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19 OCTOBER 1979

FOUO NO. 652

1 OF 1

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JPRS L/8721

19 October 1979

Sub-Saharan Africa Report

FOUO No. 652

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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ANGOLA

COMMENTARY ON NETO'S UNFINISHED BUSINESS, POSSIBLE SUCCESSORS

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 19 Sep 79 pp 32 - 34

[Article by Francois Soudan: "Neto's Legacy"]

[Text] "Patrice Lumumba" is only beginning to believe it. Tuesday, 11 September at noon, when the radio announced Agostinho Neto's death, the inhabitants of the most populous slum in Luanda remained silent, showing no reaction. In "Rangel," in "Sambizanga," in all the hovels of the ring of slums which surrounds one of the most beautiful bays in Africa, a kind of cold fever gripped the colorful, noisy crowd.

Luanda the red, the lush, froze in mourning. However, the man who at 57 had just died in a Moscow hospital bed, victim of cancer which had been carefully hidden, aroused neither passion nor an outburst of hatred. Austere, hard as steel with a soft-spoken manner, an inscrutable chief with the eloquence of a pedant, this former doctor did not like the crowd very much. But Luanda was his city, the fortress of his friendships--he was born several dozen kilometers from there, in Kimbundu country. It was the only place, too, where he could be sure at all times he would not be challenged.

Neto should not have died now; no one will contradict us on this. There is much work to be done in the Angola he leaves behind. It is almost a rough draft. A patchwork of tensions and factions which his presence alone kept within bearable limits. The president-poet seemed, for the past two years, to have started a race to fill in some of the breaches, correct some of the mistakes made in 1974 - 1976, the two crucial years of independence and the civil war.

He was "open" to the West, to loosen a Soviet yoke that he felt was too tight, sending a number of emissaries and increasing the trade missions to Europe and Brazil. On several occasions, he privately expressed his dissatisfaction with the some 20,000 Cubans in the country. In his opinion, they were not very effective in reviving the economy and in struggling against the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] guerrillas. He also criticized them for exercising a privilege of systematic control each time an important decision had to be made. Neto was even obliged in

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December 1978 to dismiss five ministers, among them the head of government, Lopo do Nascimento, accused apparently of acting as veritable proxies on Castro's behalf.

Regionally, he succeeded in re-establishing almost normal relations with Zaire, after allowing his country to serve twice as the departure point for the "Katangan soldiers" of Nathanael M'Bumba. Domestically, finally, timid attempts at rapprochement were made with the Cabindan secessionists of FLEC [Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave], some UNITA military leaders and some exiled dissidents of the "Revolt of the East" group, headed by Daniel Chipenda.

Neto certainly died too soon. None of these "patching" efforts has been completed. All the internal and external difficulties, all the ideological and racial conflicts, latent or obvious, are still very current issues. Moreover, the economy is still in shambles. Only the petroleum sector has achieved--and no doubt this year will surpass--its pre-independence production level. Diamond and coffee production are hopelessly stagnant. The Benguela railroad, the vital artery of the south, has been paralyzed by UNITA sabotage, despite periodic announcements of its reopening. It seems evident that as long as Namibia is not fully independent, Jonas Savimbi's UNITA, supported at arm's length by South Africa, and which is still firmly supported by the Ovimbundu and Chokwe of the center and the south, will always be a threat.

Who then can take over the enormous task which is Agostinho Neto's legacy? Above all, it is a matter of consensus. No one, even during the tumultuous hours of the abortive coup of Nito Alves, the minister of the interior and partisan of radical, anti-mulatto "black power" had dared to question the harsh authority of the late president. But no one, after him, seems to benefit from the same unanimity.

Lucio Lara, the number two man after the forced resignation of Lopo do Nascimento and who, in this capacity, temporarily succeeds Neto, has the advantage of having been the president's confidant for a long time. However, this somewhat unsympathetic ideologue, fascinated supposedly by the Bulgarian experiment, is much more a man of the party than a statesman. It was he who, after the unsuccessful coup d'etat of Nito Alves' supporters (27 May 1977) was given the responsibility of reconstructing the MPLA, transforming it into a selective, Leninist-type, structured, easily controllable "Labor Party" and purging it of all "leftist" and "secessionist" elements. Without a doubt, he succeeded, but this type of activity made him many enemies.

Moreover, Lara is a mulatto, like the three others close to Neto--Henrique "Iko" Carreira, minister of defense; Paulo Jorge, minister of foreign affairs, and Eduardo dos Santos, minister of planning (and acting prime minister since the president's death.) Now, for many Angolans, the mulatto intellectuals of Neto's entourage formed a bureaucratic, pro-Soviet and pro-Cuban petty bourgeoisie which monopolized the reins of power.

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Well-founded or not, this sentiment exists and has a certain mobilizing power: it was one of the principal bases of the propaganda of Nito Alves, the FNLA [Angolan National Liberation Front] of Holden Roberto and UNITA. Moreover, to this sentiment is added the bitterness of the "people in the provinces," who feel neglected to the benefit of city dwellers, and of the military who criticize the administration and the party for keeping them under tutelege. Neto was certainly aware of these cleavages, no doubt the most serious which threaten Angola today since there is the possibility that the country could simply split apart.

Since the beginning of 1979, in fact, the former president took a series of measures aiming to promote, within the state apparatus, black military cadres from the interior of the country. Thus, Kundi Payama, Alexandre Rodrigues and Lourenco Ferreira were respectively named ministers of the interior, the police and security. The DISA [Directorate of Security and Intelligence], the internal security service trained by the East Germans, which has been accused of acting like a state within a state, was disbanded on 26 July 1979 and integrated into the ministry of Lourenco Ferreira. Its two directors, Henrique Santos "Onambwe" and "Ludi" Kissasunda, both mulatto, whom Neto publicly branded as "inquisitors" were demoted to the ranks. Finally, through a process of various nominations, 10 provinces out of 17 came under military orders.

