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2 July 1980

Sub-Saharan Africa Report

FOUO No. 680

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JPRS L/9172

2 July 1980

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

FOUO No. 680

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

REPORT ON 7TH FRENCH-AFRICAN CONFERENCE IN NICE

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 16 May 80 pp 1129-32

[Article by Jacques Latremolieres: "The 'Trilogue' is Honored"]

[Text] French and foreign reporters for daily newspapers who were drawn to Nice by the 7th French-African Conference did not shy away from casting a generally pessimistic pall over the proceedings even before they began, despite the laudable but doubtfully effective efforts of Mr Giscard d'Estaing, who tried to make less nebulous the idea of a Euro-Arab-African "trilogue" and the French desire to play the part of Africa's advocate on the international scene. It is even harder for a reporter from a weekly publication to survey after the fact the various tendencies that emerged at the conference.

The agenda, the summary of debate, and the final communique, taken separately, cannot give a good idea of what went on. The agenda was never more than a proposal. Besides, it was prudently withheld from the public. Some items were leaked. Unexpected speeches were made, and these made the communique difficult to write, judging by the delay in distributing it, and it is probably incomplete considering that different concerns had to be brought together in one theme.

First let's take the unscheduled business:

a declaration by the vice-president of the Chadian government, Lieutenant Colonel Kamougue;

counterdeclarations made from the floor by representatives Hissene Habre, Messrs Michel Froud and Oussman Gam;

an explanation by Mr Senghor at a final press conference at NEGRESCO [expansion unknown]: the Eyadema solution for a cease-fire will be adopted in principle by the OAU [Organization of African Unity] and supported by the presence of a buffer force of Beninese, Congolese, and Guinean detachments. If these cannot serve, the United Nations will be approached.

A liaison committee of foreign workers' associations in France sent to the African heads of state present at the conference an open letter asking that a charter be established for their members. The committee will probably

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not get an answer. The president of the Islamic Republic of the Comoro Islands, Mr Ahmed Abdallah, reported on the damage caused on the islands by several weeks of torrential rains.

Conjectures were made about the absence of Mr Houphouet-Boigny.

We should note, finally, the bizarre episode where a British journalist asked Mr Senghor in the language of Shakespeare for details on the "French-style Commonwealth" and then said in excellent French that he was quite satisfied with the explanations provided by the president of Senegal, who spoke idiomatic English and good-naturedly apologized for doing so.

Centers of Interest

Those were obviously not the centers of interest of the 25 delegations that were present, 14 of which were led by heads of state and 5 of which were not from French-language countries but were well-equipped with the means suggested to soften technically and financially the unfortunate effects of oil inflation on the balances of payments and to halt food shortages reported in some African countries, especially in the Sahel, shortages that the remedies applied so far sometimes risk making worse.

In their turn, Messrs Francois-Poncet, Rene Monory, Robert Galley, and Olivier Stirn analyzed situations and proposed actions, some of which have already been taken. He spoke first of the Franco-African situation and also of the action in progress in the ACDA (Concerted Action for the Development of Africa), which is bringing together the work of the six founding countries (France, the FRG, the United States, Belgium, Great Britain, and Canada) and the priorities set by African governments and international institutions. France's action within the European communities and in the United Nations, where it is closely following the renewed North-South dialogue, was also brought up. France's minister of Foreign Affairs recently had conversations with the Indian president of the "Group of 77."

The Euro-African "trilogue" was discussed. It is intended to recycle the financial surplus from the petroleum-exporting countries into the development of non-energy producing Third World countries by mobilizing and paying for Western technology.

Food Shortages

Since the cost of oil more than doubled between 1973 and 1978, the new 1980 price rise will cost \$2 billion more over 1978 to non-energy producing African countries, whose consumption is about 17 million metric tons. Aid from OPEC countries is distributed unevenly and does not pay the bill. No increase in exports to Western countries can ease the impact of this situation on the balance of payments because the consumer countries' economies are being slowed down.

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The explanations provided and the discussions that followed showed, however, that the situation is not hopeless, because the Western countries can make capital and technology available to African countries to prospect for new deposits, to bring into production deposits that have not been considered exploitable or to search for other energy minerals such as coal and uranium.

Hydroelectricity is only in its infancy in tropical Africa, despite such great projects as Inga, in Zaire; Edea and, soon, Song-Loulou, in Cameroon; Kossou and Buyo, in the Ivory Coast. In the coming years, the dams of Kandadji, in Niger; Diama, in Senegal, and Manantali and Tossaye, in Mali, will greatly modify the energy capacity of the countries involved. The turn to solar energy will be favored by widespread need for low-level power. But especially, the absence of any infrastructure for solar or wind power, or ethanol- or methanol-producing "biomasses" will make it possible to innovate without running up against the weight of vested interests.

The food shortages are linked to the vagaries of rainfall from 1968 to 1973, which have been particularly serious in the Sahel countries, where the drought recurred in 1977, causing a grain deficit of 900,000 metric tons and large losses of livestock. Conditions were not much more favorable in 1979 in Mauritania and Cape Verde, the Sahelian states that have lapsed into chronic food shortages. On the present basis, the shortage should reach a million metric tons, half of which will be in Senegal alone. Only 3 Sahel countries were able to rise above the minimal nutritional level of 2,200 calories per person per day in 1979.

In the Sahel, the phenomenon manifests itself in a process of desertification, which is linked to population growth. However, it cannot be separated from economic factors, such as speculation in cereals, the rise in the rate of inflation, and the growth of urban centers at the expense of rural populations. Also, while international aid has made it possible to save people's lives, the Sahelian states are beginning to realize that this has not been without serious drawbacks, because eating habits have adjusted to imported foodstuffs and are hampering renewed national production. Thus, the major thrust will be to increase agricultural production by taking the greatest possible advantage of available hydraulic potential.

This is especially true because food shortages are unfortunately not limited to Sahelian countries in both West and East Africa. Shortages also strike countries in the equatorial or intertropical zone--Liberia, Guinea, Benin, Tanzania, and even Nigeria--where it cannot be attributed to climatic causes but rather to demographically-caused social and economic imbalance, political restraints on farmers, and the appearance of industrial profits and wages. France's incomparable tool of research institutes and the experience acquired in rural development should enable it to give African countries increasingly appreciable aid in these areas as tropical agronomic research is dismantled in Belgium and Great Britain.

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Procedures

Such were the main themes of discussion. Some delegations were unhappy that time limitations prevented the Conference chair from taking up other useful subjects, such as the transfer of technology or the new facilities that the International Monetary Fund has made available to the developing countries.

