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JPRS L/8792

30 November 1979

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

FOUO No. 657

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## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

FOUO No. 657

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

SOVIET PRESENCE IN AFRICA REPORTED

Paris PARIS-MATCH in French 12 Oct 79 pp 60-63

Article by Jean Cau: 'Moscow's Hour Has Come in Africa'

Text David Dacko is already starting to be criticized. Ange Patasse has perhaps made a mistake by retreating to Libya. In Central Africa where the race to succeed Bokassa is still open, people are talking more and more of Abel Goumba, a doctor formerly exiled by Dacko. And Goumba, he is Russia's man. Now in Brazzaville, now in Cotonou, he is waiting for his time. The Soviets are already in Bangui with 150 "diplomats." Aided by the East Germans and the Cubans, they are spreading their red scarf that will completely engulf Africa. These pages show Bangui rejoicing after the fall of Bokassa. But Jean Cau will tell you the story of the relentless development of the Soviet strategy. A "chef d'oeuvre."

In his Caravelle, pinned down under the Normandy sky, the Emperor, a black fish in a steel bowl, went round in circles and did not understand. In his guarded residence in Ivory Coast, militarily surrounded, the former emperor is bored to death and does not understand. Not only did France throw him off his throne but has also refused him the right to stay and the right of asylum. He takes stock. Never did he touch a single hair of any of the thousands of French cooperants French military draftees serving overseas in civilian capacity living in Central Africa. Never did he nationalize, expropriate, or control so as to make life unbearable, any of the French companies and enterprises that prospered in his empire. Never did he attack "neocolonialism" and listen to the sirens of Moscow or Havana. He drinks? But Churchill and Stalin were not abstemious. He is an emperor? But Brezhnev is a marshal who awards himself major prizes for literature, and Great Britain is a kingdom. He filled his pockets to bursting and bought himself gold-knobbed walking sticks, watches, chateaus? But in Africa a poor emperor is inconceivable, and what would they have preferred? That he gave his money to subversive terrorist organizations instead of amassing it in his coffers? He is accused of having killed children and adolescents.

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But who threw them into the streets to start a war against him, and who has not massacred, abominably, in Africa, Asia, the Near East, recently in Algeria, and formerly in Europe? And why did his "parent," the president of the French Republic, come so often to hunt in his empire? And why has "Amnesty International" not produced such overwhelming reports on what is happening in other African states, of one allegiance or another? From Addis Ababa to Conakry, going through Kinshasa, what a tremendous trail of blood! And forgotten Biafra . . . . And France, which supported him so much, has thrown him out, he and his Legion of Honor, won on a military level. It is totally impossible to understand, thinks Bokassa, the former emperor of Central Africa.

With a truly agonizing ignorance of ceremonies and myths, people have even gone so far as to accuse him of eating human flesh, as though he were accustomed to getting up in the night, opening his refrigerator and saying, while rubbing his hands: "Good! I am hungry and I will have some missionary steak tartare!" As though cannibalism, when it is practised, is not an infinitely serious act stamped with a mystery that overwhelms the initiate. Yes, to be sure, as though one said of a Christian that he swallowed his bowl of eucharist every morning mixed with cornflakes. O, barbaric ignorance of Africa, of its sacred things and its terrors! There must perhaps be-- there is no mistake about it--a snag in this whole story and perhaps some backstage scenes behind this stage where he so brilliantly played his role of Ubu before getting tomatoes thrown at him today.

Supermuscular Cooperants

What backstage scenes? Who is prowling around there? What play was really being acted (and still is) while Jean-Baptiste de La Salle (sic; thence B.d.l., thence Bedel) Bokassa was playing the fool in front of the footlights? Who are the actors? What will be the ending? The former emperor does not understand.

Let us help him to see more clearly. Here on a table is an unfolded map of Africa. In the center, the former empire. In it, the capital, Bangui. But, with the aid of a magnifying glass, what can we see, along the river, in this capital? What is this enormous building, which looks like a fortress, with the concrete barely dry? Is it an austere palace or the headquarters of a company with innumerable branches? No, it is quite simply the new Soviet embassy, so filled with "diplomats" that one could truly believe that Moscow considers Bangui a metropolis of the greatest magnitude and Central Africa a state of the greatest importance where 150 "diplomats" are not too many to understand its business and policy.

However, let us remove the magnifying glass, let us consider the map again, and let us draw back the immense, red scarf across the middle of it. It starts from Ethiopia where the Soviet general Borissov's CP is installed. He is the highest leader of military operations on the whole continent, from Addis Ababa, capital of a state that is now held under the grasp of

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12,000 Soviets, Cubans, and East Germans. The planes, 60 "Mig 21's" and 20 "Mig 17's", as well as the tanks (T34 and T54) and the ground-air missiles "SA-7", serve as a spearhead for these supermuscled "cooperants" who have under their orders an army and a militia of 140,000 men. The aeronaval base at Aden, on the other side of the straits, serves as a "lung": 6,000 Soviets, Cubans, and East Germans are not being idle there. From this Ethiopia (and its carefully watched Somalian flank), the scarf unfolds in the direction of Tanzania, where the port of Dar es Salaam, on the coast of the Indian Ocean, sees unloaded with the regularity of a chain pump thousands of tons of weapons and Soviet equipment spewed up out of the bellies of cargo ships from Odessa. Then the scarf goes down further south and spreads into Zambia and Mozambique. In the first of these states 6,000 Cubans (with "T54" tanks and much mobile artillery), to whom are added close to 200 East German specialists, keep up an incessant coming and going between Zambia and Tanzania, where they control the airports. As for Mozambique, it is watched over by 2,00 East German and Cuban "experts."

#### An Iron Belt Around Zaire

Leaving the Red Sea, the scarf unfolds further and reaches the Atlantic, without a single hitch, at Angola. Things are crowded in this country. There are 25,000 Cubans spread out in two divisions (one in charge of partitioning, "pacification" and surveillance of the 14 aerodromes and communication routes; the other, a shock-troop operation with armored tanks trucks, and missiles, to which are added three transportation regiments). These troops, very well trained and over-disciplined in the Soviet-Prussian style, have--as a minimum estimate to this date--a huge supply of equipment, including 200 T54 and T34 tanks; 120 light amphibian PT76 tanks; 1,200 armored reconnaissance vehicles; 400 antiair missiles mounted on armored vehicles (ZSU57 and ZSU23,4); 200 trucks with multibarreled rocket launchers called "Stalin's organs"; 250 amphibian armored personnel carriers (Btr 50, and so on); not forgetting "Mig 21" bomber fighters and "Mig 17" fighters by the dozen, thousands of transport trucks, pyramids of logistical basic equipment, and repair, installation, and liaison services, and so on. (In Angola alone! As a comparison, France has 700 tiny paratroops in Bangui.) Czechoslovakians and East Germans are in charge of maintenance, radar, radios and the strict duties of police and education. Close to 400 KGB agents, 700 Soviet officers, and 10 generals cap the lot. In Teixeira de Souza, on the Zambian border, the CP of the East harbors generals Krupchenko, Paramonov, Koncharko, and East German General Tenen; in Lubango generals Odanessian, Kodan, and Zabutrov command the CP of the south; in the north, in Uige, General Chatchenko is the boss of the military base; finally, in the capital itself, in Luanda, Gener Chakhanovich, flanked by generals Petrov and Trosnekov, is the head of the Angolan military mission.

What is fascinating is that the scarf then climbs up to the north, toward Congo, where in the enclave of Cabinda, 4,000 overarmed Cubans are under the orders of Soviet General Postolov. Thus, this iron belt not only isolates Rhodesia and South Africa, but would fit perfectly around Mobutu's Zaire, the swallowing of which would be a mere formality, if the

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buckle were buckled . . . in the Central African Republic, the former empire of Bokassa. All that would then remain would be to go up slightly to the north, to Cameroon and Gabon, in order to perfect the chef d'oeuvre even further. This is the situation in the southern belly and the center of Africa. In the north, a second red scarf runs from Libya to Mauritania through the Sahara. If Algeria were to give a helping hand, Morocco would be crushed in the vice. Between these two belts, already in place, what will Niger, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Cameroon, and Gabon become? Very ripe fruits to be picked by an iron hand.

I said earlier, "chef d'oeuvre." In truth, the relentless unfolding of the strategy and tactics of Soviet penetration into Africa leaves one dumbfounded. It has been, probably for a long time, set down in black and white. It runs like clockwork. It is perfect. If it was not that nothing (or almost nothing) is opposing this systematic setting up of military protectorates, and that by winning with no difficulty the Soviets are triumphing without any show of glory, we would applaud. Their genius and their strength. Our stupidity and our powerlessness. Although, as far as France is concerned, it is doing, after a fashion, what it can; its Foreign Legion soldiers leapt on Kolwezi; its paratroops patrol the streets of Bangui. Perhaps because it knows that it is in a front row seat to watch the rout, since its petroleum (but not its petroleum alone) is carried by tankers along the African coasts where the USSR now has put a guard on thousands of kilometers, and since it takes from the continent of Africa, according to the statistics, 100 percent of its uranium, 100 percent of its cobalt, 75 percent of its oilseeds, 72 percent of its manganese, 55 percent of its chromium, 65 percent of its coffee, a third of its iron, and so on and so on. The noose is knotted. Total dependency.

#### Black Puppets for the Kremlin

It is staggering. I am staggered. A French paratrooper inspects the papers of an inhabitant of Bangui and immediately, because of this televised picture, an undertone of muttering rises in the world. "Horrible visu! It is colonialism! Go back, little paratrooper." Tens of thousands of soldiers from the East or from Cuba, armadas of tanks, clouds of "Migs," rows of generals and high-ranking officers, swarms of KGB members, swoop down on Africa, "align" it, control everything, fill their hands with its raw materials, set up in power Agostinho Neto (he died recently in Moscow), whose "independence" can be wrapped in a piece of confetti--and that is not colonialism. What is it? Tourism? And the West bristles, the free world remains quiet. It must be said that it has no voice any longer, it got so hoarse recently applauding the liberation of Angola, finally freed from the Portuguese yoke, and just yesterday, protesting about the arrival of South African rugby players in France. It is understandable why it is voiceless. Fifteen rugby players in France, and Moscow warns us that it found it intolerable. A fearsome Soviet-German-Cuban expeditionary corps swarming into Africa and setting up or maintaining in power black puppets whose strings are all in the hands of the Kremlin, that is more than tolerable. That is an angelic demonstration of friendship. Who dares to say the

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contrary is nothing but a colonialist. The historians of the future, if history is written with a free pen, will not get over it. They will seek desperately for explanations. I can point to one for them: the most cynical reason, when it is the strongest, is always the best. The West, with numb fingers, was bleating about its principles and its democratic morality; the USSR, with its weapon in its fist and its ideology-alibi loudly issuing forth from loudspeakers, exercised its wish for power and set up its system. In the name of its principles, the West left Africa; in the name of the revolutionary myth held in great reverence wherever it is not an excuse for exercising power, the USSR occupied Africa. Q.E.D. It is frighteningly clear. In the name of the people's right to navigation, Communist Vietnam threw tens of thousands of people into the sea. In the name of human rights, the capitalist West was called upon to fish them out. In the year 1979.