Nevertheless, these recent changes have not--far from it--ended the tensions which have existed within the MPLA since the early 60's. Only an alliance, a compromise among the various factions can prevent a possible explosion. If not, who can act as arbiter with Neto gone? The army? The FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], with 50,000 men are thoroughly trained by the Cubans and the East Germans. Moreover, they do not form a coherent group: in fact, a certain rivalry seems to exist between "Iko" Carreira, the minister of defense, and "Xyetu" Joao Neto, the chief of staff. The former favored an increase in the number of socialist "advisers"; the latter, a reduction.

The Cubans and the Soviets? Nothing, it is true, can be done without them or against them, especially Neto's succession. But the man who might be their choice--in Luanda, Pascual Luvualu, a black, member of the political bureau and known pro-Soviet, is mentioned--might not obtain popular support.

Then is it the vacuum after Neto? One thing at least is certain: in late 1979 as already in 1974 at the time of independence, everyone once again wants to play his own card. Everyone, meaning the Soviet Union, the United States and South Africa. In a little less than 4 years in power, Agostinho Neto was not able to stabilize his country sufficiently, so each external power still has some advantages and some well-founded hopes. Moscow will benefit from continuity; Washington, from openness; and Pretoria, from uncertainty.

Why would they bother? Was Angola not, from 1974 to 1976, the favorite poaching grounds of the great powers, the symbol of Africa torn apart? Is it

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not the only country in Africa where the fighting has continued for almost 20 years? Twelve months ago, when Angola was celebrating its third anniversary of independence, we wrote (JEUNE AFRIQUE, issue 932): "The Angolan state exists. But the most arduous task remains: to build a nation." Neto is dead. He laid the first stone. Everything else remains to be done.

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ANGOLA

BRIEFS

MPIC REPORTED ACTIVITIES-- The MPLC [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Cabinda] which announced its recent formation in a communique sent to Paris (See MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, No 1763, p 2347) has just published, via Kinshasa, a report of its activity in June. According to this recent communique, the Movement reportedly killed 35 Angolan and Cuban soldiers and wounded 55 others during operations carried out that month in the enclave. In addition to destroying two FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] military vehicles, on 15 June near Tendecele and on 24 June, near the town of Sao Vicente, the MPLC forces blew up the gas depot of the public transportation company on 23 June in the center of Tchiowa (name given to the capital of the enclave by the Cabindans) causing an enormous explosion and a fire. The communique adds that on 16 June, a "suicide commando" blew up the tank of an oil tanker which was loading Gulf Oil crude at Malongo, causing the death of three Greek sailors. Elsewhere, the MPLC accused the joint Angolan and Cuban forces, aided by MI-4 helicopters and Soviet Ilyushin-28 bombers piloted by Cubans and supported by Mig-17s, of bombing with napalm and defoliant the forest of Maiombe (center of the enclave) and the farms of peasants in areas liberated by the MPLC. "The MPLC executive board draws the attention of international opinion to these barbaric acts of the Angolan aggressor who aims to exterminate the Cabindan peoples," concludes the communique. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 14 Sep 79 p 2527] 9479

YUGOSLAV AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION--Five agreements, for a total value of \$8.10 million, have recently been signed between the Yugoslav agricultural cooperative "Belgrade" and the Angolan government. According to the terms of these agreements, signed in Luanda, the "Belgrade" company agrees, among other things, to study the possibilities of the agro-industrial development of two areas--one, of 13,000 hectares in the Catete region; the other, of 5,000 hectares in the Kikussi region. The Yugoslav firm will also build residential housing for 7,000 people about 15 kilometers from Luanda, and a dairy with a production capacity of 10,000 liters a day. Moreover, "Belgrade" has agreed to provide Angola with technical aid in the agricultural and stock raising sectors. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 14 Sep 79 p 2527] 9479

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BOTSWANA

BRIEFS

REVALUATION OF CURRENCY--On 14 September, the pula was revaluated 5 percent. The move which observers had been expecting for months is aimed at decreasing the cost of maize imports from South Africa. [Excerpt] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Sep 79 p 2590]

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

BOKASSA'S SON DENIES BELONGING TO OPPOSITION

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 12 Sep 79 p 52

[Text] We republished (See JEUNE AFRIQUE No 973) the statement of Prince Georges Bokassa to the African magistrates who questioned him on the Bangui massacres. According to that testimony, the prince asserted that his father, the emperor, could kill with his own hands. Whereas at the time Georges Bokassa went back to Bangui this week, he declared to us that he had never made such a statement.

[Answer] I am deeply shocked that magistrates who must a priori be honest and objective, have distorted my statements, which is furthermore easy for me to prove. How can one imagine that magistrates of whom it is said that they acted in an upright manner, can question someone about events who is publicly known not to have been present. I never stated that my father had personally participated in the "massacres." My meeting with them lasted only a minute. One of the gentlemen, who seemed to have had one glass too many, insisted in offering me something to drink. All that was not very responsible. I think that after General Mobutu and myself, the denials are not over.

[Question] What is the meaning of your return to Bangui?

[Answer] As I explained, there is no question of giving my return to Bangui any political significance whatsoever, I am not a politician although the commission put me on the list of those in opposition which shocked me greatly. In all the statements I have made, I have always said I was not in the opposition. PARIS MATCH is the only one to have accurately reported my statements. Despite temporary quarrels, it is fitting for a son to be at his father's side at difficult moments. Who could condemn me for that?

[Question] How do you assess the situation as it currently stands in Bangui?

[Answer] All my friends who have recently gone to our capital have told me and said so again that the city is quiet.

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

FRENCH MINISTER AT IMPERIAL COURT DEFENDS BOKASSA

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 12 Sep 79 pp 46-50, 52

[Excerpts] His Majesty still has a few defenders. Despite the report of the African jurists (see JEUNE AFRIQUE No 973) which concluded that his participation "in the April massacres was virtually certain," there are still some people (rare, it is true) playing the tough role of devil's advocate and frankly proclaiming their allegiance to the emperor. No African, of course, except Central African dignitaries, among them Central Africans, alas, has risen up to defend the sovereign of Berengo, but the "Bokassa phenomenon" continues to fascinate some French people.