Actually, though the analyses presented were very interesting, the delegations were more interested in the procedures proposed by France for overcoming difficulties than the difficulties themselves. This has led to misinterpretation by some observers, who have confused the gloom due to an inescapable situation with what they thought was a lack of interest in the remedies being thought up to make it less burdensome.

Mr Francois-Poncet thus stressed the agreement recently concluded by the OECD to center the North-South dialogue on three main themes (energy, food, and balance of payments) that more or less cover the five sectors delineated by the "77," on the guarantees introduced at his request in resolution No 138, which sets forth the principle of starting immediate negotiations, and, finally, on certain priority objectives: balanced development through reasonable growth, stability of energy and raw material supplies, and the provision of currency to structurally deficit-ridden countries to finance their development, a special effort for the benefit of the neediest.

Mr Stirn stressed the government's action to hasten the stabilization mechanisms of Lome II.

Mr Galley recalled the substantial Cooperation budget increase, which rose from Fr 3.5 billion in 1979 to Fr 4.3 billion in 1980, as FAC [Aid and Cooperation Fund] investment, in particular, interrupted its downward trend and rose from Fr 643 million to Fr 942 million.

The reports on the "trilogue" were the centerpiece of the Conference. It was not easy to synthesize them, because the economic organization of a "French Commonwealth" dear to Mr Senghor's heart, which might have been considered one of the main themes of previous meetings, had yielded to the idea of a permanent concertation going beyond economic frameworks and including European, Arab, and African civilizations, which had been united since antiquity by natural and universal affinities. Mr Henry Jean-Baptiste, who was himself a collaborator of Mr Senghor's, was thus able to add a cultural dimension to an enterprise that had been at first purely financial in character. Within this new construct, the president of Senegal intends to pursue his grand design, which does not oppose the English-speaking world but rather finds a source of enrichment and renewal in cooperation with it.

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Mr Monory's economic commentary on the "trilogue" may not have met all the problems raised by the formula, because the resources due to oil surpluses will not suffice to balance out the underdeveloped countries' indebtedness, which amounts to more than \$350 billion, and there is also the fear that these surpluses might disappear for all practical purposes in the next 10 years. But it is worthwhile to consider in the middle term the idea of increasing French financial aid, particularly from the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation [CCCE] (up 25 percent in 1980) for the purpose of recycling international capital into Africa. This policy was started in 1974 and mobilized Fr 800 million in discounted loans to make available Fr 2 billion in discounted Arab credits. In another direction, the search for European partners is being hastened by the intermediary of the European Investment Bank.

In sum, the French-African Conference in Nice has made it possible to set forth a French methodology adapted to circumstances. It implies no claim to a monopoly. Nothing prevents Westerners or Arabs from working together for Africa without any outside motivation or intermediary. It is just that France has experience and credit in this area that its usual partners do not question, even though they may be ideologically opposed, and the fact is that others than French-language countries are beginning to realize this.

Final Communique of the 7th French-African Conference (Nice 8-10 May 1980)

At the invitation of Mr Valery Giscard d'Estaing, president of the French Republic, the 7th French-African Conference was held in Nice on 8-10 May 1980.

The heads of state and the delegation leaders exchanged opinions on the world economic situation and its impact on the African continent. They noted that the new wave of oil price increases, the disorganization of the international monetary system, worldwide inflation and the resulting deterioration in trade terms tend to accentuate the gap between the industrialized countries and the developing African countries and are making the latter's financial difficulties considerably worse.

In this context, the Conference recognized the double necessity for increasingly strict management and increased aid from the international community to meet these difficulties.

In this respect, the participants expressed appreciation for France's constant efforts on Africa's behalf despite France's own economic constraints.

Indeed, French aid for African development has greatly increased, as the president of the French Republic announced in Kigali. The contribution from the Fund for Aid and Cooperation grew from Fr 633 million in 1979 to Fr 942 million in 1980, or 48 percent. Contributions from the CCCE continued to grow in 1980 at the increased rate of 25 percent a year.

At the level of international development organizations, France has taken initiatives that show the important it attaches to multilateral aid. Among these initiatives are its helping form the capital of the World Bank (Fr 110 million) and its forthcoming contribution to the 6th reconstitution of

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the International Development Association (Fr 2,75 billion in 3 years). It has agreed to underwrite 9.6 percent of the nonregional capital of the African Development Bank (\$50 million) and to increase retroactively its contribution to the African Development Fund from 2.6 percent to 6.4 percent of the Fund's total resources. Also, France has continually supported the International Monetary Fund's efforts to redirect its resources to help developing countries.

Nor has France spared any efforts to solicit increased contributions from the main contributing countries. In particular, the idea put forth by the president of the French Republic at the French-African Conference in Paris in 1976 of an exceptional action on Africa's behalf materialized on 1 January 1980 in the founding of Concerted Action for Development in Africa (ACDA). The participants are: France, the United States, the RFG, Belgium, Canada, and the United Kingdom. The World Bank also accepted the request of the president of the French Republic to join the undertaking. The ACDA should soon make it possible to increase the effectiveness of Western aid to Africa through better coordination.

Finally, as the economic crisis calls for imaginative efforts, France is studying ways of multiplying the effects of development aid by better recycling capital.

As of now, to help maintain the investment level required by the African countries' situation, the French government has decided to increase substantially the volume of business from the CCCE on preferential conditions by pursuing the present policy of association with foreign capital, a policy that has yielded encouraging results, as has been emphasized. Priority for these new contributions will go to projects in the least advantaged countries or those affected by natural disasters. Top priority will go to operations intended to achieve self-sufficiency in food, to develop geological deposits, and to gain access to the sea.

The heads of state and government and the delegation leaders asked France to continue faithfully expressing their concerns to the other industrialized countries and especially its partners in the European Economic Community so that satisfactory solutions may be found for their problems. Among these problems is the stabilization of prices for raw materials, which provide a large part of African countries' revenues and for which they hope to obtain a fair price. The participants said they were convinced of the necessity to renew on a constructive basis the dialogue between cocoa producing and consuming countries.

They emphasized their interest in the present negotiations for renewing the North-South dialogue, and they think the international community has a right to expect the restoration of a system of sustained growth and a broad solution to development problems. In this respect, France has taken note of the priorities given by its partners to the problems of food self-sufficiency, raw materials, isolation, and indebtedness and is resolved to

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play an especially active role in preparing the general negotiations that are about to start at the United Nations and to continue working towards implementing a Common Fund of Raw Materials.