During this same year, in Africa, Emperor Bokassa I fell. (In the meanwhile --it is like bingo since I do not know what numbers will fall out of the bag shaken by the Russians--Mobutu, for example (let us choose that number), may fall. Well programmed riots, repressions denounced by Amnesty International, corruptions, hidden in the closet for the time being but which "they" will disclose, very loudly, at the right moment, and goodbye Mobutu.) But let us stay for the moment in Central Africa. Where Mr Dacko, who, ever since he appeared has proved how lightweight he is, will count for less and less. It is true that it is not his fault if he has been pulled out of the shadows where, basically, all he wanted to do was sleep (his capacity for sleep is famous) and to quietly raise chickens on his farm. His ideas are so woolly and so drowsy that it will be hard to give them shape. And so uncertain! In 1965, he took it into his head to espouse the Chinese cause. And the Sons of the Sky landed in Central Africa. Given the privileged relations that France maintained at that time with Moscow, this made De Gaulle raise an eyebrow, which was remembered when Bokassa came to power. He, without further ceremony, kicked the Chinese out. (There was, moreover, a famous gag here. The Chinese mission was supposed to contain 100 Chinese, but when Bokassa had handed them their notice, 300 more Chinese miraculously came out of the bush and jogged off posthaste to the airport.)

Patasse, Author of Imperial Protocol

Good. Dacko is in power. He is a strawman, this good fellow. But will the French army protect his seat? My infallible crystal ball tells me that "students and teachers" will rise up against this government, which they will call a puppet and a toy of neocolonialism. They will call for the founding of a "true democracy." (What this word can mean in a tribal, animistic country where the ballot boxes must be hung in the trees so that the Pygmies can vote, God alone knows.) Mr Patasse, it is not out of the question, may have some prestige since his exile. I would not, however, advise betting on him: he made the mistake of exiling himself in Libya, which had made the mistake of welcoming a bitter Bokassa. Thus, for the time being (this will obviously pass very soon) Libya is not in favor in Bangui; then, Mr Patasse was for 12 years a minister of Bokassa, who

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called him tenderly "my dear son Patasse"; finally, the only ideological literature he has produced was the manual of imperial protocol: one of the comic masterpieces of the 20th century. That is why, believe me, put your savings on Abel Goumba, a doctor, exiled by Dacko in 62, salvaged by the OMS /World Health Organization/, a refugee first in Cotonou and then in Brazzaville, and a Russian man from head to toe. Bet on Goumba even if he is wisely quiet, waiting for his time, his watch perfectly synchronized with Moscow's. Before this time comes, I said that, firstly, the "students" will demonstrate in Bangui. Then, in the interior of the country, guerrilla groups, financed by Libya and fed with weapons by traffic through the porous frontiers, will begin to warm up. If Mr Dacko calls on French soldiers, there will be an outcry and, in addition, these soldiers will get "bogged down." If he does not do it, he will rule over a restless Bangui. In both cases, the situation will be intolerable. What will happen at this point? Well, Mr Goumba will appear to be the only one capable, in his wisdom, his moderation, and his cautious language, of achieving a "democratic consensus," a "national mission" and of bringing an end to the confusion. The internal and external pressure for him to take power will be strong, then very strong, then incredibly strong, then irresistible. The "Goumba solution," even our own newspaper will write, is the only "reasonable" one. The man, moreover, will be striking in his moderation and will give "assurances" to the West and to France. Finally, one fine day, the matter will be in the bag, Goumba will be in power, and Central Africa will be nicely "Angolized." And France will understand nothing of what is happening to it, and the famous steel buckle of which I spoke earlier will be buckled. And the expression of the West in the face of this picture? It will be that of a good chess player, ridiculed by his partner, scratching his head at the end of the game, wondering what he should admire most about the one who has just given him a licking--science, luck, impassiveness--up to the moment when the victor takes off his glasses and his wig: it's Karpov! Everything is explained! Excuse me! "No harm done!" the Grand Master will say, and he will even deign to explain: "When I saw you play Dacko, hesitate over Patasse, lose your knight paratrooper, and let me play Goumba, I knew you were sunk. I will say, moreover, that you were sunk already when you lost Bokassa . . ." "Yes, I played badly, it is true." "In truth, no," the Grand Master will reply. "Let us say, rather, that you don't understand chess. May I give you some advice? Unless you prefer jogging, carry on playing dominoes, my dear friend. That game suits us perfectly."

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

GUINEANS IN GABON--In pursuance of a presidential decree dated 30 July 1979, nationals of Guinea residing in Gabon will have to get a special card whether or not they are political refugees. The card will be valid for a period of 3 years. It will be given to persons over 18 years of age and will be exigible as of January 1980. Until now, Guinean refugees in Gabon were theoretically supposed to have a card, but it had only be issued to 800 men native of Annobon, who had fled deportation. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 5 Oct 79 p 2711] 6857

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ANGOLA

BRIEFS

REACTIVATION OF AGRICULTURAL SECTOR--The Angolan minister of agriculture entrusted the Italian firm of Tecneco with preparing a program for reactivating agricultural infrastructures in the Mocamedes region which covers over 30,000 square kilometers. This agreement was confirmed during a recent meeting in Rome between Manuel Pedro Pacavira, Angolan minister of agriculture, Briatico, president of Tecneco, and Sarchi, director of ENI's [National Hydrocarbons Agency] overseas sector. ENI is the Italian national petroleum and petro-chemistry company. Tecneco which specializes in anti-pollution systems and environmental protection is a company of the ENI group. Tecneco will have 2 years in which to draft the program which will go from soil studies to production and the final sale of the agricultural products. The program will also serve as a model for the future restructuring of agricultural activities in other regions of Angola. During the Rome meeting, Briatico officially handed Tecneco's offer for the relaunching of agro-industrial activities in the Cavaco region which covers 70,000 square kilometers of the Angolan territory. ENI has actively collaborated with Angola since that country acquired its independence. The Italian group offered its technical cooperation in both the petroleum sector and the field of agricultural development. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 5 Oct 79 p 2720] 6857

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

CENTRAL AFRICAN AFFAIRS NOW MATTER OF FRENCH INTERNAL POLITICS

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 17 Oct 79 pp 22-23

[Article by Jean-Louis Buchet: "Curious Things"]

[Text] "The Western Cuba . . . sacrificing individual rights for the sake of raw materials . . ." President Valery Giscard d'Estaing did not believe his ears on Tuesday, 2 October 1979, before the cameras of the West German television network. Did he have to go to Bonn to hear the true questions on France's African policy?

The nerve of the eight young Germans who questioned him live obviously irritated the French president. Their questions had nothing to do with French-German relations, so why did he subject himself to this game? Waiting, undoubtedly, to manage one of these French-style press conferences, polished and refined, in which he shines with his purring voice.

"Cuba?" No relationship. French troops intervened in the Central African Republic as they had in Zaire and Chad only because of a "dramatic situation." As for believing that France "seeks economic advantages" in Africa, that comment was "abusive and stupid." By way of evidence President Giscard d'Estaing said: "Chad and the Central African Republic are among the 24 most underprivileged countries in the world. In these countries there are no resources whatever and the people live exclusively on French aid." Was Giscard d'Estaing unaware of the existence of Central African uranium among other things?

President Giscard d'Estaing's answers in Bonn while astonishing were not surprising in the context of the statements heard these days in Paris. They are part of those pearls shoveled up with a *patte* since the Central African affair has become a matter of French domestic politics--as is evidenced, notably, by the savory debate devoted to the Central African Republic in the French National Assembly on 3 October 1979.

That debate got underway with a speech by Socialist Party deputy Alain Vivien asking for the resignation of Robert Galley [French minister of cooperation]. Prime Minister Raymond Barre found himself obliged to

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reassert the government's "solidarity" with the minister of cooperation who enjoyed, incidentally, "the esteem and confidence of the French president, the prime minister, and of all his colleagues"--to such a point that the head of the government did not deem it appropriate to recognize Robert Galley as a speaker even though the latter was present in the Assembly. Was Raymond Barre afraid of a pseudo-declaration by the man of the "pseudo-events"?

At any rate, for some 15 days now Robert Galley has been less talkative on the subject of the Central African Republic than in the past. He spoke to the National Assembly's committee of foreign affairs on 4 October 1979 but he has avoided any further public comment. In the meantime Jean Francois-Poncet, Olivier Stirn, and Pierre-Bernard Raymond, minister of foreign affairs and secretaries of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, respectively, have taken Galley's place with enthusiasm.

In the course of the parliamentary debate on 3 October 1979 it was the minister of foreign affairs who was entrusted with answering the lengthy speech of Mr Montdargent (French Communist Party). The deputy denounced the entirety of French policy in the Central African Republic before requesting that French paratroopers in Bangui be withdrawn so that "Africa may remain for the Africans."

Minister Francois-Poncet answered: "If France maintained links with Jean-Bedel Bokassa since 1966 it was in the name of the principle of nonintervention and because the Central African people were not to be made to pay for the errors of their leaders." This was curious. For years and years, it was thought, Bokassa, assisted and financed by France, exploited his country. Not so, Francois-Poncet explained.

France's attitude, the French foreign minister continued, changed after the massacres of Bangui and the Kigali summit meeting. But France could not act alone: "The Africans may not have understood and may specifically have been hurt in their dignity." If someone still thinks that Africa was humiliated at the time of the installation in power of [President] David Dacko, he is mistaken.

Following the publication of the report of the fact-finding mission (the product of African effort, hailed as it should be), it was different, Minister Francois-Poncet added. France discontinued its assistance at that point. "After 17 August 1979 the Bokassa regime was in a fix because of this and felt itself doomed." Especially, do not think that the tyrant was doomed from the moment that France found him to be an embarrassment. Jean Francois-Poncet preferred to continue to tell the story as if it were a fairy tale.

Let's hear the sequence for it is worth our while. "When David Dacko asked to be transported to Bangui our answer was positive. Were we to reject the appeal of the last democratically elected head of state of the Central African Republic?" Accordingly, it is not only David Dacko who makes up tall stories.