Who are these imperial supporters? What motivates them?

In the view of Jacques Duchemin, minister of state at the imperial court, it is doubtless money and a certain taste for "African adventure" (see interview). For others, such as that Bonapartist municipal councilor of Ajaccio in Corsica, Fenicia Ramaroni (who, it is true, has just notified Bokassa that she is renouncing her title as roving imperial ambassador), might it not be the attraction of honors generously dispensed by an emperor who does not hesitate to compare himself to Napoleon? As attested to by the letters reproduced here, there are even nostalgic people who persist in believing in the innocence of Bokassa, an "emperor, a Catholic and a soldier," hence not guilty. A marginal phenomenon, nevertheless, as our survey "Bokassa and the French" demonstrated (See JEUNE AFRIQUE Nos 966 and 967), and as Farida Ayari succeeded in ascertaining in Hardricourt, a French village which does not appear to appreciate that "nuisance of a guest." Even if he is an emperor.

An Interview With Bokassa's "Savior"

[Interview with Jacques Duchemin by Hamid Barrada, Pierre Gardel and Francis Soudan at Jeune Afrique's offices in Paris, date not given]

When Jacques Duchemin came to see us at JEUNE AFRIQUE's offices, we were expecting to meet one of those bull-necked, tattooed scrappers with barrack-room eloquence and the subtlety of hobnailed boots. In short, a man in the

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image of his imperial employer. But there is nothing of all that about Jacques Duchemin, minister plenipotentiary, recruited last June to improve Bokassa's image abroad and whom we interviewed at the close of one of his mysterious missions to Paris. Calm, agreeable, halfway between the seriousness of a Quai d'Orsay official and the almost feminine unctuousness of a court prelate, the one to whom Bokassa allegedly confided: "You are my final recourse" is an amiable and long-winded personage. Too long-winded no doubt for the tortuous paths of his "African career" that he willingly tells about--Algeria, Tschombe, Tombalbaye--not to lead him astray sometimes to the border of mythomania. Obviously, the liberty that Jacques Duchemin often seems to take with reality when he sets forth his adventurous biography, does not bother him too much. All the more so since it is not easy to verify what he says. The boisterous and not always admirable life of that "public relations expert" doubtless impressed Berengo's emperor. It is men like Jacques Duchemin who "clarify" the Bokassa phenomenon or, at the very least, its continuing existence.

[Question] Mr Duchemin, a lot of information and rumors, and perhaps gossip, are circulated about you. You are not an unknown figure. Our first question will be a very simple one. What are your present functions with Emperor Bokassa?

[Answer] I have been minister of state at the imperial court and minister plenipotentiary at the empire's Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 14 June 1979.

[Question] Was your appointment made public?

[Answer] Of course, by a decree dated 14 June. I have a great many documents here in Paris since I work at the embassy every day. But, you know, I continue to be distrustful since a young journalist whom I had invited to Central Africa photographed my diplomatic passport while I was taking a siesta. This misadventure cost me a deserved reproof from the emperor for the photo appeared in LE CANARD ENCHAINE. So you will understand why I have no desire to open up my locked cases for you.

[Question] Was your appointment related to the massacring of children?

[Answer] Indirectly no doubt, in that the emperor, when he saw a press campaign unleashed against him throughout the world, wished to ensure the help of someone acquainted with the media.

[Question] So your job is to help the emperor have better relations with the press.

[Answer] That just that. I am above all the emperor's political and diplomatic adviser. You know, for an African country, the press is something marginal. I do not underestimate the press: I have been a journalist for 10 years. But what counts most is diplomacy.

[Question] You knew Bokassa before 14 June?

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[Answer] No. But he knew me. Friends we have in common asked me to go and see him. French friends who have no official position, but who have been close to the emperor for a very long time. They asked me to come to Bangui to give the emperor my views on the Central African Empire's image abroad. So I made a kind of expert assessment following which the emperor who was acquainted with my career in Africa, asked me if I would agree to work with him on a regular basis. After a very short period of reflection, I undertook this new adventure.

[Question] What is the amount of your salary?

[Answer] Let us say I am paid a little more than the president of the Republic, at least insofar as his official salary is concerned--which I believe amounts to 28,970 francs a month. But my position, you will admit, is less stable than his.

[Question] Are there other French people in Africa who hold positions similar to yours?

[Answer] Yes, indeed. Roger Pietri, a journalist of French television's Channel Three, FR 3, had similar duties with Omar Bongo. Periard, Jacqueline Baudrier's husband, still fulfills the same functions for Houphouet-Boigny. My own duties are halfway between those of Periard and those of Jean Collin, minister of interior for Senegal.

[Question] Jean Collin has Senegalese nationality.

[Answer] But he is French by origin.

[Question] You live in Paris in a second-rate hotel which does not seem to be at the same level as your salary.

[Answer] That's true. I am following the example set by Mamadou Dia who, as prime minister of Senegal, when in Paris stayed at a modest establishment on Boulevard Raspail.

[Question] What was the specific purpose of your mission to Paris?

[Answer] To make contact with some of my former press colleagues to provide them with some clarifications as to what the real situation was in Central Africa. Moreover, I believe I have fulfilled my mission well.

[Question] You no doubt feel that your former Katangan gendarmes turned out badly. It is even said that they are considered to be pro-Cuban.

[Answer] So what? I have a lot of sympathy for "Che" Guevara's Cuba. Not for Castro's, that is true. Even if I am not a Marxist-Leninist, I regard myself as a Marxian.

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[Question] As a Martian?

[Answer] Marxian! I admire Karl Marx's original thinking, but not the practical use to which it has been put. In France, my political sympathies are with the anarchists, the Utopians. For example, had I been in Paris on 10 June for the elections to the European Assembly, I would have voted the ecologists' ticket.

[Question] Don't your ideas alarm the emperor?

[Answer] Not at all! The emperor knows everything. I told him everything. And he understood me...

[Question] But let us get back to Tombalbaye. How did you meet him?