The participants stressed the importance they attach to importing technology into African countries and then noted with interest the research undertaken in the context of bilateral procedures to conceive new technologies for Africa in both the rural and industrial sectors.

The Conference restated the necessity of giving priority to the least advanced countries suffering from serious natural handicaps, such as enclavement, insularity, or drought. In this connection the Conference noted that France's aid to the Sahelian countries has been increasing continuously since 1975 and now accounts for more than a third of the aid from the ministry of African Cooperation and that more than half of the subsidies from the Aid and Cooperation Fund in 1979 was allocated to the least advanced countries.

The heads of state and government and delegation leaders noted that while the new EEC-ACP [African, Pacific and Caribbean countries associated with the EEC] Lome Convention had not fulfilled all hopes, its signing under current economic conditions was an exemplary manifestation of dialogue between the industrialized and developing countries.

Under the heading of French-African cooperation, which the participants again stressed as being useful, France explained that it would strive to maintain or increase the budget of the ministry of Cooperation despite inflation. Four questions in particular held the Conference's attention: the development of energy sources other than oil, the quest for self-sufficiency in food, and the problems of education and of natural disasters.

Concerning energy, Africa offers a vast field of possibilities: hydroelectric energy, wind energy, solar energy, or biomass, a potential source of ethanol and methanol. Their development could have only favorable effects on the financial equilibrium of African countries.

One of the most serious problems that Africa may have to face in the coming years is an increasing shortage of food. The Conference participants recognize how difficult the task is, but they did express a desire to do research into food self-sufficiency as one of their high-priority policies. They recognize that France has an important part to play in this area by increasing its aid at the bilateral level and contributing to a better concertation at the international level.

The policy of the French ministry of Cooperation in the field of education and training was the subject of an extensive exchange of opinions. Stress was placed on the necessity of training African students, especially in technical subjects and in the context of closer links between French and African universities.

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The Conference also brought up the consequences of natural disasters--floods, cyclones, etc.--that strike certain countries. France has also granted a large amount of aid to Mauritius, which has been devastated by several cyclones, and will also give emergency aid to the Comoro Islands, which were recently hit by floods. In this connection, it was reiterated that the general purpose of cooperation is to make national economies less vulnerable to accidents.

After a speech by President Syad Barre, the Conference emphasized the seriousness of the refugee situation in Africa and the negative repercussions that the flow of refugees has on the countries receiving them. The Conference stressed the contribution that the international community ought to make in solving these problems. As for France, the president of the French Republic said his country is ready to participate in this effort at the level it deems necessary.

The French delegation reported to the Conference on the present state of the Euro-Arab-African trilogue. Encouraging results have emerged from contacts made at the international level, and concrete proposals were made that are likely to carry the project through in the cultural, political, and economic areas. The Conference took satisfaction in the progress that has been made. It confirmed its active support for the project and expressed the desire that information would continue to flow to the Arab world and African countries in support of implementing the trilogue.

The Conference heard a report on the situation in Chad, which was delivered by the vice-president of the national union transition government.

The Conference heard with interest President Senghor's report on the results of his information mission to Kigali concerning an "organic community." The Conference asked him to continue his mission.

The Conference decided:

(1) to establish in Dakar a staff for ministerial conferences for partially or entirely French-language countries. This staff would be based on the technical staff for conferences for ministers of National Education and Youth and Sports. The management of this staff would be exercised in liaison with the agency for cultural and technical cooperation. This staff will be charged with preparing a conference of the ministers of Foreign Affairs of the members of the agency and the "organic community" and should take place in Dakar on 5 November 1980. This conference will prepare for a meeting of heads of state and government from these same states in order to examine the ways and means of such cooperation;

(2) to charge this secretariat as soon as possible and under the leadership of President Senghor to convoke an advisory council of experts and high-level personages whose mission would be to set directions and seek out the organizations and associations appropriate for developing increased solidarity and cooperation in partially or completely French-language countries....

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In view of the report presented on this subject and the recommendations made by the ministers of Foreign Affairs, the participants decided to assign the light administrative staff of the French-African Conference to the host country of the Conference. France will take care of the archives. On this occasion they expressed their preference for the informal nature of this meeting....

They accepted the invitation of the Zairian head of state to hold their next conference in Zaire in 1981. Zaire will preside.

The Participants in the "Summit"

Benin: Mr Isede Simon Ougouma, minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation.

Burundi: Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, president of the Republic.

Cape Verde: Mr David Hoppfer Almada, minister of Justice.

Central African Republic: Mr David Dacko, president of the Republic.

Comoro Islands: Mr Ahmed Abdallah Abderemane, president of the Republic.

Congo: Mr Pierre Nze, minister of Foreign Affairs.

Ivory Coast: Mr Mathieu Ekra, minister in charge of reforming government corporations.

Djibouti: El Hadj Hassan Gouled Aptidon, president of the Republic.

Gabon: El Hadj Omar Bongo, president of the Republic.

Guinea-Bissau: Mr Basco Cabral, state commissioner for Economic and Planning Coordination.

Equatorial Guinea: Mr Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, president of the Republic.

Upper Volta: Captain Leonard Kalmogo, minister of Finance.

Mali: General Moussa Traore, president of the Republic.

Morocco: Mr M'Hamed Boucetta, state minister in charge of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation.

Mauritius: Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, prime minister.

Mauritania: Mr Mame N'Diack Seck, ambassador to Paris from the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

Niger: Colonel Seyni Kountche, head of state.

Rwanda: Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, president of the Republic.

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Sao-Tome and Principe: (none)

Senegal: Mr Leopold-Sedar Senghor, president of the Republic.

Sierra Leone: Mr Siaka Stevens, president of the Republic.

Somalia: Mr Mohamed Syad Barre, president of the Democratic Republic of Somalia.

Chad: Colonel Kamougue, vice-president of the Republic.

Togo: General Gnassingbe Eyadema, president of the Republic.

Zaire: Mr Mobutu Sese Seko, president of the Republic.

Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Morocco, Sao-Tome and Principe, Sierra Leone, and Somalia participated in the Conference as observers.

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON NORTH-SOUTH DIALOG

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 21 May 80 pp 12, 13

[Article by Michel Jobert: "Dialog of the New Worlds"]

[Text] Last week, the representatives of France and 25 African countries met in Nice. We won't go over the preliminaries and the "agonizing" reappraisals that must be made in the intellectual and material order for an idea like the "trilogue" not to be limited to appearances. But haven't I written of it in countless ways since 1973?