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Minister Francois-Poncet still found the means to pin--not without reason--the French opposition by reproaching its support of Ange Patasse, "Bokassa's Prime Minister at the time of the sugar case." It is true that the left found itself greatly disarmed in this matter and that its behavior was no better than that of the majority. Once the initial moment of stupor was gone the left limited itself to requesting the withdrawal of French troops sent to Bangui and to criticizing the government's policy.

But at no time did the opposition clearly denounce the principle of intervention. And, on becoming indignant--rightly so--at the government's attitude vis-a-vis Ange Patasse, retained in Paris on 25 September 1979, the opposition made of the leader of the Movement for the Liberation of the Central African People its (evil) battle horse in Bangui.

David Dacko being the favorite of the French president, Ange Patasse that of the Socialists, and Sylvestre Bangui that of the Jacques Chirac faction, one would have expected to see Abel Goumba supported by the communists. The Central African capital was to reecho more than ever the discussions in Paris. Yet, it appears that the French Communist Party is ignoring Abel Goumba. Perhaps it does not know him? At any rate, the CAR is not the business of Georges Marchais. Did Marchais not state that he was leaving the matter to Giscard d'Estaing, preferring to deal with Angola?

In the last analysis who is concerned about the Central Africans? The Socialists no more than the others who denounce the seizure of the Berengo [presidential] archives by the French. And one should add that it is not necessarily "abusive and stupid" to think that the French president plans to cover up "the tracks of his long complicity with a puppet criminal." As if further evidence were necessary.

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

FORMER PRIME MINISTER PATASSE RETURNS HOME

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2770

[Text] Mr Ange Patasse, former Central African prime minister and president of the Central African People's Liberation Movement (MPLC) arrived at Bangui on 4 October via Tripoli.

Several hundred persons waited at the airport to see him welcomed by the minister of the interior, Mr Galen Doith.

Addressing "the foreign friends who are living in the Central African Republic," Mr Patasse promised to protect their families and property. "The presence of French troops, an army of occupation, is a flagrant violation of our national sovereignty" he stated, before adding that he advocated their replacement by a small military force from OAU member countries.

The MLPC leader also stated that he had prepared an armed force to overthrow the Emperor Bokassa. The operation, he said, had been scheduled for 29 September at 1600 local time and would have begun with taking Berengo palace, the imperial residence located 80 km from Bangui.

Patasse affirmed that his journey through Libya on his way to Bangui was due to technical reasons and that he had not contacted Libyan leaders during his stopover in Tripoli.

A round table conference bringing together the various opposition viewpoints is scheduled for 15 October. It will be held in an atmosphere of increasing tension.

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

ARRESTS, HOUSE ARRESTS--At the end of September many persons of distinction belonging to the former regime were arrested or put under house arrest. Among them the following were noted in particular: Elisabeth Domitien, former prime minister, director of MESAN (Movement for the Development of Black Africa) (single party), counsellor at the imperial court: Pierre Zana, former minister of the interior, Zemoniaco, mayor of Bangui and secretary general of UGTC (General Union of Central African Workers) as well as the minister of defense and a captain of the imperial guard. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French p 2711] 7993

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CONGO

NEW OFFSHORE OIL DEPOSITS DISCOVERED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2772

[Text] Two drilling were carried out recently by ELF - Congo in the People's Republic of Congo, one for evaluation of the Sendji deposit the other for exploring of the Yanga structure.

The Sendji deposit is situated 38 km from the coast at the latitude of Pointe Indienne, at a water depth of 96 m, within the concession of Pointe Noire-Grande Fonds held by ELF-Congo (65 percent) jointly with AGIP (35 percent). The test hole at Senji Marian 1 encountered a pool of oil at between 1100 m and 1350 m depth in a carbonate layer.

Seismic studies have been carried out as complementary action to define the extent and the form of the potential deposit more accurately.

Last June a well, Sendji Marine 2, was sunk for evaluation, by the drilling ship Navifor Norse, 2.5 km south of Sendji 1. That well confirmed the existence of an accumulation of hydrocarbons of medium size and a test carried out between 1220 m and 1270 m brought  $m^3$  of oil per day, with a 0.95 density.

The Yanga structure, located 8 km to the northwest of Sendji, was explored during the past July-August. That test found an accumulation containing numerous oilbearing layers between 880 m and 1500 m depth. Tests run at those levels, between 1112 m and 1296 m, brought  $330 m^3$  oil per day.

This accumulation of hydrocarbons, which also appears to be of medium size, is going to be the object of seismic investigations and drillings actually already underway with the execution of the Yanga No 2 test.

These good results will allow the preparation of that region for further development. Operations will start with the Yanga accumulation, which offers the most favorable production characteristics particularly because of the presence of dissolved gas in sufficient quantity. The start of production at Yanga can be expected for 1981.

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CONGO

BRIEFS

EDUCATIONAL CYCLES--The Congolese minister of national education, Antoine Ndinga Oba, stated on 2 October that education in the Congo is divided into four cycles: The pre-school cycle of 3 years (maternal care); the primary education cycle of 10 years (corresponding to the period of compulsory school attendance), which includes the first stage of basic education for 6 years, which is taught in a grade school and the second stage of basic education (4 years of it), which is taught in a middle school for general or polytechnical subjects; the secondary cycle of 3 years (which is taught in specialized high schools); the upper cycle during which subjects are taught and research organized in the departments or institutes of the Marien Ngouabi University. The Congolese minister of education also announced the use of local colloquial dialects (Lingala and Mounoukoutouba) the study of which will become compulsory beginning with the school year of 1981. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2772] 9291

ONPT EMBEZZLEMENTS--The sum of 22 million CFA francs has been embezzled from the national offices of the Congo Post and Telecommunications Office (ONPT) by three officials of that Department, one of them a collector, according to the Congolese Information Agency (ACI). The guilty officials were publicly arraigned at Brazzaville, during a meeting organized for that purpose, on 27 September. The Congolese minister of information and of the post and telecommunications office, Capt Florent Tsiba, who presided over the meeting confirmed that the embezzlement, which resulted in the "assassination" of the service, occurred at a moment when the latter was passing through difficult times loaded down with a debt of approximately 9 billion CFA francs and with payments on the order of 6 billion CFA francs coming due for the investment in the satellite ground station. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2772] 9291

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EQUATORIAL GUINEA

AUTHORITIES FACED BY NEED TO RESTORE ECONOMY

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2771

[Text] In a recent review of the economic and political situation in Equatorial Guinea following the coup d'etat which toppled Macias Nguema last 3 August, the French press agency, AFP noted that the country's leaders are still faced with a total paralysis of the country's economic and administrative apparatus.

They must now, observers note, reconstitute an administration and economy totally destroyed, in a country which has voluntarily cut itself off from the outside world. For this, the new leaders, who have affirmed their attachment to neutralism and nonalinement many times, are hoping for an increase in foreign aid, notably from the Western camp where the former colonizer, Spain, a country still popular among Equatorial Guineans, is in the first rank.

There is nothing to be found in Malabo, and even less so in the interior: the stores have long been desperately empty, the restaurants no longer serve meals, cars are rarely seen, and at night light sometimes doesn't come to the streets of the capital.

The situation in rural areas is no less desolate, if the reporters of the Gabonese daily L'UNION, who recently visited there, can be believed.

According to the newspaper, the principle reason for the depopulation of the villages in Equatorial Guinea is the refusal of the farmers to deliver their cocoa and coffee harvests to the state storage facilities, modeled on the Cuban system. As a consequence of this refusal many villagers were deported to work camps.

Moreover, the villages were regrouped and set up beside roads by Chinese leaders who planned them as people's communes.

In these communes, according to L'UNION, the clearing of plantations, the gathering of garden produce, coffee and cocoa was taken over by the state who confiscated the harvests.

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"Many persons questioned in the villages affirmed they had not received one penny for their cocoa thus harvested in the last 5 years," the newspaper wrote.

Cooperation with communist countries was diversely appreciated by the people of Equatorial Guinea. The Soviets are blamed for pillaging maritime resources (they had a monopoly in fishing) while at the same time refusing to sell fish to the people. The new government has requested the USSR to pay a reimbursement of the debt so incurred (MTM, 5 Oct 79, p 2711). Moscow is also blamed for its military aid to the fallen dictator.

China also supported Nguema to the end, with military aid as well, as Chinese advisers had participated in the counteroffensive launched at Rio Muni on 3 August (from Nzeng-Ayong, the presidential village) against the authors of the coup d'etat.

However, Chinese cooperation has resulted in works of real economic value: the telecommunications center at Malabo, and the electric power station at Bata.

This active complicity of the communist countries with the former regime largely explains Equatorial Guinea's about-face on the diplomatic front since 3 August. This country then turned towards its former colonizer and the west to receive the international aid indispensable to it. The production of cocoa, principle agricultural export product, has today fallen to 8,000 tons (as compared to 50,000 tons 10 years ago).

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EQUATORIAL GUINEA

BRIEFS

NEW PRESIDENT SWORN IN--On 11 October 1979 at Malabo, on the occasion of the celebration of his country's independence, Lt Col Obiang-Nguema-Mbazogo was sworn in as the new president of Equatorial Guinea. It should be noted that the oath of office was taken on a copy of the Bible. This action proves, once again, that the authorities in Equatorial Guinea have decided to protect the Christianity which President Macias Nguema had forbidden within the nation's territory. Mr Jose Luis Leal, Spanish minister of economics, was present at the ceremony, as was a Gabonese delegation led by Mr Georges Rawiri, minister of state for transportation. On the occasion of the 11th anniversary of their country's independence, the Supreme Military Council of Equatorial Guinea also decreed a general amnesty for all exiles who have sought refuge abroad since the country became independent. This measure does not affect Equatorial Guineans who remained loyal to Macias Nguema, and who were arrested following the coup d'etat which took place last 3 August. Remember that the principal countries which formerly welcomed Equatorial Guinean refugees were Gabon, Cameroon, Spain and Nigeria. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 Oct 79 p 2834] 9174

FRENCH MINISTER'S VISIT--French Minister of Cooperation Robert Galley, who was received at Malabo on 8 October by Lt Col Obiang-Nguema, delivered to him a message from President Giscard d'Estaing. During the official visit to Equatorial Guinea, Mr Galley stressed the desirability of strengthening the bonds of cooperation and trade between France and Equatorial Guinea in the near future. It is probable that echoes from this visit of the minister of cooperation to Malabo will be heard soon. A French mission of aid and cooperation would then be created in the Equatorial Guinean capital. According to a joint communique evaluating Galley's visit, the two parties stressed the need for establishing cultural, technical and economic cooperative agreements and hoped for a harmonious development in their relations. For its part, the Guinean party expressed the desire to cooperate with France in the areas of public works, agriculture and forests, industry and mining, culture and education, health, information, tourism and finally trade. Mr Florendo Maye Ela, first vice president and commissioner of Equatorial Guinean foreign affairs, has been invited to visit France at a time which will be set later on. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 Oct 79 p 2834] 9174