[Answer] Well, through friends he asked me to work on his behalf for a rapprochement with Libya. He wanted to get the exploitation of Tibesti's petroleum deposits under way. To do so, an agreement had to be negotiated. And an agreement was signed.

[Question] You were known in Libya?

[Answer] Of course. And my "good rating" in Tripoli stemmed from the fact that I was introduced, sponsored, by Algeria's ambassador to Tripoli, at the present time stationed in Tunis, Colonel Ali Kafi.

[Question] Tschombe, Tombalbaye, Bokassa. What do these three men have in common?

[Answer] That is hard... let us say... innate authority.

[Question] You mean to say they are tyrants?

[Answer] Definitely not!

[Question] Well, tell us a little about the emperor.

[Answer] Contrary to the image Westerners have of him, Emperor Bokassa I is a personage with common sense. And quite well-balanced.

[Question] He drinks a lot of whisky and they say "he never sobers up..."

[Answer] Oh, you know the emperor is not a practicing Moslem... I have spent many hours with him. I have never drunk alcohol in his presence. And I have never seen him drunk!

[Question] You admire Bokassa I?

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[Answer] I have affection and esteem for the emperor. I consider him to be thoroughly sincere.

[Question] Nonetheless, there children were massacred in Central Africa. Doesn't that disturb you?

[Answer] You know, child massacres... I am convinced that there were agents of a foreign embassy who gave money to Central African policemen asking them to effect "black marks" to compromise the emperor.

[Question] Who might want to harm Bokassa? He has nothing but friends!

[Answer] Those who wanted unsuccessfully to destabilize Zaire: the Cubans, for example. They regard Central Africa as a weak link.

[Question] What could make Bokassa leave...? Aside from your own departure, of course!

[Answer] Oh, I don't know! Bokassa I is not a man to leave just like that. He is not like his august relative the Shah of Iran.

[Question] What are you trying to do specifically to "save" him? That is part of your job, isn't it?

[Answer] That's correct. It is my job. I give the emperor advice of a diplomatic nature.

[Question] It was you who advised the emperor to ask his peers to ban the dissemination of JEUNE AFRIQUE?

[Answer] No, not at all. If I had been his adviser at the time, I would have strongly counseled him not to take such a step.

[Question] It seems that the emperor reads JEUNE AFRIQUE a great deal...

[Answer] That is true. He reads your publication assiduously.

[Question] You would advise the emperor to go along with a "JEUNE AFRIQUE Gets Bokassa to Talk?"

[Answer] Of course.

[Question] And that would not end up as it did for the journalist Goldsmith? *

[Answer] But all went very well for Goldsmith in the end.

[Question] With blows on his head with a cane! Which nearly cost him his life!

* Special correspondent of the American Associated Press agency.

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[Answer] But afterwards the emperor had him appear before him. He embraced him publicly and regards him as a permanent guest.

[Question] After he had been a guest in Bangui's jails...

[Answer] You know that makes up part of the ups and downs of daily life in Africa.

[Question] The emperor has never struck you?

[Answer] Never!

[Question] No doubt that is because you are new at court... But let us skip over that. Did Idi Amin ever ask for you?

[Answer] No. I wish to make it clear that Bokassa is not a French-speaking Idi Amin.

[Question] And what if Macias Nguema, the dictator of Equatorial Guinea, had called for you?

[Answer] I would have refused. He persecutes priests and I am a practicing Catholic.

[Question] If Bokassa fell, what would you lose apart from your salary?

[Answer] Nothing at all. And besides I do not need the emperor to earn my bread!

[Question] Do you meet some of your ministerial colleagues in Paris?

[Answer] No. But you will have to admit that if I were to say, for example, "I am going to ask my counterpart, Robert Galley, for an appointment," it would be laughable, wouldn't it?

[Question] The emperor knows you are granting an interview to JEUNE AFRIQUE?

[Answer] Yes, yes. I telephoned him to get his permission. He gave it to me.

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

BANGUI ACCUSED OF COLLUSION WITH BOKASSA--Sylvestre Bangui, chairman of the FLO [Ubanguians' Liberation Front], is charged by some of his partisans of acting in collusion with Emperor Bokassa. After meeting the Zairian chief of state, Mobuto Sese Seko, who is close to Bangui's master, on 30 August, the former Central African ambassador to France authorized Jacques Duchemin, minister at the imperial court, to attend an information meeting of Central Africans held on 1 September in Paris in the reception rooms of the Hotel Sheraton. [Text] [Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 12 Sep 79 p 25] 8094

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EQUATORIAL GUINEA

PREPARATIONS BEING MADE FOR TRIAL OF MASIE

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 2 Sep 79 pp 40-41

[Text] A woman recognized deposed president Masie wandering alone in the vicinity of Noanquien, near Mongomo, in the early hours of 18 August. She informed a male companion and together the couple approached the tyrant who asked them, "Why do you pursue me when I don't have anything?"

Shortly after 1400 hours, a patrol sent from the Mongomo police station, encountered Masie lying on the grass with his head on a suitcase--his only baggage--wearing a tattered pair of pants and a white T-shirt with the words "Equatorial Guinea, a peaceful country par excellence."

When Masie realized he was surrounded, he acted as if he were getting ready to put his hand in his pocket, where he kept a gun. However, well placed shots to each arm left him defenseless and at the mercy of his captors, according to a soldier's report to Peru Egurbide, special correspondent of Cambio 16.

Meekly, he asked for water. Then he was taken to Mongomo and immediately after, while heavily guarded, he was secretly taken to the prison at Bata. As soon as he was placed in a cell, he silently sought refuge in a corner. This was the end of his devastating political adventure that lasted for nearly 11 years, during which time the country was decimated by the cruelty of a dictator and ruined and left desolate by incredible laziness and neglect.

The local radio station announced the capture of Masie at once and the people came out into the streets jubilantly. At night, they improvised a mad whirling dance with which to celebrate the end of a gory era.