Unfortunately nothing has changed in the established order; rather, our attention is drawn to the marginal changes. Trilogues are conceived of as being a decisive emergence of change in a world immobilized by divisions and the abuse of dominant positions; without them, the dialogues of the new worlds, albeit incipient, better express the will to change.

The exchanges begun between Brazil and Africa, and even the Near East, should be hailed not for what they signify but for what they foreshadow: the injection of new elements in a static world. Brazil alone is a continent: 8.5 million square km, a little less than the United States but more than the European area of the USSR. Its population has more than doubled since 1950: now it has nearly 120 million people. It has an exuberant, promising economy that is developing anarchically, but it is definitely following a rising curve, with undeniable growth rates. These facts are leading Brazilian governments to practice an active foreign policy, one that is justified by the necessity of breathing on one's own. Since 1970 a dialogue has been sought and made with the various African states. Of course, Brazil is Portugal's daughter, as the United States is Great Britain's. The president of the Portuguese Republic, Admiral Americo Thomaz, brought back from Brazil on 22 April 1972 the mortal remains of Dom Pedro, emperor of Brazil (1822). Brazil has always been careful not to dwell on the "Luso-Brazilian community" but to note and use Portuguese decolonization in Africa beginning in 1974, especially since the Brazilian entry into southern and Portuguese Africa beginning in 1970 made it more delicate for the African policy of this South American federal republic to get a second wind. (It is useful to consult the studies of the Grenoble Social Sciences University on Latin America. Mr Guy Martiniere and others, in JEUNE AFRIQUE Nos 834, 835 (January 1977).)

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The necessities and the figures for foreign trade are there; the mineral wealth, industrial activity and capital of South Africa interest Brazil from all the way across the Atlantic ocean. This is a decisive factor for a developing country like Brazil, a country that is trying to be multiracial. "Brazil condemns apartheid but accepts capital." Also, in Mozambique and Angola, despite the Cuban presence, the Portuguese language naturally opens the door to Afro-Brazilian "Lusophone" cooperation. It is easy to plead the case for solidarity between decolonized countries: yesterday it was Brazil and today it is Africa that has freed itself from Portuguese colonialism. Besides, didn't Brazil immediately recognize the independent states of Guinea-Bissau and the People's Republic of Angola? But beyond these transitions, the whole dark continent interests Brazil. We know of the long-standing relationships between Leopold Sedar Senghor's Senegal and Brazil and Guinea-Bissau, the joint political action taken to get the Portuguese out, and the cooperation agreements that have been signed. Contracts were made or extended with the Ivory Coast (coffee and cocoa), Senegal (phosphates), Togo (phosphates), Kenya and Zambia (copper), Gabon (uranium, oil), Ghana, Angola, Nigeria, Zaire, the Congo, Madagascar, and Tanzania. Brazil needs potential buyers of its raw materials production, especially petroleum, and a mutual defense of the products it has in common with Africa: coffee, cocoa, cotton, soya, sugar cane, and wood.

But it is equally interested in white Africa and the Arab Near East. This attention explains the evolution of its policy toward Israel and its vote on the resolution "Zionism is a form of racism" at the 30th General Assembly of the United Nations in November 1975. Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, the Emirates, the Sudan, and Libya have been approached by Brazil on the major subjects of oil, steel, construction, and politics. The "Luso-Brazilian" world also considers the virtues of "trilogue" perhaps less naturally and strongly than the "European-African-Arab" world does, but it is less inhibited and ponderous. Already Brazil is boasting of being ready for a technology adapted to tropical countries. They are giving notice to holders of capital and raw materials!

The Brazilian effort takes some of its originality from its breaking into the closed field of trade and influence. By raising the threat of even marginal competition, it is stimulating the endless circle of speeches and causing anxiety or emulation. For once, a new nation is talking with countries still to be built.

How far has Africa come? Uncertain, always captive Africa. The land of miscalculated or distorted planning. A recent dry, analytical book suffices to show that Africa cannot pull itself up by its own bootstraps (Gerard Chaliand, "What is at Stake in Africa: Strategies and Powers" (Paris: Le Seuil, [n.d])). Thirty of the 50 poorest countries in the world are in Africa. And some of them have regressed since 1960. The most satisfactory explanation that can be given for this disturbing trend is population growth. But there are other causes: the competitive strategies of Western capitalism, Russian communism, and the Chinese third-worldism; failures of the new local elites; ethnic balances and the newly-apparent inadequacy of local borders;

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and the state of world raw material resources, which has a direct impact on monoproductive countries. There is no need to go on about that here, and the book is an eloquent inventory.

We should retain two things from this history of violence and frustration, which will be Africa's history for a long time:

(1) However great the drag and inhibitions, change always triumphs, perhaps because it expresses the profound essence of life. The anarchic and accidental way in which it occurs ought not to cause any doubts about its reality. The African "liberations" are a recent demonstration of it, though these liberations are far from being complete.

(2) The world will increasingly escape from the ideological and material (especially industrial) predeterminations that it has wrapped itself in to ward off change. So many pressures are aimed at keeping Africa in the pocket of vested interests, but they are opposed by Africa's very disorder, its unresponsiveness to strategy, and its very indecisiveness.

Africa is not alone in the world in finding neither equilibrium nor repose in a dominant order that is necessarily "old" as soon as it begins. That is why the dialogues of the new worlds, even though they take the classic, familiar paths of trade, money, and interest, are bringing about a completely new era. If they succeed, even a little, they will shed, more easily than any others, the rituals, imperatives, and, finally, imperial edicts. The great events of history go unnoticed at first. We must be all the more attentive to whisperings in the wind.

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

CONCERNS OF FRENCH-AFRICAN SUMMIT DISCUSSED

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 21 May 80 pp 26, 27

[Article by Siradiou Diallo: "The Summit of Anguish"]

[Text] The economic crisis in Africa and fear of the "Libyans" have made French-language concerns secondary.

The 7th French-African summit conference was opened on 8 May by President Giscard d'Estaing at a banquet in Nice, capital of the department of Alpes Maritimes. It ended on 10 May with a press conference in the Negresco "grand siecle" rooms. The red and green roof of this famous palace overhangs the splendid Promenade des Anglais and is certainly well-known to royalty. But this was the first time so many African personages had gotten together and enjoyed its discreet charms: 26 delegations leaders made up an absolute majority of the OAU, and 15 of them were heads of state. "Too bad!" said an onlooker in the crowd assembled at the entrance. "These Negro heads of state are all poor people who come to see Giscard just to get their hands on our money. Now, if they were just Arabs, we'd be better off because of the petrodollars."