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DELEGATION SEEKING SOVIET DEBT REPAYMENT--A governmental delegation from Equatorial Guinea arrived in Las Palmas seeking to be repaid the sum of \$342,000 which was owed to them by the Soviet Ministry of Fisheries. The origin of this debt dates back to November 1978, at which time the refrigerators on the Macias-Biyogo island (the former Fernando Po), could not preserve the fish which the Soviet were to deliver to Equatorial Guinea, in accordance with the fishing treaty in force between the two countries. Therefore the fish were sold in the Canary Islands, and the amount turned over to the authorities in Malabo. The latter maintained that they did not touch the \$342,000, the amount derived from the sale of the fish. The Soviets replied to the Equatorial Guinean delegation that they had spent the money for the purchase of material to repair the industrial refrigerators of the island, but the government of Malabo affirms that it never authorized the purchase of the material. Finally, according to a source mentioned by AFP, the Equatorial Guineans received the sum of \$111,000 from the Soviets. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French p 2711] 7993

AID FOR REFUGEES REQUESTED--The Government of Equatorial Guinea has asked the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to help in repatriating some 80,000 Equatorial Guinean refugees from Gabon and about another 30,000 from Cameroon, an HCR press release from Geneva announced today. A mission will be sent to that region to study ways and means for such an operation. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2771] 8860

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GABON

BRIEFS

FRENCH AGRICULTURAL LOAN--A loan of 900 million CFA francs earmarked for financing the Agro-Gabon Project in Lambarene was signed on 24 September in Paris by the Gabonese minister of economy and finance, Jerome Okinda, and a group of French banks headed by the National Agricultural Credit Bank. Let us recall that the Agro-Gabon Project involves the creation of an oil palm plantation on the outskirts of Lambarene, along the Ogooue (see MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS of 7 September 1979, p 2456). Furthermore, it was announced that the Board of Directors of Agro-Gabon could possibly meet in Libreville during the first two weeks of November 1979. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 5 Oct 79 p 2711] 6857

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GUINEA BISSAU

BRIEFS

INAUGURATION OF AUTOMOBILE PLANT--The manufacturing plant of FAF vehicles in Guinea Bissau was inaugurated on 24 September by Cabral, president of the Republic of Guinea Bissau. Lombard, chairman of Citroen's Board of Directors, was also present. Plans call for 500 vehicles annually (5-door version, pic-up and 4 x 4 patrol) whose production has already begun. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 5 Oct 79 p 2702] 6857

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IVORY COAST

BRIEFS

GOVERNMENT STAFFERS QUIT--Ivorization of the economy has had disquieting results for Abidjan officials. Five years after launching the "operation" (1973), nationals occupy 22 percent of the executive positions in private companies, 52.2 percent of the middle management positions and 72 percent of the personnel director slots. In ever-greater numbers, management-level people are leaving the government for better-paying jobs in the private sector. And university students hope to take management positions in private industry upon graduation, something which the National Ivorization Commission officially deplures. /Text/ /Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 10 Oct 79 p 64/ 11935

NAVAL ACADEMY--Lamine Fadika, secretary of state for marine affairs, recently announced that a naval academy will open in Abidjan in 1981. The announcement was made at the opening of a seminar on maritime security. The academy will have room for more than 500 students from West and Central Africa. /Text/ /Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 10 Oct 79 p 64/ 11935

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KENYA

PRESIDENT MAINTAINS EFFECTIVE POLITICAL APPARATUS

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2774

[Text] After the announcement made by President Daniel Arap Moi on 1 October that general elections would take place on 8 November (MTM, 5 October p 2714) a first meeting of the national council of Kenya's only party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), will be held on 4 October and devoted to an examination of candidatures. It is known that other meetings are expected for the 16, 17 and 18 October, for the purpose of fixing the names of candidates for the various elective offices (presidents of local administrations, members of ministerial cabinet and of the National Assembly).

At the start of the first meeting on 4 October we should learn about the elimination of a number of candidates for the assembly and particularly of the former vice president Oginga Odinga and of George Anyona, often a sharp critic of the government, who was arrested and jailed from 1977 to December 1978.

Those eliminations were certainly to be expected. Oginga Odinga, who is of Luo origin, the ethnic minority opposed to the Kikouyous, was deposed as vice president in 1966, imprisoned for 18 months and then freed, was never able to find grace before the men in power previously or now, in spite of his repentance. His leadership of the opposition party, The Kenya Popular Union (KPU), which was dissolved in 1969 with the establishment of the one-party system, has made him permanently suspect so that he could never receive the backing of the KANU, which he solicited. But all candidates for election must belong to that latter organization.

The elections that will take place and which were promised by Daniel Arap Moi soon after his official installation in October 1978, for the end of this year, required a complete overhaul in advance of the abovementioned party. This became a matter of top priority since the former president, Kenyatta, very old and more and more cantankerous, did not dare to make the least change of any kind whatsoever.

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We must remember that the coming election for the assembly will be the third one since independence was gained in 1963, the two previous ones having taken place in 1969 and in 1974. There will be 158 seats available for a new term of 5 years, a dozen of which are reserved for deputies nominated by the president according to the terms of the constitution, which has remained unchanged. As for the remaining seats, from 700 to 800 candidates have already presented themselves, which allows the forecast of a number of important eliminations or withdrawals still ahead in the coming days.

Finally, in a general sense these elections ought not to provide major surprises. Daniel Arap Moi, having known to maintain an efficient political machine, basks in the apparent confidence of the population and of the outside world, particularly of the West.

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KENYA

BRIEFS

BRITISH MISSION STUDYING AGRICULTURE--The British secretary for agriculture, Lord Ferrers, visited Kenya at the head of a delegation during the end of September, to study some of the problems facing the agriculture of that country and to find out how Great Britain could help resolve them. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2274] 9291

DANISH TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE--During the inauguration of a new center for professional training, which was built by the Danes at Mombasa, the president of Kenya, M Daniel Arap Moi recalled that his country had until now received nearly \$7.5 million from Denmark for the construction of such centers. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79] 9291

UK AID AGREEMENT--According to the terms of an agreement signed on 10 October in Nairobi by the vice president and minister of finance for Kenya, Mr Mwai Kibaki, and the British secretary of state for overseas development, Mr Neil Marten, Great Britain has agreed to furnish 480 million shillings to the African state. Of this sum, 400 million shillings will be assigned to setting up highway infrastructures, especially in the districts located on the eastern side of Mount Kenya, and 80 million will be used to finance the purchase of British goods and services. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 Oct 79 p 2837] 9174

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LIBERIA

BRIEFS

PROJECTS WITH FRANCE, AUSTRIA--On returning from his 3-week tour in Europe, Mr A. B. Tolbert announced that a bilateral Franco-Liberian mission, underwritten by the French Government and for the purpose of inventorying other mineral resources which could be exploited jointly by the two countries, will soon be installed, the NEW LIBERIAN has reported. Mr Tolbert also disclosed, the same source continued, that the French and Liberian governments are preparing an "aggressive agricultural campaign" to be conducted with funds obtained from French banks. He also stated that through the invitation of Olivier Giscard d'Estain, president of the French Bank of Foreign Trade, he had contacted the management of the hotel chain Medidien. Also during the course of his European trip, Mr Tolbert had reviewed in Austria the possibility of the installation of a paper-making facility in Liberia during the coming year. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2768] 8860

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MADAGASCAR

BRIEFS

MIG-21'S IN AIR FORCE--The Malagasy Air Force will be strengthened by 12 MIG-21's in 1980. For the present, besides the old Dakotas inherited from the French Army, 8 MIG-17's flown by North Koreans insure the surveillance of Madagascar's air space. The approaching rainy season has the Malagasy general staff somewhat concerned, as MIG-17's cannot fly in overcast weather. [Text] [Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 10 Oct 79 p 64] 11935

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MAURITIUS

MID-AUGUST RIOTS SEEN AS SETBACK FOR PMSD, OWNERS

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 15 Oct 79 pp 28-29

[Article by Herve-Masson: "The Riots in Mid-August"]

[Text] "Neither victors nor vanquished"--it is in these terms that Sir Satcam Boolell, minister of agriculture and acting prime minister in the absence of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, sized up the denouement of the violent social crisis which shook the island of Mauritius during August 1979. These words concealed in fact the embarrassment of the minister who was well aware that the government had been obliged to give ground before the determination of the strikers and the Mauritian people in general. Furthermore, no one believes that everything is definitively back to normal. All observers think that when parliament reconvenes the government will have to face facts which, for the moment, it is striving to camouflage. The island of Mauritius had never experienced such a serious crisis, even severe than that of 1971. But this time the activists of the Mauritian Militant Movement [MMM] and labor union leaders, if they were not in jail, were threatened with imprisonment following numerous actions pressed both against the leaders of the opposition and against the trade unionists.

Provocations

What happened? Early in August 1979 two labor unions close to the government had initiated a strike in the sugar industry. Their goals had not been clearly defined and, when the movement began to assume scope, the strike order was revoked. The government did not take a position. However, beginning on 13 August, the GWF [General Workers Federation], a trade union affiliated with the MMM, reactivated the movement. The labor unions demanded the following:

1. Their official "recognition" by the owners;
2. A 40-hour week;
3. An 8 percent increase in wages (or compensation). The two unions of the GWF--the SILU [Sugar Industry Laborers Union] and the UASI [Union of Artisans Sugar Industry]--then joined a "yellow" organization, the OUA [Organization of Artisans Unity], close to some ministers. After 2 days of total paralysis

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of the sugar industry, the OUA withdrew from the movement, leaving the activists of the GWF alone to face the government and the owners. This irresolution was followed by provocations by the owners and the minister of labor, Yousouf Mohamed. Stung in its own game, feeling the threat of large-scale dismissals at hand, the GWF then decided to join the movement in a big way and the strike became nearly general. The port, public transportation, public electricity and water supply services, and some municipal organizations halted work. Around 16 August 1979 the country was almost totally paralyzed.

Minister of Labor Yousouf Mohamed at that time put the blame on the GWF and, naturally, on the MMM. His speech on television was interrupted for lack of electric power. As for the prime minister, he chose conciliation and met with the trade union leaders as well as with Paul Berenger, principal negotiator of the GWF and secretary general of the MMM, on several occasions Berenger asked for the recall of parliament, the recognition of the SILU and the UASI, and discussion of the abrogation of the IRA [Industrial Relations Act], a wicked law banning all strikes. The prime minister was ready to yield, a petition signed by 38 deputies (the MMM has only 30) being transmitted to him. At that point everything could have been arranged.