A Collegiate Organization

At Malabo, headquarters of the forces which defeated Masie, they also began the final preparations for the country's reconstruction. It was necessary to await the arrival of the officers of the Supreme Military Council--from the continental area--who had been in charge of the hunt for Masie for 2 weeks.

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The Council has not yet announced the name of all of its members and, for the time being, has limited itself to operating as a collegiate body under the orders of colonel Obiang Nguema. Ranking in second place as strong man in the new regime is Commander Ela, a graduate--like Obiang--of the Zaragoza, [Spain] military academy.

All the messages and all the appeals made by the almost anonymous Council are of a conciliatory nature. The more than 4,000 exiles who are in Spain have been asked to return to their country to assist in rebuilding the nation, regardless of any political bias.

No civil servants have been purged. It is as if by the ousting of Masie, any other purge became unnecessary. Observers can find no explanation for the fact that a government which failed to govern, and which lacked the barest minimum of support could have lasted so long. Nor can they explain how the Russians, who wielded so much influence in Masie's Guinea that they were able to take over the fishing port of Luba (previously San Carlos) with exclusive rights, had not some time ago worked out a solution for its reexchange.

Once the conditions became clear, the reexchange was very simple. Rumors that in the skirmishes with Masie's escort more than a hundred Guinean rebels had died were denied. The list of casualties in these encounters does not exceed ten.

In fact, the army was practically unarmed and the artillery paralysed. There were shortages of both ammunition and fuel. There was a lack of everything in Equatorial Guinea which for the past 5 years lived as if it were off the map.

The international reaction of solidarity with the new regime came at once. Spain, the first country to appoint a new ambassador to Malabo, managed to unblock the funds frozen at the European Economic Community (EEC) and when Masie was still attempting to flee, the EEC provided Guinea with an initial shipment of 8,000 tons of rice and US \$8 million in medical assistance.

France, Korea, China, Cuba and the Soviet Union have also recognized the Military Council and have expressed pleasure at the change in policy. The Cubans--who basically served as military instructors--and the Chinese--who were technical advisors--were held in high esteem by the natives. One notes a certain veiled resentment with respect to the Spanish who ran away at the most difficult moments, but Obiang Nguema is seeking to make the people forget this with insistent statements to the effect that Guinea and Spain will maintain "very special" relations.

Popular ire against the Soviets is alive and ill-contained. The Soviet fishing fleet, which worked the Guinean waters, took everything leaving only frozen horse mackerel, often in poor condition, in the ports of Guinea.

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Days after the fall of Masie, a little girl stood in front of the wooden-screened windows of the Soviet delegation at Bata, shouting and repeating "take your horse mackerel away; we don't want them."

Meanwhile, Masie awaits judgment which should take place over the next 10 days. The feeling for revenge expressed by the people has been curbed by the intellectuals of the Military Council who are more than convinced that the tyrant was demented. They insist that the degree of his dementia has increased since he fell from power.

The trial, given its unusual characteristics, and the consequent lack of any juridical precedents, will open with many unknowns. Perhaps, as it develops, we will hear the evidence of two women of Guinea, Clara, who was compelled to escape to Korea and Monica, who sought refuge in Gabon.

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EQUATORIAL GUINEA

RECONSTRUCTION OF NATION SAID TO BE DIFFICULT

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 16-22 Sep 79 p 39

[Text] The judging of Masie will be the trial of a tribal dictatorship. Thereafter will begin the difficult reconstruction of a country which businessmen are facing up to optimistically and in which the military are planning to play a neutral role.

The gallinaceous emblem that raised Francisco Masie up to the peak of power in the 1968 elections has been erased from streets, facades, cities and public vehicles, but its silhouette is still seen today in the form of a blot.

Masie Ngema Biyogo is now only an old man pleading for clemency in a cell. Many of those who robbed, violated and killed mercilessly under his rule are still free and have still not surrendered their weapons. On the continent residual elements persist of a "masieism" which could complicate national reconstruction.

"A postwar period is even more difficult than war," David Eyama, the new naval commander at Bata, admitted to Peru Egurbide of CAMBIO 16.

With a more simplistic view, a few Spanish entrepreneurs who did not cease to do profitable business during the dictatorship maintain that the reconstruction of Guinea will be resolved simply by opening up its borders. "No outside help is necessary," they say.

Legal Gaps

The Masie trial will open next 24 September in Malabo.

In order to fill in the legal gaps, the Spanish Code of Military Justice will be used. There is an indictment, a defense lawyer and a joint tribunal made up of civilians and military personnel who will act as representatives of the Guinean people in the presence of observers from the UN and the OAU. The Masie trial will prosecute his entire regime and in the dock of the accused various personages may perhaps be seated. The assistance of psychiatric specialists may also be requested in the end should Masie ask for it.

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The former president wishes to be tried solely for crimes since 3 August and in moments of depression and anguish has come to the point of asserting that he would be willing to cooperate with the new regime. At other times he has refused to answer during interrogations and has withdrawn into total silence. In any event, he will not be able to avoid the judgment which the Guinean population almost unanimously demands.

"Killing him is not enough," they say. And also: "He should be placed in a cage open to both sun and rain and brought out into the street each year so that the people may see him and he may see how a country is created."

"He was only a tribal chief, not a chief of state, and he behaved as though the whole country were his town," is the comment now in the Bata "Nguere Ndong", the name with which the tyrant has been rebaptized and which in the "Fang" language means "evil swine that conceals what he really is."

Only by accepting the idea that Masie behaved as a tribal chief can one understand the evolution of Guinea over the past 11 years. That is to say that a national retrogression took place--along with the psychological deterioration of their leader--which a few observers consider logical.

African states are artificial since they are the result of colonial and not national processes. But they are also an irreversible reality which cannot be met on the basis of tribal plans.

From the time of the attempt to overthrow him sponsored by Atanasio Ndong in 1969, Masie felt insecure. While Atanasio was on his death bed in a hospital he received a telegram of congratulations from the Spanish minister of foreign affairs, Fernando Maria Castiella. With proof of a definite Spanish involvement in Ndong's unsuccessful coup, Masie understood that the dangers were not only internal.