Condemned to Help

The truth is that this 7th summit conference had nothing euphoric or amusing about it. In Paris in 1978, the participants were wondering about the meaning of the second invasion of Shaba; and in Kigali, in 1979, they laughed behind their hands as they watched Bokassa's antics out of the corners of their eyes, because everybody knew that his political fate was sealed. This time there was nothing to distract them. The opportunities for recreation yielded to numerous and austere subjects for concern.

"For once," Niger President Seyni Kountche told us, "we felt we had been listened to and understood." Indeed, the discussions revolved around the serious economic crisis that has beset Africa's economy for the last 2 years, with its inflation, deteriorating balance of payments, and food shortages.

True, everyone hastened to emphasize that the French head of state is not Africa's intermediary or even spokesman with his counterparts in the industrialized countries. Nevertheless, African leaders are counting on him to play the part of mediator.

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It is all a matter of knowing whether the rich countries will let themselves be charmed by the African siren-song when they, too, are confronting worrisome economic problems. The Europeans are condemned to help us, say the African heads of state, because by doing so they help themselves. Without African orders for manufactured goods and equipment, some European factories would have to close their doors.

"The fact is that for some African countries," said President Kountche, "the problem is no longer one of aid for development but for national survival." That is why all the participants listened with interest to President Giscard d'Estaing's progress report on setting up a Euro-Arab-African trilogue. "That's a subject that brings all Africans together," we were told by Mr Henri Jean Baptiste, the technical advisor to the president of the French Republic. Even the Algerians, who do not take part in the French-African forum, are "very interested" in the project, said the French "trilogue" specialist. France says it has rallied its European partners behind the idea and is only waiting for a formal commitment from the OAU and the Arab League to convene a special summit conference that would institutionalize this trilateral exchange.

On the other hand, the institutionalization of the "French-style commonwealth" that President Senghor has been pushing for 30 years is still having problems. Of course, given the respect normally shown the Senegalese head of state, his counterparts do not dare or wish to displease him by opposing his plan. In fact, he was enjoined to continue his mission with the establishment of a veritable permanent secretariat linked with the Cultural and Technical Cooperation Agency.

A conference of Foreign Affairs ministers scheduled in Dakar for next November will rule on the question. But as of now it seems that there is little chance that the "organic community" dear to the Senegalese leader will be greeted with any unanimity. "We don't want it," Gabon President Omar Bongo told us flatly, and he added, "It's a new form of colonialism. It's up to Giscard to defend Francophonie, not us Africans."

Besides these subjects, others were the subject of numerous side discussions. There was Chad, where the trend was to ask for UN intervention. Since the Africans can't separate the enemy brothers of Ndjamen, they will ask the "blue-helmets" to do it, especially since with the withdrawal of French troops, which most of the participants privately regret, everybody is afraid Libya will invade Chad.

The Family Circle

Was it to prevent this threat that Presidents Omar Bongo and Gnassingbe Eyadema have been feverishly active on the African stage? Gabon President Bongo went to Algiers after bringing together for more than 2 hours in his Negresco apartment two of the protagonists in the conflict, Mr Abba Siddick and Colonel Abdelkader Kamougue. The latter was visibly afflicted by

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a cold that had nothing diplomatic about it, President Bongo's trip was taken not only to bring up the problem of the Sahara but especially to talk about Chad so that his Algerian hosts might intervene with their turbulent Libyan neighbor. Meanwhile, Togo Head of State Eyadema was to try to put out the fire in Ndjamena or at least obtain a cease-fire from the belligerents.

The 7th summit at Nice will not have been useless if only because it favored the harmonization and growth of certain main political trends, not to mention the attendance for the first time of some non-French language heads of state, such as Somalian Syad Barre and Sierra Leonian Siaka Stevens, which struck a special note at this meeting. Perhaps the 8th summit conference, scheduled for Kinshasa in May 1981, will have the family circle grow even more.

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

BOKASSA TALKED ABOUT ALTHOUGH IGNORED BY IVORY COAST PRESS

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 21 May 80 p 28

[Text] One morning an American diplomat posted to Abidjan was taking his dog for an early morning walk not far from the immense residence for distinguished guests at Cocody, the residential quarter of the Ivory Coast capital.

Suddenly he crossed the path of an African who, like him, was taking his dog for a walk. Distractedly, the diplomat greeted him with a slight wave of his hand. To which the African replied in the same way.

Several tens of meters farther on, the American, stupefied, thought better of it: he had just met Jean-Bedel Bokassa.

That American diplomat is one of the rare individuals who have been able to see the former corporal in the French Army, the former emperor of Central Africa, a refugee in Ivory Coast since his overthrow in September 1979. Because Bokassa moves around like a breath of air. He could live as well in Abidjan as in Yamoussoukro (the "village" where President Felix Houphouet-Boigny was born) in the center of Ivory Coast. It is also reported that he was established in a villa belonging to a certain dignitary at Gagnoa, nearly 150 km northwest of the capital. For him as for others, the deposed tyrant would rather have found refuge in the region of Daloa, in the west-central part of the country. To add to the mystery, the press and television, no doubt on government instructions, do not breathe a word of the "imperial" presence. For the rest, the officials give very bad treatment to those indiscreet people who try to seek out the exile. At Gagnoa, according to some people, it would be impossible to show interest in him without calling upon oneself the worse kind of unpleasantness from the security services. However, his stays in Abidjan do not go unnoticed: the number of armed guards, patrolling around the residence for illustrious guests, suddenly increases in a significant way....

However, in spite of the strict security measures (and perhaps measures of discretion imposed upon him), Jean-Bedel Bokassa makes himself talked about,

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even if the local press ignores him. Both Ivory Coast justice and French justice have seized upon his complaint against French businessman Bernard Tapie, whom Bokassa accuses of having "swindled" him by dishonestly depriving him of his chateaux and other property in France (see JEUNE AFRIQUE No 992 and No 998). Although the matter has not yet been cleared up, it is believed to be a fact that Bernard Tapie owes several million dollars to the former non-commissioned officer of the Colonial Army....As for the French businessman, he maintains he owes nothing. At any rate, he might have declared, the proceeds from the sale of Bokassa's possessions would go to UNICEF (United Nations Fund for Children). Might not the deposed emperor's stay in Abidjan be a kind of recognition of a debt, a service rendered by President Felix Houphouet-Boigny to a "friendly" foreign power? That is reported. At any rate, it is possible only because the "old man," faithful to his friends, still controls, at 74 years, the country and the single party (Ivory Coast Democratic Party--PDCI) with a firm hand. Which explains the discretion which surrounds the "butcher of Bangui."

