According to this thesis, the French Government, worried over possible future competition with the U.S. for Malagasy oil (though not a single oil deposit has yet been found on the island) decided to sabotage Marshall's mission—and, to achieve that, Jacques Foccart, a shadowy figure who controls all French intelligence operations in Africa, devised the plot against the U.S. ambassador.

Whether Foccart was, in fact, responsible for Marshall's ouster was impossible to discover. But last week in Tananarive, Madagascans recalled something that had happened during a recent tour of French West Africa by President Georges Pompidou and Foccart. At a cocktail party, a journalist caught Pompidou in a light-hearted mood and asked him if he had any coups on the drawing board. "Me?" Pompidou answered in mock horror. "I never make coups d'état. Perhaps in France but never in Africa. Of course, there is always Monsieur Foccart on permanent duty."

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
INQUIRER

M - 463,503
S - 867,810

JUN 27 1971

Ambassador to Malagasy Expelled

The U. S. ambassador to Malagasy has been expelled for allegedly interfering with internal affairs of the East African nation formerly known as Madagascar.

The State Department said five other American diplomats are being sent home because of similar charges.

The department denied the charges against Ambassador Anthony D. Marshall, a former Central Intelligence Agency employe, and the others.

Press officer Charles Bray said, Marshall worked with the CIA in the 1950s, but served his connection long before appointment as an ambassador in 1969. The government of Malagasy was aware of Marshall's past and did not object to the appointment, he added.

26 JUN 1971

U.S. Recalls Envoy to Malagasy, Denies Plot

BY ROBERT C. TOTH

Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—While denying any U.S. role in an alleged coup attempt in Madagascar, the State Department said Friday that the U.S. ambassador has been recalled and five lesser U.S. officials expelled from that island republic at its government's request.

Rumors in the country, formally known as Malagasy, blame U.S. intelligence for the claimed conspiracy against its president, Philibert Tsiranana.

U.S. Ambassador Anthony D. Marshall, a noncareer official appointed in 1969 by President Nixon, is alleged to have signed a report, on State Department stationery, implicating him and the embassy in the alleged plot in May.

Forgery Charged

U.S. sources insist the document is a blatant forgery and that there is no evidence that a coup attempt occurred in the first place. State Department officials said Malagasy refused to show any proof to a high-level U.S. mission that was to have flown there this weekend. That mission has been canceled.

Marshall was a Central Intelligence Agency employe during the 1950s, department officials conceded,

but his past association was specifically made known to Malagasy authorities before his appointment. No objection to him was raised, the officials said.

Left open, however, was the possibility that among the five ousted U.S. officials was one or more men currently working for the CIA.

Information Service

Department spokesman Charles W. Bray said that two of the five were employed by the U.S. Information Service, and the others were in political, administrative and consular affairs.

Asked if any were CIA men, Bray said, "All are employes of the U.S. government." Pressed on which men work for the State Department, he replied: "That's a difficult question to speak to. I'll have to leave it there."

But Bray insisted that his denial covered all U.S. agencies. "It is our strong belief," he said, "that no basis exists for any question of the propriety of the role of the ambassador or the personnel of the American Embassy in Tananarive," the capital city of the island off Southeast Africa.

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MIAMI HERALD
26 JUNE 1971

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U.S. Denies Coup Role in Madagascar, Admits Recall of Envoy

Miami Herald-Los Angeles Times Wire

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of the American embassy in Tananarive," the capital city of the island off southeast Africa.

ACCEPTING THE U.S. disclaimer at face value, officials here expressed puzzlement on who was behind the apparently heavy-handed attempt to ruin American-Madagascar relations, which long have been excellent.

Attention has turned on the French, who seek to regain influence in their former colonies, and far-left French advisers to the former Malagasy government who had opposed its Western inclination.

STATINTL

U.S. Recalls Envoys, Denies Malagasy Plot

The State Department announced that it has withdrawn its ambassador and five of his aides from the Malagasy Republic, but it denied allegations that American officials had interfered in the country's internal affairs.

Spokesman Charles W. Bray said the ambassador, Anthony D. Marshall, had been called home for "consultations" and would not return.

"We have made clear our strong belief that no basis exists for any question concerning the propriety of the role of the ambassador or the person-

nel of the American Embassy," Bray said.

The Malagasy government refused to produce the evidence it said it had in its possession, he said. U.S. officials believe the charges are based on some forged document.

Nevertheless, rumors that U.S. intelligence agents were involved in a plot on the island of Madagascar, combined with the fact that Marshall had been a CIA employee for almost a decade, did little to improve the U.S. image amid growing unrest in the country.

Marshall's CIA connections were made clear to the Malagasy government when his name was proposed in 1969. U.S. officials said the government in Tananarive said his former CIA connections would have no bearing on his acceptability.

Returns Home

The ambassador was called in by the government on May 30, and it was suggested that his embassy had been involved in improper activities. It was further suggested that he return to Washington for consultations, which he did on June 7.

At that meeting and for several days thereafter, U.S. officials said, Marshall was assured that the charges were not directed at him personally.

Since June 10, however, U.S. officials said there have been unsubstantiated allegations that Marshall himself was personally involved. During the first week of June, these officials said, the Malagasy government also asked that five employees of the U.S. embassy be withdrawn.

Four of these are State Department employees. There were indications that the fifth may be a CIA official. The five are being withdrawn "forthwith," State Department officials said.

Evidence Not Produced

The United States originally proposed sending a high-level delegation to Madagascar to look into the evidence on which the allegations were based. When the Malagasy government refused to present the evidence, the United States concluded that such a delegation would serve no "useful purpose," State Department officials said.

"We have been given no reason for the . . . refusal to present us with the evidence it says it has in its possession," Bray said.

For more than a year Madagascar has been hit by political agitation. President Philibert Tsiranana, who has been in poor health but who reportedly is trying to assure his own reelection in 1972, announced on June 1 that he had uncovered an "imperialist plot."

Tsiranana has also undertaken what has been called a "purge" of his Social Democratic Party, which led to the ouster and arrest of Andre Resampa, former Vice President, Interior Minister, and secretary general of the party.

Resampa, who had been considered Tsiranana's heir apparent, was progressively relieved of one job after another until the "plot" charge, in which he was accused of collusion with a foreign power. His ouster appeared to remove the only significant threat to Tsiranana's reelection.