But management, which felt that it was in a strong bargaining position (it is well organized), had its watchdogs in the government intervene, namely, the minister of finance, Veerasamy Ringadoo; the ministers of agriculture and labor, Satcam Boolell and Yousouf Mohamed, respectively; the representatives of the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party], the well organized right. His colleagues threatened and Prime Minister Ramgoolam, placed in a minority position, became afraid for his job. He admitted to Paul Berenger, whom he had summoned, that "I am in a weak position" and that "they will toss me out." It seems, indeed, that a kind of palace revolution may have occurred at that point and that, as Paul Berenger put it, Seewoosagur Ramgoolam was prime minister only in name then.

#### Repression

On the side of the owners the dismissals were in full swing with 2,500 being fired in a few days. Some workers became frightened and tried to retrieve their jobs but many of them, exasperated by the provocations, went home. The movement was gathering momentum. Wishing to demonstrate its strength, the government had the port occupied by troops. The arrests of MMM deputies and trade unionists escalated. The president of the GWF, Mr Ramsewak; trade unionist Ram Seegobin; deputy Darga; Mr Baligadoo, the mayor of Port Louis; and others were arrested. Was the widespread repression of 1971 and 1972 beginning once more?

And yet, Berenger and the leaders of the GWF (to whom should be added MMM deputies Bhayat and Bibi as well as Father Reynolds Michel), swollen by those of the FTU [United Workers Federation] of Dev Veerasawmy (splinter oriented, former leader of the MMM in 1971), felt that this time the workers still had strength. During a large fraternal meeting held at the Place du Quai [square]

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in Port Louis, they announced their decision to begin a hunger strike right away (it was Sunday 19 August 1979) to press their claims and to put an end to the dismissals. On the spot the workers of the port decided not to resume their work as long as this hunger strike lasted. That same evening Berenger, Veerasawmy, Ramsewak, Seegobin (they had been released earlier) and a few others ensconced themselves in the garden of the [sugar] company under a tent and began their hunger strike in public. Their gesture served as trigger for the movement which was slated to achieve final victory.

Beginning on the following Monday [20 August] the tent of the hunger strikers became a rallying point, almost a focus of pilgrimage. Crowds constantly gathered there. The government then decided to use force. It declared the garden to be a "prohibited zone" and had the armed police (the Riot Unit) occupy its approaches. On Wednesday 22 August, riots broke out. Demonstrators attacked the Riot Unit with rocks, paving stones, and Molotov cocktails. The police counterattacked and hurled tear-gas grenades at those involved in the hunger strike. All day long, pursued by the police, the demonstrators regrouped in the small neighboring streets. Stores were attacked, some newspaper offices were sacked, and automobiles were overturned. The riots thundered in Port Louis. The few private buses which were still in circulation were stoned and sugar-cane fields were set afire. More than 2,500 arpents (of which about a dozen belong to the prime minister himself) were consumed by fire.

#### Concessions

There was disarray on the side of the government majority. The politburo of the PT [Labor Party] in office protested against the dismissals. President J. B. David and General Secretary Jagatsingh went to see the prime minister in a delegation. On their side the lawyers of the GWF, Kader Bhayat and J.-C. Eibi, accompanied by Father Reynolds Michel, increased their contacts with the government. Right away dissension broke out within the government. The minister of labor, Yousouf Mohamed, and two PMSD ministers, members of the government coalition, slammed the door. The minister of agriculture, Satcam Boolell--the alleged "strongman" of the regime--relinquished his repressive position and tried then to find ground for conciliation.

Regaining control of the situation Prime Minister Ramgoolam decided to make substantial concessions to the strikers. The government agreed to discuss on a priority basis the abrogation of the IRA as soon as parliament opened (which could incidentally be moved forward). He agreed to make the 40-hour week universal in public enterprises and would undoubtedly end up imposing it in the private sector. An ad hoc committee was established to convince the owners to cancel their dismissals on account of the strike. The government pledged to compensate the dismissed workers immediately, and so on. This committee--it is appropriate to note--included three PT ministers, two representatives of the GWF/MMM, namely, Berenger and Bhayat, but there were no PMSD representatives whatever. On Thursday evening [23 August] the hunger strike was ended. On Friday [24 August] work resumed. Victory was achieved, but for how long?

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The two big losers were the PMSD and the owners. As for the government, it continued to be divided and one can wonder whether it will hold out until the opening of parliament next month [November 1979].

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NAMIBIA

BRIEFS

ADDITIONAL REINFORCEMENTS--In a communique issued from Luanda, SWAPO stated that new South African military contingents have been sent to Namibia as reinforcements. This reinforcement of the South African battalion augurs "a more intensive offensive action against SWAPO's nationalist bases." This organization also states that in addition to those bomber squadrons already based in Ondangwa, new bomber squadrons have recently arrived at Grootfontein, Rundu and Katima Mulilo. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2780] 9161

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NIGER

RESULTS OF PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO WEST AFRICA

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 23 Oct 79 p 2705

[Text] The president of the republic of Niger, Col Seyni Kountche returned to Niamey on 28 September, after visiting Nigeria, Togo and the Ivory Coast.

In Lagos the Niger chief of state brought into focus "the last modalities pertaining to the supplies of crude oil to Niger." This annual supply which amounts to 300,000 tons of crude is evaluated at about 10 billion CFA. Refining of this crude can be carried out directly by specialized transnational companies, or indirectly under cover of the Niger partner. The conclusion of these negotiations will guarantee energy supplies to Niger and will avoid the shortages in hydrocarbon stocks which are observed sometimes in some districts.

In Lome extension operations for the purpose of increasing the capacity of the port are of particular interest to Niger if in the realization of this project stocking areas for merchandise destined to our country are included. Consequently 10,000 square meters will be developed and will comprise a 5,000 square meter warehouse. Investments will amount to approximately 500 million CFA. This extension is necessary in view of the increase in Niger's needs of imported goods and the economic perspective of this country. In 1978, 64,981 tons of products already passed in transit through the port of Lome.

According to Colonel Kountche, this installation will be completed by the establishment of a corresponding road program which will facilitate the shipment of products towards Upper Volta. The realization of these roadways will be reinforced without undue delay, by the development of a regional railway network with which Upper Volta, Benin and Mali will be associated, in addition to Niger and Togo. The next FED (European Development Fund) should make it possible for Niger to obtain the necessary credits.

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In the Ivory Coast, Colonel Kountche again met his counterparts from Togo and Upper Volta, Presidents Eyadema and Lamizana. The three chiefs of state from the alliance council called on the Ivorian President Houphouet-Boigny in Yamoussoukro, where they held a meeting.

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NIGER

'SOCIETY OF DEVELOPMENT' HAS GOOD CHANCES OF SUCCESS

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2765

[Text] With political power being transferred to civilians in Nigeria on 1 October, Niger now remains one of the last countries in western sub-Saharan Africa to be governed by the military.

Niger is governed by the Supreme Military Council (CMS, 11 members), presided over by Col Seyni Kountche. Six military men are in the government (composed of 19 ministers and secretaries). Of Niger's seven prefectures, six are administered by officers, the seventh, Niamey, having been turned over to a civilian (see MTM of 14 September, p 2514).

Unlike other countries of this region whose military leaders had promised to return to a civilian regime once the political and economic life of the country had been cleaned up, Niger's CMS had made no such promises.

On 3 August 1974, barely 3 months after the coup d'etat of 15 April 1974, Colonel Kountche was talking about the idea of "a society in development," but without being more precise. For 5 years the accent was on concrete actions aimed at "bringing our people the food and drink they deserve."

Not until the eve of the fifth anniversary of the takeover by the armed forces, 14 April 1979, did Colonel Kountche make it clear that Niger would never go back "to those political forms which disappeared from political necessity" nor would it return to a regime patterned on French democracy. At the same time he announced a political restructuring of the country over a 5-year period, corresponding to the period of executing a new 5-year development plan.

Taking up again the theme of "a society of development" Colonel Kountche has since many times insisted on the necessity of bringing rural groups into the development process by means of cooperatives and advisory councils at many levels. He emphasized that the CMS would put Niger "on the road of development and not of politics" which would remain the province of the CMS and the government.

Similar experiments, the AFP noted, have already been tried in Asia, but without success, their failure being due primarily to the resistance of the

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middle classes. Niger, a rural country where the urban middle class doesn't exist, and where the military regime presents a largely positive record to the country--financial strictness, absence of corruption and intrigue, priority to rural development moderate public debt, rejection of ostentatious expenditure and prestige projects--the "society of development" has a good chance of success.

Moreover, a national commission will soon study, propose and establish new structures which could be unveiled simultaneously with the 5-year plan in January 1980.

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NIGER

BRIEFS

NEW URANIUM COMPANY--A new uranium company in Niger, SMTT (Tassa and N'Taghalgue Mining Company) held its first constitutive assembly in Niamey on 25 September. The objective of this company with a capital of 7 billion CFA, one half owned by ONAREM (National Office of Mineral Resources) and the other half by COGEMA (General Company for Nuclear Material), a French company, is to exploit a deposit of uranium of which the reserves are estimated to be about 20,000 tons in the region of Arlit, where it will become the third exploitation in that territory. Production which is anticipated to be on the basis of 1,500 tons of uranium yearly, should begin towards the end of 1983. On that date SMTT's potential manpower will be in the neighborhood of 1,200 employees. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French p 2705] 7993

FRENCH AID TO STOCKRAISING--As part of a special aid program to the Sahel countries, the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation will contribute to a project to modernize stockraising in the South Tamesna region of Niger where 25,000 nomads live off stockraising in a 900,000-hectare zone extremely vulnerable to drought. The experimental project plans concern the physical environment (clearing of fire breaks, improvement of natural pastures, construction of watering points, etc.), the animals (health protection), and the human factors (regrouping of the stockmen, improvement of nutrition). An 8.8 million French franc loan (440 million CFA francs), granted 24 September, will be associated with an FAC [French Aid and Cooperation Fund] subsidy of 2.2 million CFA francs (110 million CFA francs). [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2765] 8860

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RHODESIA

CONDUCT OF ALL-PARTY TALKS IN LONDON EXAMINED

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 1-14 Oct 79 pp 17-18

[Article by Basil Davidson: "The Battle of London"]

[Text] The flexibility and the self-confidence of the Patriotic Front during the course of negotiations are the measure of its inevitable victory.

When the London conference on Zimbabwe entered into its second working week no one among the people "in the know" doubted the fact that its possible failure would have numerous, unforeseeable and dangerous repercussions.