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ANGOLA

CUBANS STILL PRESENT DESPITE REPORTEDLY LOW MORALE

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French No 1010, 14 May 80 p 33

[Article by Francois Soudan]

[Text] It is called the History of a Betrayal. Some 45 minutes of shocking images, montage of filmed documents and photographs of archives, which the propaganda section of the single Angolan party has been taking from town to village across the country for two months. The "betrayal" is, of course, that of Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the unconquerables of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] who are still carrying on sporadic guerrilla actions in the south. For the Luanda authorities, the goal of the operation is twofold: to discredit the rebel chief a little more, but also to legitimize the presence of the Cuban "internationalist comrades" at the time when many rumors are speaking of their imminent departure from Angola.

Jonas Savimbi and his 3,000 men are in fact in a critical position. Even if they still enjoy a strong current of support among the Ovimbudu peasants, even if they succeed from time to time in carrying out a few audacious raids--like the one at the beginning of January which got all the way to the gates of Munenga, 200 Km south of Luanda--the guerrilla fighters of UNITA are more and more feeling the effects of isolation. In Africa only three countries are still sheltering the UNITA diplomats as they pass through: Ivory Coast, Senegal and Morocco--which would involve a few cadres from the FALA (Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, the armed branch of the movement). Besides, France, interested in Angola petroleum, seems to have turned its back on Savimbi; the United States is probably getting ready--finally--to recognize the Angolan Luanda Government. China itself has not furnished weapons for some time. There remains South Africa, which shelters the UNITA camps, but which seems ready to "abandon" the movement if Angola does the same with regard to the Namibian SWAPO. Hence, no doubt, the vast "tournament of explanations" carried out by an uneasy Savimbi in Washington, London, Bonn, Paris and Rabat in late 1979 and early 1980.

Among other declarations, Savimbi, for example, declared that he was on the point of proclaiming a "free Angolan republic" in the three provinces of

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the south, and that the Soviets were constructing in Tiger Bay, on the Atlantic Coast, a missile-launching base. Still according to the UNITA leader, Fidel Castro would be preparing to repatriate all his troops from Angola, "because their security is more and more threatened by the actions of our valiant FALA." In fact, 4 and 1/2 years after their arrival, the bearded ones seem rather in the process of becoming permanent. Today they amount to 20,000 soldiers and 6,500 technicians, teachers and doctors. This is certainly a much smaller number than in 1976 (they had reached the overall total of 50,000) but it has not decreased in 2 years.

Because of a few stunning setbacks, the Cubans have been removed from the vital domains of the economy (petroleum and mines) and the security services (taken over by East Germans). The Cubans are still training the popular militia and providing for the country's sanitary establishment, they fight with UNITA with varying degrees of success and try to get agricultural production going again--in spite of the incursions of armed bands claiming to belong to Holden Roberto and his FNLA in the great coffee plantations of Kwanza Norte.

It is true, on the other hand, that the morale of the Cubans is rather gloomy. It is enough to listen to the soldiers who have returned from Angola, in Havana, Cameguey or Santiago, to realize that their stay on the other side of the Atlantic has hardly aroused any revolutionary enthusiasm.

Finally, it is much more that feeling of being bogged down which weighs on the Cubans rather than any threat against their security. For the time being, there is no question of the bearded ones leaving Angola: the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] have not yet acquired the necessary organization and training to face the joint raids of UNITA and South African commandos alone. Kundi Payama, the minister of the interior and president Dos Santos, who went to Havana in February and in March were not mistaken. Both of them demanded a reinforcement of the Cuban military contingent.

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ANGOLA

BRIEFS

POSTAL AGREEMENT WITH GDR--A government agreement of cooperation in the area of postal services between the GDR and Angola was signed 25 April in East Berlin. According to the East German agency ADN, this agreement provides in particular for the establishment of "stable and regular" postal and telecommunications relations between the two countries, as well as technical cooperation in this area. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 9 May 80 p 1110] 9589

EXCHANGES WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES--Angola's commercial exchanges with the main socialist countries have been established as follows (according to the respective national statistics) during the past 2 years for which complete data are available: --with the USSR (in millions of rubles, 1 ruble equals approximately 6.43 French francs (FF): in 1977, exports to Angola, 69.2, and imports from Angola, 10.4; in 1978, exports to Angola, 47.8, and imports from Angola, 9.6; --with Poland (in millions of zlotys, 1 zloty equals approximately 0.13 FF): in 1977, exports to Angola, 27.7, and imports from Angola, 53.4; in 1978, exports to Angola, 113.3, and imports from Angola, 22.4; --with Romania (in millions of lei, 1 lei equals approximately 0.95 FF): in 1977, exports to Angola, 27.9, and imports from Angola, _____; in 1978, exports to Angola, 36.8, and imports from Angola, 59.5; --with the German Democratic Republic (in millions of GDR marks, 1 mark equals approximately 2.38 FF): total of exchanges 236 in 1977 and 233.7 in 1978. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 9 May 80 p 1110] 9589

POLISH CONSTRUCTION MATERIEL--Ten large front-end loaders have arrived in Luanda from Poland. They will be followed by another purchase, consisting of 45 caterpillar tractors, after the 260 which had been delivered in recent years. This construction materiel will be maintained by a maintenance station established by Poland in Luanda in 1979. [Text] [Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French No 215 9-22 Jun 80 p 27]

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CAMEROON

PRESIDENT AHMADOU AHIDJO INTERVIEWED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 18 Apr 80 pp 900-906

[Interview with Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of the United Republic of Cameroon
date and place of interview, name of interviewer not given]

[Text] [Question] In the opening speech of the Third Congress of the
Cameroonian National Union at Bafoussam, you declared that "it is under the
sign of the mastery of our development" that the congress was situated. Is
that sign to be considered as belonging to the "planned liberalism" which,
up to now, has been the principle of your development policy?

[Answer] If the Douala Congress in 1975 was that of maturity, the Bafoussam
Congress was placed under the sign of the mastery of our development thanks
to a better control over the mechanisms and over the process of our growth
by anticipation, planning, and applying reason and morality to economic
activities.