All of the incidents of subsequent attempts to overthrow him--one supposedly sponsored by the North Americans in 1973, that of the expedition of mercenaries from the "Albatross" detained at Santa Cruz de Tenerife--unleashed retaliation, repeated after other supposed coup attempts in which were falsely implicated groups made up of up to three or four individuals.

A psychiatrist could explain why the thrifty and honest functionary Francisco Masie who, on the eve of Guinea's independence, had 807,949 pesetas in a savings account at Spain's Banco Exterior, abandoned his initial ways of a pro-independence leader to adopt the image of a traditional African chief, paternal and absolutist who did not hesitate to combine magic with the most bloody repression.

Bread and milk were declared by Masie to be "colonial goods" and their consumption was banned, something which not even Idi Amin, the deposed dictator of Uganda, took the liberty of doing. In addition, Masie did not have a specifically defined ideology. He took from the Chinese the unrestrained

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cult of personality, but did not allow the Russians or Cubans to carry on excessive propaganda because, on the subject of leadership, "Papa Masie" reserved it exclusively for himself. In civil life, he established a system of total indiscipline. Any effect to require responsibility in one's work would be accused of "colonialist."

Political repression was implacable. Inspired by an exaggerated fear of losing his position, Masie for his own benefit manipulated the sharp tribal differences in Guinea. He transferred Fang people from the mainland to the island and moved island Bubis by force to the continental mainland. But not with the idea of reducing differences, but rather to remove enemies. He inflicted severe penalties on relations between whites and blacks and made mulattoes hybrids, isolating them from other racial groups.

In 1972, he canceled his account with the Banco Exterior de Espana where he had a balance of over 5 million Guinean pesetas. But his ambitions at that time were already not the conventional ones. Only the tendency to improductive hoarding, common to the majority of primitive societies, explains the collecting of luxury cars, Landrovers, animals and money at his Nzanganyon home.

The lesson of the past explains why all the trusted men of the new Supreme Military Council try to avoid any threat of tribal or family revenge. "From now on," a high-ranking officer said, "we military will stick to our job and let the traders deal with trade. Otherwise, we will always be in the same fix."

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EQUATORIAL GUINEA

NATION'S RESOURCES OF CONSIDERABLE INTEREST TO SPAIN

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 16-22 Sep 79 pp 26-27

[Text] Spanish economic interests in Equatorial Guinea have been estimated at 50 billion pesetas. Three-quarters belong to the aristocracy in whose hands were half of the cultivated land of what was formerly Fernando Poo.

The Spaniards want to return to Guinea. A few have traveled there to see the state of their property. "But we do not see the country's political situation as being very secure," former colonialists told CAMBIO 16. For that reason, the Community of Spaniards with Interests in Africa made up of 600 landowners has set four conditions for their return: Physical safety, return of the property seized by Masie, availability of labor and ongoing state economic assistance.

As much for the Guinean Government as for that of Spain, the return of Spanish property assessed at some 50 billion pesetas is a secondary issue although it appears that juridically their ownership is assured.

"When Guinea has resolved its basic problems and the situation makes this advisable, Spain will begin to deal with the matter of the property in Guinea belonging to Spaniards," Nabor M. Garcia of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' of the Directorate General of International Political Economy, declared to this review.

The Power of the Aristocracy

Among the titles of nobility having strong interests in Equatorial Guinea are those of the Duke del Infantado, the Marquis of Comillas and the Count of Ampudias. Their enterprises: CEGUI, GAESA [expansions unknown], Drumen, and Cultivadora Espanola, in Guinean territory are the owners of some 4,000 hectares mainly devoted to the cultivation of cacao in addition to a considerable number of head of cattle.

CEGUI, an enterprise in which Carrero Blanco had economic interests (as he did in GAESA) owns a 2,000-hectare farm in Rioba on Bioko Island, formerly

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Fernando Poo. Among its owners are the Duke del Infantado, Inigo de Arteaga and the Marquis of Comillas.

GAESA, an agricultural and stock raising firm, is the owner of the vast meadows of Moka on the island where there were 400 horses and 2,500 head of cattle in 1968. Another company for the exploitation of cacao is Drumen, proprietor of a 500-hectare firm in San Carlos, Bioko Island, where the Duke del Infantado (as in the case of GAESA), together with the Count of Ampudias (one of the major rice owners in Valencia), has large economic interests. Belonging to the Marquis of Comillas is Cultivadora Espanola, a firm exploiting some 700 hectares of cacao.

Other large Spanish enterprises in Equatorial Guinea are those belonging to families named Mora (over 1,000 hectares of cacao in full production), Mallo (which owns 800 hectares of cacao and coffee plantations), the Clarinetes (a religious order, owner of "La Mision" plantation of some 500 hectares) and Elgorriaga Chocolates, which has another plantation of half a thousand hectares of cacao.

Almost all of the proprietors mentioned abandoned their plantations and the country during the Masie dictatorship. But ESGA [expansion unknown], a building enterprise, Spanish and the property of Pedro Escuder, Gregorio Galiana and Francisco Castillon, remained and collaborated from the trade standpoint with Masie, maintaining its construction monopoly which it had before the former colony's independence.

Nearly all of the aid Spain has granted Guinea since 1968 has been channeled through ESGA. Thanks to this privilege and to the selling of "Tres Cepas" cognac, which it bought in the Canary Islands for 60 pesetas a bottle and sold in Guinea for 5,000 ekueles (just as many pesetas at the official exchange rate), this firm concluded each of its fiscal years with vast profits.

But the Spaniards' return runs into another difficulty. Many of them are already old and have neither the strength nor the desire to begin again. The solution would seem to reside in their sons. "We must bring to Guinea young people with a new mentality," Carlos Robles Piquer, secretary of state for foreign affairs, has said. An effort is being made to stop the "evil colonial customs," as Nabor M. Garcia stated.