But this strange conference, could it succeed? If yes, to whose advantage? During the first days, each of the participants--the Patriotic Front the British government, or the Muzorwea-Smith clique(s)--made it understood in private that the losers in reality would be those who would be perceived as responsible for the failure. Therefore, the prudence and verbiage of the opening sessions and the parallel discussions.

The scenario set in motion, however, demonstrated already that the antiracist cause could expect to make some important points during the course of this subtle and tortuous game.

The first point: The unity underlying the policies and the intentions of the conservative government of Mrs Thatcher and that of Salisbury was broken in Lusaka during the course of the Commonwealth conference at the beginning of August. Before this conference Margaret Thatcher and her colleagues took the same position as the extreme Right of their party: The Muzorewa-Smith clique should be recognized as a legitimate and independent government and the sanctions should be lifted. But in Lusaka all that changed under pressure from the Foreign Office--greatly alarmed--and aft the warning represented by the confiscation of a large portion of British petroleum holdings in Nigeria. Mrs Thatcher beat a retreat. She accepted the proposal of the "front line" nations: To write a new, more democratic constitution for Zimbabwe. Not only to write it, but to get it accepted.

The "front line" nations likewise tried to persuade the Patriotic Front to accept--in spite of its reluctance--the Lusaka agreement. Thus, from the

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opening of the conference of London it was evident that the solidarity which existed between London and Salisbury was no longer what it had been--even though it was only an unwilling alliance. The new constitutional proposals made by Great Britain certainly did not satisfy most of the demands of the Patriotic Front, but they could be interpreted as being designed to deprive the white minority of the parliamentary--administrative--power it presently enjoyed.

#### Limit the Damages

All that sowed panic in the bosom of the Salisbury group. It would be very difficult for Muzorewa to refuse publicly proposals which apparently would increase the power of blacks and the chances of black accession to power. But, on the other hand, his acceptance of the proposals would alienate him from Smith and the whites--something which would only encourage maneuvering among Muzorewa's rivals in Salisbury, notably Sithole.

Thus, during the second week of the conference grumblings and a strong current of discontent agitated the Salisbury forces.

The second point made by the Patriotic Front: To make its acceptance of the constitution itself dependent upon acceptance of the provisions governing the "transitory period" leading up to independence. Smith, it appeared, was furious about this binding connection established between the two questions, and this is easy to understand. Salisbury wanted to separate the two problems. In that event, in effect, by accepting the new constitutional proposals the Muzorewa-Smith clique could hope in return to maintain power during the transitional period. In other words, to arrange things--once the independence was internationally recognized--so as to "work out" the constitution more or less according to its desires.

The Front and its allies could not accept this eventuality. And they pursued their advantage in this area by adopting a very diplomatic stand on various procedural questions. Flexibility and self-confidence are hallmarks of strength and symptomatic of victory in this type situation. The Patriotic Front played its hand to the fullest, and from the second week it was clear in any case that if there was a stalemate, it would be the Salisbury clique which would bear the responsibility for it, and the Front would walk away from the matter with its head held high.

Nonetheless it had not come to the end of its struggles, because the British government and its partners--or its puppets, according to the interpretation which is given to their respective influences--wanted at this stage "to limit the damage"; if they were divided it was only because each had a slightly different estimation of the "damages".

The forces assembled on the side of the Salisbury clique will accept almost any "solution," but with one condition: That this "solution" be designed to prevent in Zimbabwe all processes of radicalization comparable to those which

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occurred in Mozambique and Angola. Actually, one can see that they are disposed to concede much on "form" whereas "content"--the essential socio-economic status quo--is not seriously challenged. They negotiate, therefore, with the hope of causing the Patriotic Front itself to cut off the branch on which it stands. But this branch is the very trunk of the tree. United, the ZANU and ZAPU forces not only dominate the military scene in most of the country, but they are also potentially capable of dominating the political scene. We say potentially because, as everyone knows, with the Front tactics and strategy are always the subject of difficult internal discussions.

A Growing Realism

Fighting a rear-guard action to preserve the status quo, the British Government has, thus, quite naturally established its hopes on an eventual division of the constituents of the Front at the decisive moment of agreement. Then, the British side believes they could be manipulated and forced to accept a compromise favorable to the Salisbury clique. Or maneuver them into bearing the blame for a setback. In that event, London would proclaim: "We tried everything, we even swallowed our pride and accepted constitutional proposals which do not please us at all...but the Front would not agree... etc." This would then permit them to go forward. Never mind the consequences! In this event London feels almost certain it could bring international opinion to follow its line of reasoning.

Such were the calculations and wagers at the opening. But with the growing realism of the spokesmen for the Front, it became clear that the real divisions within the Salisbury camp would be a much greater factor than those anticipated from their interlocutors. Signs, tentative, began to indicate that it was possible to move toward a compromise in which the forces of progressive nationalism would win certain key positions which would serve as a springboard to subsequent gains.

The winner in this affair will not be in effect the one who takes the entire cake, because no one will get it all. The winner will be the one who will take the piece that bestows and sustains power (la feve no urriciere).

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SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

CAUSES OF PUBLIC, POLITICAL UNREST ANALYZED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 5 Oct 79  
pp 2688, 2689

[Excerpts] According to information originating mainly from Lisbon, Sao Tome was the scene of intense political unrest late in September.

Miguel Trovoada, who was prime minister until last 9 April and who founded the island's CLSTP [Liberation Committee of Sao Tome and Principe] independent movement (which has, since then, become a single party with the initials MLSTP, Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe) has been accused of attempting a coup during a meeting of the country's principal leaders.

It seems that the authorities of a republic which, for some time, has been under political strife, are not too anxious to let the outside world know about events taking place at home. Island mentality, a certain pride and also justified fear would explain this behavior.

As it were, Sao Tome's political crisis dates back to the independence acquired in 1975. At that time, a difficult balance was maintained among the various trends of the independent movement.

Over the following years, MLSTP, which had maintained a socialist and nonaligned position, saw the influence of its most radical members grow. For a long time, President Pinto da Costa, who is also secretary general of the single party, appeared to be maintaining an equal balance among the various trends before recently shifting closer to the radicals. The latter are chiefly represented by Minister of the Interior Daniel Daio (who should ask to be forgiven for much of what he has done since he served in the Portuguese army) and the minister of information and culture who is none other than the president's sister-in-law, Mrs Alda do Espirito Santo, a poetess, orthodox Marxist theorist and a sort of

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revolutionary Velleda who would like to impose Creole--which she speaks with difficulty--as the official language.

Confronted by this clan which, it should be added, has been bolstered by the presence of some 1,500 Angolan and Cuban soldiers since an alleged attempted coup in 1977 (known as the "77 Cobra Plot), a more pragmatic, and especially less aligned with Moscow, socialism was being defended by Miguel Trovoada and by one of his long-term friends Leonel d'Alva, former minister of foreign affairs who later became minister of education.

Trovoada is undoubtedly the country's most popular political personality. Among the governing class of the Filhos da terra, mulatto bourgeoisie ousted from its lands by Lisbon during the last century, he stands out by his modest origin: from an old family, but of poor parents, he learned a manual job before entering the seminary; he has perfect command of the Creole spoken by the rocas' (large agricultural enterprises) farmhands who are the essential segment of the population, while the language of the ruling class remains Portuguese; he is just as sensitive to plainly expressed hopes as to respected doctrinal abstractions.

However, his personal views are not enough to explain the radical clan's hostility toward him. The unforeseeable events of last August hastened his disgrace.

#### A Spontaneous Protest

Last 16 August the government organized a general census of the population. Consequently, to facilitate the task of the census takers, all citizens without exceptions were ordered to remain at home on that day.

This order led to a spontaneous protest in rural areas. Did the population fear that this census would be the prelude to a new tax? The fact remains that barricades sprung up in villages and rocas. Mrs do Espirito Santo announced in the morning that the census had been stopped. Two ministers--Mrs Maria do Rosario Barros (minister of health) and Daio--were nonetheless rebuked. The latent dissatisfaction of the working segments of the population expressed itself in various ways and, in some cases, barricades did not come down until 18 August.

The president was in Moscow at the time of those events. The government blamed them on the "counterrevolutionaries" when, according to travelers who witnessed those events, they were obviously spontaneous. To satisfy the radicals' logic and give credence to the "plot" theory, scapegoats had to be found for those troubles. It seems that Trovoada was it.

Moreover, the plot theory is rather plausible in an [illegible word, probably island] where the muted echo of outside events can engender an obsessive fear and where tourism has disappeared since 1975. The republic remains distrustful of its closest neighbor, Gabon, from which it is separated by language and culture. Although in the past Libreville authorities supported Sao Tome's

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independence, the latter believed the former had annexation designs. The arrival of an Angolan-Cuban contingent (joined by Guinea Bissau soldiers who are now said to have withdrawn) corresponds to the 1977 upsurge of invasion and "imperialist plot" fears.

#### Short-Lived Hopes

Though Sao Tome's political class could pretend to the outside world (and to itself) that a plot existed, the population's behavior last August expressed nothing more than its dissatisfaction and the leaders' moral isolation.

On 18 August, a protest demonstration was canceled due only to the extent of the police and military apparatus in the capital. The unknown number of arrests is also evidence of the repression. Should it want to side with the population, the national army, reduced to 500 ill-equipped men, would have little weight before a foreign contingent supporting the leaders. Thus, demands remain sterile, but they remain.

They mainly rest on a sort of disenchantment: independence did not bring expected results. This trite remark is generally of little consequence on the African continent. However, it cannot fail to provoke a reaction in two islands populated by 80,000 largely literate people, where leaders and their promises can be judged daily by a population tired of prudently repeating the same slogans.

Furthermore, nationalizations and nationals' take-over of public offices held by Portuguese have not been beneficial to most of the population. Local civil servants who are reviving old colonial methods, making them more heinous, are being blamed for their brutality. One thing is sure, last April's replacement of the rocas' directors by members of the president's family was badly received in Sao Tome. Impunity is a poor adviser and the purely military strength available to the principal leaders does not bring them closer to a popular class which accepts less and less the lag between their militant speeches and their real behavior.

The country cut itself from the outside as much as it could: for example, there are no more air liaisons with Libreville. Only Angola and the Congo, because of revolutionary affinity, are appreciated neighbors. The Sao Tome government recently refused an agreement to a western ambassador residing in Libreville.

Even though the economic policy favors cocoa exportations (6,000 tons in 1976) and the excellent firmness of the escudo, thanks in particular to a sound balance of payments, the population's living conditions have deteriorated and in 1977, according to official statistics, 15 percent of the deaths were due to malnutrition.

These few remarks are enough to give an account of popular movements and the political match which was recently waged in Sao Tome.

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The future of the republic and its inhabitants will depend to a great extent on the development of the situation in Angola which, for deep-seated reasons, is the mentor of Sao Tome.