In fact, confronting the demands of today and those which Cameroon must face
at the dawn of the 21st century, it seemed necessary to watch attentively
over what must still be the final goal of our development, to keep up both
its rate and quality, at the same time that we are improving them, by always
consolidating even more the economic apparatus and by increasing its yield.

I have always maintained and I repeat now that there is no real progress
except that which carries positive values which have been tested by civili-
zation. It must elevate man and all men unceasingly in their being and in
their possessions. For Cameroon has chosen the cause of mankind both as a
goal and a means of development, for man to be the master of his destiny,
the judge and the beneficiary of his well-being.

It is for that reason that while completing our option of planned liberalism,
pursuing and reinforcing the option of self-reliant development, the mastery
of our development demands a seeking out of the ways and means that can lib-
erate us from a growth model where quality, rate and goals would tend to get
out of the control of the principal beneficiary of that growth which is the
Cameroonian man. This is a question of the deliberate will of the

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Cameroonians to assume first of all their own development, before trying to make that development profit the various outside cooperators.

Thus, at the end of 20 years of undeniable but necessarily insufficient progress, at the dawning of difficult and uncertain times, it has certainly become necessary for the Cameroonians, by a new conscious choice, to engage themselves in continuing and in perfecting the work that has been begun, but by channeling it, by containing it, by harmonizing it.

[Question] That mastery appears to the attentive observers of Cameroon all the more necessary since in the year 2000 the Cameroonian population will rise to 16 or 17 million inhabitants and the active population to 5 or 6 million workers. In your policy--on the general level of development--are you taking into account that demographic growth and the problems of education and employment that it will present?

[Answer] The mastery of our means for development necessarily implies taking into consideration that very important factor which is demographic growth.

As I stated at Bafoussam, in the year 2000 the population of Cameroon will rise to 16.5 million inhabitants; that figure will grow to 40 million in the year 2025 and it is quite obvious that the active population and the student population will follow the same evolution and in the same proportions.

That perspective could not leave us indifferent or be lost from view. It was also necessary from that very moment to call upon all the resources in the imagination of the people for rationalization and mastery of their behavior as well as their creative spirit so that the strategy of economic growth may include the problems presented by demographic expansion, education and employment in our entire development system.

Cameroon has one of the highest rates of school attendance in Africa and its active population is large. It is for that reason that the reform of our educational system has established the faculties of adaptation of the Cameroonian man as objectives to be pursued by promoting a national policy of long-range and immediate preparation for professional activity by the rapid and efficient transformation of a great number of persons into productive work forces, the constant improvement of the level of capacitation of the people, an adaptation of the programs and methods and techniques of professional training to the demands of national development.

In putting our employment policy into operation, we believe that it will be necessary to create a center for coordination, acting as a data bank and a labor exchange, which would include a permanent inventory of the possibilities of placement. This center of administrative and technical coordination of activities connected with employment, training and education would make up the national commission for nationalization of jobs.

Also, the facilities to be granted to investors will be a function of the capacity of the new companies to create a great number of jobs, and that

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action should double with the creation of mechanisms to control the execution of the obligations taken on by the investors.

Finally, the assessment for professional training to which the enterprises are subjected must be reconsidered.

[Question] The job problem is already present and at Bafoussam, emphasizing its seriousness, you indicated that the dispositions of the Investment Code should be again brought up to date with the intention of favoring the creation of a larger number of jobs. What measures are envisioned for that purpose?

[Answer] I think that I have already answered the first part of your question. I shall therefore limit myself to answering the second part.

Cameroon is carrying on a policy of overall social development tending to progressively transform passive social assistance into joint assistance and participation, in other words to prepare the people to help themselves. This could not excuse the state from granting its aid under various forms to the needy and to the handicapped.

Conscious of the fact that there cannot be any real balanced economic development without social justice, we are trying within the limits of the possible to progressively limit insecurity and injustice in the condition of the worker. It is thus that wages are constantly being revised; increases are always regressive, to the profit of the neediest social categories.

This is the action that we wish to continue within the framework of our policy of social justice, assured equally to all the people by a progressive redistribution of the fruits of growth specifically in the domain of housing and collective transport.

[Question] The doubling of the Cameroonian population between now and the year 2000 will certainly bring with it a growing urbanization. Certain experts estimate that the population of the cities will amount to 9 million inhabitants by the end of the century. Are there any plans for urban development and for a policy of modernization in preparation for that increase? At the same time is there any policy for checking the rural exodus?

[Answer] In Cameroon there is a clear and constant increase in urbanization and in the modernization of housing. It is for this purpose that organizations like the Housing Company of Cameroon, the Land Credit and the Mission for Management and Equipment of Urban and Rural Lots [MAETUR] have been created. It is also for this purpose that a ministry in charge of Urbanism and Housing has been created.

It is however necessary to recognize that faced with the rapid growth of the population, the big cities, because of the attraction that they have on the citizens of the countryside, cannot welcome all Cameroonians. The problem

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of the rural exodus is therefore of concern and solutions are necessary before it can be checked.

At first, it is necessary to create aspirations and awaken energy among the rural masses by ensuring the development of community activities in the countryside in a cooperative framework; it is also necessary to guarantee a just remuneration for agricultural products, improve the organization of the rural way of life with the aim of making the countryside more attractive, guarantee the granting of facilities for setting up young people and allowing them access to ownership.

In the end, it is a question of acting in such a way that the village community will become a living reality on the human scale offering a balanced framework of management. It is therefore a question of a real and complete renovation of the rural environment in order to make the village community into a political, economic, social and cultural unit, revitalized and consequently viable.

[Question] Before the Bafoussam Congress, all the provincial governors, all the party sections received a questionnaire to associate them with the research into the directions which are to become those of the Fifth Plan. Can you give us some more precise data on the overall directions that that questionnaire has advanced?

[Answer] If we took that initiative, it was with the goal of associating all Cameroonians with the research into the directions which will be the directions of the country during the next 5 years. It is that association and that participation which are guiding our actions. This is the place to congratulate ourselves on the results of that massive and enriching consultation, whose results are being felt in the general orientation and the resolutions taken by the Congress.

[Question] Tomorrow Cameroon may have petroleum revenues available which will be added to its present revenues, principally based, as is known, on the exports of raw materials.

Would it be possible for you to let us know how your petroleum revenues will be used? Will they be devoted more to the development of economic infrastructures and to great industrial projects rather than to the development of the social and cultural infrastructures, or vice versa...?

[Answer] As you know, the public receipts, whatever their source, are not assigned a specific destination as a function of their origin. I will simply declare to you that the determination of development priorities is an autonomous process, which is in no way dependent on the nature of the various public resources.