Despoiled Forests

Getting the plantations into operation is not an easy matter. Of the 40,000 hectares of cacao cultivated in 1968 there is barely a quarter of them today. The Nigerians, the main work force, have fled back to their country. "In order to attain the same production of cacao as 10 years ago (the 40,000 tons have been reduced to 8,000) will require 6 to 8 years and a minimum investment of 250 to 300 billion pesetas," Manuel Amilivia, one of the names having the deepest roots and the most property in Guinea.

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The same thing applies to timber exploitation. "For an enterprise to be profitable, it would have to invest from 3 to 4 billion pesetas and wait for some years," Candido Montoya (who has explored the country for 7 years on a scientific mission) declared. "They have stripped the forests without replanting them," he added.

"Let the Spaniard who returns not think of making profits straight off for there one will be going to work for the Guinean state and we cannot go there making demands," Amilivia also added.

Fishing, the First Objective

The Spanish Government, which is proving to be very cautious in talking of future relations between the two countries, has set its eyes on the Equatorial Guinean fishing banks as a source of immediate exploitation.

The desires of Guinea's new authorities to sign a fishing agreement with Spain (when the one that is in effect with the Soviet Union runs out in the near future) have been received with great satisfaction by Spanish official circles and by the fishing sector. There is a delegation at the Ministry of Transportation and Communications ready to travel to Guinea at any time to negotiate the agreement.

Guinea has "truly fabulous" fishing resources," according to Montoya. Among the most abundant species are shrimp, crawfish, spiny lobster, prawns, red grouper, cod, hake, and tuna. Until 1968, the Spanish firm Pescanova exploited fishing in Guinea through its subsidiary firm FRIPECA, nationalized by Masie. When independence came, the USSR took Spain's place.

On a short term basis, Spanish checking notes the cacao (Guinea produces the best cacao in the world), coffee and timber. Among the Spanish Government's plans for the future, Nabor M. Garcia commented, are prospecting and, in his case, the exploiting of petroleum and minerals.

An Immense Petroleum Deposit

The Gulf of Guinea, experts say, is an immense deposit of petroleum having its center within the waters under the jurisdiction of Equatorial Guinea. The multinational firm, Chevron, has found petroleum in Guinea, but the international political interests which weigh upon Nigeria, Gabon and Cameroon, neighboring countries of the former Spanish colony, have made its exploitation not viable for the moment.

The mineral deposits offer better prospects. Candido Montoya has taken 7,000 samples of which over 4,000 have been analyzed with highly positive results by Spain's Geological and Mining Institute. Seventeen files weighing 50 kilos are the result of the work undertaken by Candido Montoya.

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According to this research, Guinea has 80 billion cubic meters of extremely fine beach sand containing nearly 100 percent silica, the substance used to make optical glass. Deposits of corundum, the hardest mineral next to diamonds, are also abundant, and radioactive minerals with a large amount of uranium, thorium, cerium and yttria.

"Will, Aid and Work"

But perhaps the reserves (not yet determined) of tantalite, titanium, iron and gold are the most attractive because of their value of industrial application. Titanium, for example, shows up in the form of black sand containing gold and zirconium. The quantity of gold in the samples of titanium analyzed varies from 8 and 1,300 grams per ton which means that exploiting these deposits would be very profitable given the present price of gold.

In the face of this wealth of Equatorial Guinea, to which must be added its touristic and hydroelectric potential, Spain could not resist. But before this country obtains worthwhile economic results from its former colony, "much will, aid and labor have to be put into it," according to Nabor M. Garcia.

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EQUATORIAL GUINEA

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EEC EMERGENCY AID--The European Economic Community accorded Equatorial Guinea emergency aid amounting to 300,000 account units (1 UC = \$1.37) on 23 August. This aid has been accorded for the purchase of food. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 31 Aug 79 p 2394] 9128

ECONOMIC EXPERTS' AID SOUGHT--The Government of Equatorial Guinea is reported to have requested the cooperation of Spanish experts for the formulation of an economic reconstruction program. University Professor Juan Velarde Fuentes, who has experience with Guinea's economy, might well be called on to direct the group of advisers. [Excerpt] [Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 2 Sep 79] 7129

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KENYA

BRIEFS

GEOHERMAL POWER STATION--The West German company Brown Boveri signed a 21-million shilling contract 22 August with the Kenya Power Company Ltd for the construction of the famous Geothermal Power Station of Olkaria. This power station, which should produce about 15 million watts by 1981 and furnish up to 10 percent of the country's energy requirements, should use the extensive resources discovered in the large geological fault known as the Rift Valley. The planned utilization of these resources, which goes back quite some time, is being financed jointly by the Kenyan Government, the World Bank, and the Commonwealth Development Corporation. The consulting engineers of the project are Geothermal Energy New Zealand, Ltd (POB,5346, Auckland, New Zealand), who placed their bid for constructing the power station last April. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERANEENS in French 31 Aug 79 p 2398] 9128

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LIBERIA

MAGAZINE COMMENTS ON NEW YUGOSLAV TANKERS ORDERED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 31 Aug 79 p 2390

[Text] The Liberian Atlas Chemical Carriers Corporation has ordered six chemical transports with capacities of 39,600 DWT, four of which are being built at the 3 May shipyards and the other two at the Split shipyards. This order is the largest the Yugoslavian shipyards have yet received.

The boats will be equipped with motors of the Sulzer-3 May 5 RND 75 M type, capable of developing 11,400 h.p. at 112 rev/min, which will give them a speed of 15.1 knots. They will be constructed under the supervision of Norske/Veritas to obtain the 1 A 1 Tanker classification for Chemicals-EO. They will contain 28 separate tanks.

The ships will be built in conformance to the regulations of the International Conference on Oil Tanker Safety and for the Prevention of Pollution of 1978, the Codes of the Intergovernmental Consulting Organization of Maritime Navigation for the construction and equipment of ships transporting dangerous chemical products in bulk, and the regulations of the United States Coast Guard.

They will be equipped with single cabins for 26 persons.

The ships ordered at the 3 May shipyards will be delivered between December 1981 and March 1983.