It is hoped that we will not long remain on our present path, for it could only result in both increasing international tension in the Gulf of Guinea and maintaining local discontent.

There may be one hope. President Pinto da Costa is scheduled to go to Portugal on an official visit this coming October from the 24th to the 26th. A rapprochement between the republic and the former colonizing power would be a prelude to an opening on the outside world, opening needed by Sao Tome which could remember that ideological communion is not the rule of international cooperation and that at the time of the slave-trade, a village in the Gabon estuary was named Ntchantome, in honor of the neighboring island.

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SENEGAL

SENGHOR DENOUNCES SITUATION OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISES

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 23 Oct 79 p 2701

[Text] The inefficiency of many public Senegalese enterprises of which some show a deficit and some are even in bankruptcy, were the subject of a meeting of the heads of these enterprises, presided by Leopold Senghor, president of the republic, which was held in Dakar on 28 September.

The public establishments, national companies (23) and mixed economy firms (75) represent 40 percent of the Senegalese gross domestic production and employ about 30,000 workers who receive about 20 million CFA in salaries annually. Two-thirds of the above have been in existence less than 10 years. At the present time many of them such as SOSAP (fishing), BUD-SENEGAL (industrial truck-gardening) are bankrupt, and in addition a scandal due to embezzlements amounting to one billion CFA shook ONCAD (National Office of Cooperation and Assistance for Development) Cooperatives Central Organization.

Senghor attributed a good part of this situation to inefficiency and declared specifically "that management is a field which we have not been able to master as yet."

Among the evils he denounced before the heads of the enterprises, the following were cited: accounting gaps, insufficiency of personnel training, lack of control in management and exploitation, absenteeism, nepotism, intervention by politicians and prominent persons in recruitment, misuse of available means, lack of agreement between the objectives of the enterprises and their realization and poor financing methods.

On their part the enterprises denounced the flight of the higher level cadres to the private sector, at higher salaries, the insufficiency of means, the procedural delays in allocating credits or payments of invoices by the state, transfer of personnel and directors, the extreme strictness of the supervisory agencies and the indifference of the personnel during this supervision.

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In conclusion Senghor requested the heads of these enterprises to be exacting and persevering in order that the objective of the Senegalese recovery plan may be attained in 1983.

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SENEGAL

GOVERNMENT TO PURSUE ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAM

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 23 Oct 79 p 2701

[Text] The main objective facing the Senegalese Government is to pursue the economic recovery program was declared by Leopold Sedar Senghor on 16 September upon his return from vacation. Therefore, the government will proceed with the adjustment of salaries and prices. A meeting on this subject between government, employers and workers will take place, but the most important factor is simply to maintain the purchasing power of the workers.

In other respects, President Senghor alluded to some measures taken, such as the development of a plan for economic recovery which was approved by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. In addition some of the fundamental objectives of the development plan were mentioned: increase in public savings, housing information, adjustment of prices and salaries, maintaining the purchasing power of the worker and increasing industrial and agricultural production.

On the last point launching of the impending construction of the Diama dam on 13 December, as well as the future exploitation of some of the riches in the sub-soil (iron and oil) actuates optimism. It is for this reason that the Senegalese chief of state has further reaffirmed the need to rely more and more on the spirit of organization and procedure.

He also laid stress on the problem of the management of some of the state companies and indicated that a meeting is planned in this connection in the framework of an interministerial council with the heads of enterprises. It is imperative that rigorous and dynamic management be sustained, said the chief of state.

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SENEGAL

BRIEFS

SENGHOR, PREMIER ON POLITICAL PARTIES--At the meeting of the Cabinet on 25 September, President Senghor alluded to the domestic situation of the country and "forcefully reaffirmed his determination to enforce the constitution and the laws" especially in regard to the establishment and operation of political parties. On his part the prime minister announced that legal instructions have just been instituted "in connection with some infractions to the legislation regarding the establishment of political parties." [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 23 Oct 79 p 2701] 7993

SCHEDULE OF CABINET MEETINGS--On 18 September Abou Diouf, prime minister of Senegal, announced that in the future the Cabinet Council will meet twice weekly instead of once weekly as in the past and successively a Cabinet Council convening all the members of the government around the prime minister will meet every Monday, and the Cabinet, presided by the president of the republic, in addition to the prime minister, the ministers and eventually the secretaries of state, will convene every Tuesday. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 23 Oct 79 p 2701] 7993

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SOLAR PUMP--A photovoltaic solar pump was inaugurated 29 September by Senegal's Prime Minister Abdou Diouf. The village of Aere-Lao (700 km northeast of Dakar) will thus have 50,000 liters of water per day at its disposal. An ecumenical mutual help association, SOS Sahel International, and the readers of two Nantais newspapers, raised the 12 million CFA francs necessary for its achievement. The Senegalese prime minister noted on this occasion that the Senegalese solar energy program, begun 3 years ago and based on the groundwork laid by researches conducted at the University of Dakar for the past 20 years, had at first consisted of bestowing thermodynamic solar pumps on four villages and photovoltaic pumps on two others. In a second phase, the Senegalese Government is interested in developing a medium power capacity: a thermal solar pumping system 30 km from Bakel, in the north, for irrigating 130 hectares, two electric power stations of 25 kW and 100 kW, a 2 kW motor pump and a 5 kW photovoltaic solar station for farm irrigation and market gardening. SOS-Sahel International has a project, "50 solar pumps for the eighties" which interests Senegal, Mali and Upper Volta. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 pp 2760-2761] 8860

MARITIME TRANSPORT COMPANY--A national maritime transport company, Senegalese Maritime Navigation Company (COSENAM) will soon be created. Eighty-four percent of the shares will be held by the state, 16 percent by foreign investment. The creation of COSENAM will enable Senegal to staunch the financial hemorrhage stemming from increasing transportation charges and to improve its balance of trade. Increased exports will substantially diminish the cost of Senegalese imports. The Senegalese Maritime Navigation Company (SENAM) which chartered foreign ships only. A million CFA francs, such is the capital initially put up for the company. Shareholders include SONACOS, the Independent Port of Dakar, the Senegalese Longshoreman's Union (COSEC), Fund for the Equalization and Stabilization of Prices, the Taiba Phosphates Company, BNDS [Senegal National Development Bank], the Senegalese Government itself, as well as private investors both nationals and foreign. COSENAM funding is a sixth of the defunct SENAM's financial cover, but its promoters feel this is quite sufficient for the company's operation and will even enable it to buy two ships. COSENAM has not inherited any difficulties, in the sense that there is no legal tie between it and SENAM. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2760] 8860

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SIERRA LEONE

BRIEFS

FIDA LOAN--The International Fund for Agricultural Development (FIDA) has approved a 50-year loan to Sierra Leone of \$12.6 million at an annual interest rate of 1 percent. This loan is earmarked to finance agricultural development projects affecting 3,000 families of the Magbosi zone where life expectancy is 44 years and infant mortality is 240 out of 1,000. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2766] 8860

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TANZANIA

PARTY TO CONTROL MUNICIPALITIES

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2776

[Text] According to the prime minister at the presidential office of Zanzibar, M A Mzee, the regional leaders of the only Tanzanian party, the CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi) will be in charge of local administrations in Zanzibar and Pemba, starting at the end of the year.

The regional leader of the city of Zanzibar will thus become its mayor while the party functionaries for the districts of Wete, Chake Chake and Mkoani on Pemba, will direct the municipal administration in those three localities.

We must recall that, early in 1979, the Revolutionary Council of Zanzibar published a decree in which it created three municipal councils on Pemba and another one for the city of Zanzibar, which has a autonomous administration.

The essential purpose of this measure was to improve the municipal services and the social services in particular, so as to meet the challenge of the strong increase in urban population.

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TANZANIA

JUMBE PRESENTS CONSTITUTION FOR ZANZIBAR, PEMBA

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 69  
pp 2275-2276

[Text] The chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Zanzibar (and Tanzanian vice president) M Aboud Jumbe, presented a projected constitution for the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba providing for democratization of political life and the organization of elections, on 5 October. The elections will be the first (except for presidential elections of a single candidate) since the 1964 revolution, which chased out the Sultan and the Arab "Arab oligarchy."

The constitutional project, which was submitted for inspection to the Revolutionary Council for 17 weeks, provides for the election of the president of Zanzibar by the representatives. He then designates the members of the Revolutionary Council.

Since 1964 the council members have nominated the president who, in turn, has chosen the members without the electorate being consulted in any form.

The election of a Council of Representatives, provided for in 10 articles of this fundamental law, could take place starting next year, at the same time as the presidential and legislative elections on the mainland--the latter a repeat of those in 1975.

The Council of Representatives should in some way be a parliament and the Revolutionary Council would then play the role of a cabinet of ministers, said M Jumbe. The constitution will also guarantee, for the first time, an independent judicial system for Zanzibar. Until now the coopted Revolutionary Council promulgated all the laws applicable for the archipelago by edict.

The text submitted for study by the members of the Revolutionary Council specifies that the president cannot serve for more than three consecutive terms of 4 years each.

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M Jumbe has emphasized that the constitutional project would not be put off because the union of Zanzibar and the former Tanganyika into a single republic was at stake.

Kenyan newspapers, in a discussion of that subject, expected a breakup of the United Republic of Tanzania (MTM, 5 Oct OBER p 2714).

Disspelling dissatisfaction

To account for the reasons that led M Jumbe to present the constitutional project and to specify the form of a deomocratic government, the AFP notes that since the union of former Tanganyika and the "Spice Islands" Zanzibar always retained great autonomy.

That applies particularly to its finances, which are supported by the export of cloves of which Zanzibar is the world's top producer. The resources of the island have thus served to finance during the term of President Karume (who was assassinated in 1972) a low cost housing program on the outskirts of the old Arab city of Zanzibar.

The effects of the world crisis, of the rise in gasoline prices and the economic effect on Tanzania of its victorious campaign against the regime of Idi Amin, have caused a drop in the standard of living of Zanzibar, just as on the continent. Still the island population receives the benefit of certain advantages when compared to their fellow citizens. These days it is possible to find in the shops of Zanzibar cakes of soap and washing powder, which are not available in Dar es Salam.

However that may be the people of Zanzibar find that they have been neglected, the more so since M Aboud Jumbe is more absorbed by his function as vice president of the union government than by his functions as chief executive of Zanzibar. President Nyerere appears to have tried to reinforce the integration of the archipelago by entrusting to his vice president more and more missions, in Tanzania as well as abroad.

In Zanzibar the complaint is that M Jumbe, because of his insistence on making all decisions of even the smallest nature personally, is neglecting local matters. Some malcontnets declare that even when he is in the archipelago he spends most his time on Pemba.