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NIGER

SUGAR COMPLEX TO BEGIN OPERATING IN OCTOBER

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 24 Aug 79 p 2334

[Text] In September 1978, the Niger minister of economic affairs, commerce and industry consigned to Technip, along with the French Company for the Development of Textile Fibers [CFDT], the research and development, in several stages, of Niger's first sugar complex which will be established in Tillabery.

Market research, conducted in September 1978, made it possible to determine domestic consumption requirements. The project's technical-economic foundations were then established and a feasibility study was conducted in May 1979. Based on these studies, what will be developed is a complex with a yearly capacity of 24,000 tons of refined sugar (loaf sugar, lump sugar and granulated sugar) connected with an industrial livestock ranch fattening 15,000 cattle per year and involving an irrigated area of 25,000 hectares.

The project will require an investment of about 500 million French francs.

Mr Celerier, Technip's chairman and managing director, indicated that the feasibility study conducted by the Niger Government has now been distributed to banks and credit institutions and that the Niger Government requested Technip to assist in the search for financial partners.

For this project, a Chinese-type sugar unit, of low capacity and producing only brown sugar, had, at one time, been considered. Experience showed, in certain neighboring countries, that such an establishment, at a very low cost, was possible and moderately profitable. But Niger is quite able to supply sugar cane to a modern-type industrial complex equipped with a refinery. It would be abnormal for Niger to confine itself to brown sugar (improved standard mazarkoila type) when the tastes and habits of the population are centered on white sugar.

The actual construction will begin in October 1979. Technip and CFDT will jointly train all Niger personnel for the works and manage the complex during the 5 years following the start of production, which is planned for 1982.

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Moreover, the Technip firm, which is already charged with the study and development of the Kemana Sugar Company's sugar refinery in Sudan, has started research on an agro-industrial complex in Guinea.

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NIGER

BRIEFS

FIRST CUBAN AMBASSADOR--His Excellency Raoul Barzaga Navas, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba with residence in Algeria, presented his credentials on August 17 to Mr Garba Sidikou, minister of foreign affairs and interim cooperation, and special minister in charge of higher education and research. Mr Illa Salifou, secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation assisted at the presentation. The vice president of the Cuban Council of Ministers visited Niger August 1-3, at which time Mr Joz Domenech and the chief of state discussed questions regarding the summit of nonaligned countries in Havana next September and on the cooperation between Niger and Cuba. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 31 Aug 79 p 2389] 9128

NEW CUSTOMS COMPLEX--In order to relieve the congestion at the customs services of Niamey-Route, a new customs complex valued at 1.5 billion CFA has been underconstruction since February 1979 on the Torodi road. The new complex, whose capacity is greater than the one already in existence, will occupy 28 hectares and will include an office, three stores, a parking lot for heavy trucks, and a weighing deck. Work should be completed October 1980. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 31 Aug 79 p 2389] 9128

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SENEGAL

BRIEFS

ISLAMIC LIBERATION GROUP--The GIL [Islamic Liberation Group] was organized in Senegal to support the peasants. Advocating the redistribution of wealth, the GIL has no intention of being well-disposed toward profiteers and foresees liberation in the near future. It is headed by Mahdiyou, a man who claims to be a "mahdi" (Messiah). [Text] [Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 12 Sep 79 p 25] 8094

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SIERRA LEONE

BRIEFS

TURKISH ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT--Mr Abdoulay Osman Conteh, Sierra Leone's Minister of Foreign Affairs, and his Turkish homologue, Mr Gunduz Okcun, signed an economic and technical cooperation agreement and a cultural agreement between the two countries on 14 August in Ankara. In accordance with the economic agreement, Sierra Leone will furnish, among other things, coffee and tropical products to Turkey. Sierra Leone will import industrial articles and will receive Turkish technical aid for the development of various projects. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 24 Aug 79 p 2336] 9181

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TANZANIA

PRESIDENT URGES AUSTERITY MEASURES

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 24 Aug 79 p 2341

[Text] On 18 August President Julius Nyerere urged the Tanzanian people to work more, to save fuel and to use the country's industrial equipment cautiously in order to renew the economy, which was drained by the 8 months of war against the Ugandan dictator Idi Amin Dada.

The Tanzanian chief of state, who delivered a speech in Musoma before 30,000 persons, declared in addition that fuel, like gold and diamonds, exists in a limited quantity and that industrialized countries, like developing countries, are now going through a difficult period in the energy domain.

Measures restricting the consumption of fuel were to be taken the same day which means the granting of a maximum weekly ration of 13 gallons per vehicle, the maintaining of the driving prohibition for Sundays, the closing of service stations at certain hours of the day and no stockpiling of jerrycans and other containers.

It should be noted that service stations will henceforth be closed at 2100 during the week. From 1900 Thursdays to 0600 Mondays, only a few stations will be authorized to sell gas in Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar and in regional chief towns.

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TANZANIA

RETURN OF EXILES FROM KAGERS

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 24 Aug 79 p 2342

[Text] Thousands of Tanzanians who had fled in front of the troops of former Ugandan President Idi Amin Dada at the time of the annexation of the Kagers salient, in the west of the country, last October, are now returning to their homes.

According to the DAILY NEWS of Dar es Salaam, the war victims began their return at the beginning of August and the authorities expect to see about 40,000 return during the one month alone. Nevertheless, transport problems could foil these predictions.

Moreover, authorities are estimating the cost of the rehousing work, the restoration of schools, roads, dispensaries, the water distribution system and businesses ravaged by the Ugandan troops.

Parliament here and now approved a sum of 22 million shillings (\$2.6 million) for the reestablishment of the principal services of the Kagers region during the course of the budgetary year.

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TANZANIA

BRIEFS

SWEDISH AID TO TANZANIA--On 10 August Sweden decided to grant additional aid of 25 million crowns (equal to the same number of French francs) to Tanzania. Half of this sum will be assigned for Tanzanian purchases in Sweden and 12.5 million will be assigned for the free importation of industrial and agricultural products. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 24 Aug 79 p 2341] 9181

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