The state of health of vice president Jumbe is also a source of some uncertainty. After undergoing an operation in the United States last year, he is planning another trip to that country for medical reasons and that may be one of the reasons for his paying so little attention to local affairs.

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Finally, the people of Zanzibar complain that the loss of their children during the war against Idi Amin was a very heavy one, because it was the batallion from the island that was to be the first to traverse the Kagera at the end of last year, for the penetration of Uganda. There is little doubt that the Revolutionary Council will adopt the project of the Constitution presented to it. It remains to be seen, concludes the AFP, whether that reform will suffice to dispel the growing discontent and the particularism of Zanzibar.

Since the return of the victorious Tanzanian soldiers an increased military presence has in fact been noticed on the island, but it seems that this precaution has not succeeded in quieting the uneasiness.

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TANZANIA

## BRIEFS

ZANZIBAR CONSTITUTION ADOPTED--On 13 October, the Revolutionary Council of Zanzibar adopted the draft of the constitution which was submitted by its president, Mr Aboud Jumbe (MTM 12 October 1979 p 2775). According to the terms of the adopted text (adopted without consulting the people, although dissatisfaction is rumbling in Zanzibar and Pemba), the president of the Revolutionary Council, who will have the title of "president of Zanzibar," will be elected by universal suffrage every 5 years. He must have completed his 31st year, and must carry more than 50 percent of the popular vote in an election where there will be no competition, and a single candidate will be presented by a committee of the only Tanzanian party, the CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi, "party of the revolution"). The Council of Representatives, which will act as the parliament, will have 125 members. The term of one legislature will be 5 years. This council will include 35 members from the Revolutionary Council, the members of parliament representing the islands in the parliament at Dodoma, two members of the local revolutionary committee per district, two members of the revolutionary committee from each region, all regional commissioners from Zanzibar and Pemba, representatives from the sole political party and from Tanzanian popular organizations. Ten representatives will be named by the president of Zanzibar's Revolutionary Council. The deputies must have completed their 21st year. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 October 1979 p 2838] 9174

MINISTER'S VISIT TO PARIS--On 12 October, Mr Benjamin Mpaka, Tanzanian minister of foreign affairs, met in Paris with Mr Jean Francois-Poncet, French minister of foreign affairs. This meeting has made it possible to give a new impetus to Franco-Tanzanian relations, which were somewhat strained a short time ago. Remember that recent French aid to the Dar es Salaam airport (MTM 28 September 1979 p 2653) cemented the Franco-Tanzanian reconciliation. This reconciliation was used to best advantage by Mr Francois-Poncet during the luncheon served to his guest at the Quai d'Orsay. The minister expressed "the willingness of France to expand her relations with Tanzania." This willingness, he said, "is in keeping with a policy of broad opportunity for all of the African countries, especially the English-speaking countries. While desiring to maintain close relations with French-speaking Africa, she finds that most of the problems

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occurring today are on a continental scale and that Africans are keenly aware of the importance of whatever will bring them together and unite them. "After having recalled the initiative of a dialogue between Europe, Africa and the Arab countries taken by President Giscard d'Estaing in February, Mr Jean Francois-Poncet enunciated the essential principles which are guiding French policy toward Africa, namely the freedom of choice for every country within its recognized frontiers, and the assistance that the African states have a right to expect from the international community. In reply, Mr Benjamin Mpaka expressed his country's willingness to establish active cooperation with France as it has with other important members of the EEC. After having stated his conviction that relations between his country and France are on the threshold of a promising future, Mr Mpaka paid homage to the French language, "one of the languages of our continent and an important tool for cooperation and comprehension among the members of the Organization for African Unity." [Excerpt] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 October p 2838] 9174

AID TO PETROLEUM EXPLORATION--The World Bank has agreed to look into the financing of new oil explorations in the Songo Songo region, in the Kilwa province of southeastern Tanzania, announced the Tanzanian minister of Hydroelectric Power and Mining, Mr Al Dash Noor Kassum. The minister made this announcement at a press conference organized on the 10 October upon his return from a 3-week visit to the United States, Great Britain, Austria and Canada. The World Bank participated in the financing of research into the possibilities of a gas development program in Songo, simultaneously with an Indian consulting company, the Oil and Natural Gas Commission. Mr Kassum specified that the agreement concerning financing, by the World Bank, of petroleum research at Songo Songo was concluded during his negotiations in London, which were also attended by representatives of the governments of India and of the Commonwealth. The development of gas in Songo Songo is estimated at 30 million cubic meters. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 October p 2838] 9174

MADIBIRA RICE PROJECT--A preliminary study of the rice-growing project at Madibira, near Mbeya in southern Tanzania, was recently delivered to the Tanzanian minister of agriculture by a British organization, the Overseas Development Administration (ODA). The feasibility study on the project should be finished by next December. It is expected to produce 50,000 tons of rice per year in Madibira, due to an investment on the order of 700 million shillings. The rice crop would be irrigated, and corn would be recommended as a complementary crop by the authors of the project. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 October p 2838] 9174

SIDA-FINANCED WATER SUPPLY STUDIES--Studies financed by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), which will take 3 months, began in September at Dodoma, the future capital of Tanzania. They concern the water supply, and should establish whether the city will receive its water from the Mtera dam in the Iringa region, or from some other source closer

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to Dodoma. At the present time, the city's requirements are estimated at 10,000 m<sup>3</sup> per day, and its water comes from the water level of Makutupora. In 1985, the city will need 45,500 m<sup>3</sup>, and 126,000 m<sup>3</sup> in 1995, if the government's plans to transfer its civil service workers from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma materialize. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 October 1979 p 2838] 9174

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UGANDA

ECONOMIC SITUATION CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Oct 79 p 2775

[Text] Former President Amin did serious harm to his country's economy by allowing himself to be dictated by whim, which is to say by his so-called premonitory dreams. Nevertheless, the economy survived. However, according to AFP the war of liberation waged by Tanzania and exiled Ugandans from October 1978 to April of this year has dealt the final blows.

In the present situation, the team of experts whom the Commonwealth secretariat has asked to establish a plan for reconstruction does not have some basic necessities, notably statistics.

At the end of 1978 the balance of payments deficit was close to \$100 million and had doubled since the military dictator's arrival to power. In April the government inherited a foreign debt of \$133 million. The interest continues to accrue and the rates have often been raised.

The looting during the liberation accelerated the destructive effect of Idi Amin's actions. The confidence aroused when Yusuf Lule became president vanished after his departure. He had actually begun to obtain some convincing results, especially with merchants who had been willing to submit to price controls on their merchandise.

The close connection between politics and economics bodes ill for the future and no one seems to have confidence in the Binaisa government. This same lack of confidence is found at the international level (see MTM of 14 September, p 2522). Countries and organizations which might be able to provide necessary assistance, aside from emergency efforts, are waiting for this government to become more firmly installed and to prove that it has better control of the situation.

The authorities have invited those Asiatics expelled by Amin in 1972 to return. They have been offered 50 percent of their former possessions in the form of joint enterprises. They are cautiously waiting for others to take the first steps before they are convinced. Recent examples which have been given to them. (MTM 27 July, p 2115) do not seem to be sufficient.

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However, Uganda has some solid advantages. Commonwealth observers feel that the country would soon be able to pay for a significant part of imports for normal use and reconstruction, if the economy were functioning normally.

In the meantime, the large sugar cane plantations on the shores of Lake Victoria have been abandoned and will need to be entirely rebuilt. The coffee plantations are kept up just enough to supply Kenya with contraband. Factory equipment continues to rust because of missing pieces and the amount of automobiles in use diminishes for lack of upkeep.

A response to the challenge to renew the economy is in large measure in the hands of the government. Were there enough confidence in it, only a little effort would be required to set in motions the activities parallel to those of the Magendo (Swahili for black market). This could be done in a positive sense with a view to development. If this does not happen reconstruction will experience the same fate as the "action program" which Idi Amin launched 3 years ago in 1977 and which was forgotten within 6 months.

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UGANDA

BRIEFS

REPATRIATION FROM LIBYA--Libya, where former President Idi Amin Dada took refuge, is still holding many Ugandans whom the Kampala authorities would like to have repatriated. These are Ugandans who occupied various posts at the time of the overthrow of Idi Amin Dada. Kampala has also asked that Libya return the Uganda Airline's Boeing 707 which has been in Libyan hands since the fall of the Ugandan capital. These demands were made by the minister of culture and community development, Daniel Nabudere. He also criticized Colonel Qadhafi for the assistance he gave to the Amin regime. Nabudere said that Uganda was "ready to forgive but not to forget." Concerning Uganda's relationship with the Arab world, he stressed the idea that his country sees a distinction between countries which had supported the dictator and those which had not. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEES in French 12 Oct 79 p 2775] 1961

EXILED STUDENTS--On 8 October President Binaisa sent out a call to all exiled Ugandan students to return to their country. The statement was made during a ceremony which made him chancellor of Makerere University. The university has some 4,000 students. According to its administration, 950 million shillings (about \$130 million) would be needed to reorganize after the disturbances experienced under Idi Amin Dada's regime. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEES in French 12 Oct 79 p 2775] 9161

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UPPER VOLTA

BRIEFS

PRESIDENT WARNS ABOUT LABOR STRIKES--"Constantly resorting to strikes is not good for a country as underdeveloped as Upper Volta," stated the Upper Voltan president, General Aboubacar Sangoule Lamizana, on 26 September, responding to press questions about the strike warnings given by several groups of affiliated labor unions demanding higher wages. "We cannot put the entire national budget at the workers' disposal," added President Lamizana. "The unions and the government should together examine the workers' situation... People who live in developing countries cannot press union demands to the same extent as those who live in the developed world," concluded the Upper Voltan chief of state. /Text/ /Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 5 Oct 79 p 2704/ 11935

NEW DAM AT WEBDILA--"During each rainy season, approximately 8 billion cubic meters of water fall on Upper Voltan soil. Of all this water, existing dams catch only 220 million cubic meters, or barely 3 percent of what we need to meet our requirements," stated Paley Issa Welte, Upper Voltan minister of rural development, during the inauguration ceremonies for the Webdila Dam, on 15 September. The minister also stated that, "The amount of retained surface water from rivers and streams currently satisfies less than twenty percent of what we need to furnish each Upper Voltan with the minimal amount of water needed for living, and to reach agricultural self-sufficiency through irrigation." Minister Welte thus expressed his satisfaction with the construction of this dam, which is 18 kilometers long, covers 148 square kilometers and holds 2.80 million cubic meters of water. It was financed by the Upper Voltan Federation of Churches and Evangelical Missions, for a total cost of 200 million CFA francs. /Text/ /Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 5 Oct 79 p 2704/ 11935

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