That having been stated, the petroleum revenues are public receipts like the others and will contribute, as part of the resources of the state, to the financing of national development within the framework of the priorities outlined in the Plan.

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It is obvious that according to our established conception economic development properly called, especially that of the infrastructures and of productive operations, which condition social progress, must still have priority.

[Question] In the same way and on a more general level, how do you envisage as of now the financing of economic and social development in Cameroon, taking petroleum into account? For example, in the Fifth Plan, what will be the shares of internal and foreign financing? Will borrowing be an exception or will it become an essential means of financing?

[Answer] For the moment, the receipts from our petroleum production are still very modest with relation to the other receipts and chiefly with regard to our immense financing needs.

The financing of our economic and social development will certainly be assured in part by this new source of revenue. However, on the whole and more particularly within the Fifth Development Plan, which is now being drawn up, the structure of our financing will probably not undergo any major change with relation to the preceding periods.

Cameroon will therefore continue as in the past, as the cases occur, and within the measure of its capacity for repayment, to call on foreign loans taking into account its enormous needs for financing.

[Question] Within the same order of ideas, what do you understand by "the mastery of the centers of decision in Cameroonian banks" that you spoke of in your report to the Congress of the UNC?

[Answer] One of the major concerns of the Cameroonian banking reform was and still is the mastery of the centers of decision in the banks operating in our country. This concern aims at making this formerly foreign-oriented sector an instrument of choice in the financing of our development.

This reform specifically called upon the banks:

--to be constituted either in the form of a corporation or in the form of a limited joint stock company and as such to be corporations under Cameroonian law. It must be noted in this respect that before that reform, the foreign banks were content to open simple agencies in Cameroon ruled by the laws of the country they were from;

--to reserve at least one-third of their capital for Cameroonian public interests, that percentage proportionally giving the right to active participation to general assemblies and to administrative councils inside which important decisions are taken with regard to orienting the activities of the banks;

--to be directed by Cameroonians; it is thus that, with rare exceptions justified by technical constraints and for a time that is necessarily limited, the management of all banks is and should be assumed by Cameroonians.

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Additionally, all the presidents of the boards of directors of the banks are chosen by the government from among the Cameroonian administrators and the representation of public interests is assured not only on the highest level of bank management, but also on the level of specialized and technical committees, which are invested by delegation with certain powers of decision.

[Question] At Bafoussam, you also indicated that the industrial development of Cameroon will specialize in "intensifying the policy of transforming local materials and the creation of agro-industrial complexes covering great areas."

What kinds of financing do you plan to call on for carrying out this objective? What will be the share reserved to private Cameroonian capital and foreign private capital and what more generally will be the share of the Cameroonian and foreign private sectors in the Cameroonian economy?

[Answer] As in fact I emphasized in my speech on general policy to the Bafoussam Congress, the agricultural sector will for a long time still be the key sector of our economic development. Also we shall continue to put our emphasis on increasing the value of that sector by encouraging the transformation of local raw materials on the spot, specifically by the creation of large agro-industrial complexes.

Since such projects need large investments, a call on foreign capital will certainly be made. At the same time, we shall spare no effort on the one hand to stimulate local savings and the participation of private Cameroonian capital in the financing of our projects and, on the other hand, to encourage a fruitful association between the foreign private sector and the national private sector.

[Question] Can you tell me as of now what the total amount of the 1980-1981 budget is and what its economic and social priorities are? In your next budget has an increase in credits extended to public investments been granted in the sector of infrastructures, since certain investment programs were delayed in 1979-1980?

[Answer] Since the 1980-1981 budget is still being drawn up, it is premature to determine its total amount and the priorities which, as is customary, will be the subject of compromises on the government level before they are examined and approved by the National Assembly.

As far as the investment budget is concerned, I have given strict instructions to the various responsible people in the ministerial departments to take care to speed up the rate of consumption of those credits.

I must declare that in addition to the development of agriculture which is still the priority sector as I have already emphasized, we shall exert a more sustained effort on infrastructures.

[Question] Judging that criticism is a "sign of health," you have cited a certain number of intervening organisms created within the framework of the

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Cameroonian policy of planned liberalism which have not effectively carried out their missions. You have criticized the participation of the state in the industrial enterprises and you have announced a new approach to "privileged supervision." What measures do you intend to take so that those criticisms will not have to be made again in the future?

[Answer] In order to remedy that deplorable situation, we shall watch to see that that participation is more selective and that the supervision is better adapted to permit private initiative to fully assume its responsibilities.

It must be hoped that the measures to be taken concerning state participation in industrial enterprises and the new approach in privileged supervision will contribute to forestalling or correcting the observed errors.

[Question] The Cameroonian Administration has the reputation of working seriously but at times it seems to have the defects of its virtues. What measures has your government taken, on the eve of the Fifth Plan, to permit a simplification and a speeding up of administrative procedures in the interests of the country itself, when for example it is a question of the documentation of investments that are projected?

[Answer] It is obviously difficult to conciliate the need for serious and efficient control with the need for a speed-up in the study of the investment documents. I honestly believe that it is not in the interest either of the administration or of the investors to precipitate the taking of decisions without thoroughly measuring in advance all the consequences on the level of the overall economy.

We are aware of the effort which must still be made to make our administration into a more and more efficient instrument in the service of development. I recall however that I have already prescribed a rather rigorous procedure and timetable to the members of the government concerning the study of the investment files. I must also emphasize that certain recommendations of the Administrative Problem Technical Study Committees, established in February 1977, have been applied. I will cite among others:

- the reinforcement of the powers of the chiefs of the administrative divisions for the purpose of speeding up the central services;
- the suppression of certain administrative oversights which unnecessarily delayed their passage through the departments;
- the centralization of the procedure of drawing up contracts for the public markets in order to reduce the time spent on that procedure;
- the revision now being made of the Investment Code in order to adapt it to the new demands of our economic development.

[Question] In your speech at Bafoussam you regretted the "disillusioning results" of the North-South Dialogue and the recent setback of the Fifth UNCTAD. To what causes do you essentially attribute that lack of results?

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The member countries of the OECD, and particularly the member countries of the European Economic Community who renewed the Lome Convention with the ACP [American, Caribbean and Pacific Countries] know that they have devoted more efforts and more resources than others have in the development of the Third World countries. They had the impression at the Third General Conference of UNIDO at New Delhi that those efforts, even if they were insufficient, were not recognized. Does that impression seem to you to be justified? If it is, wouldn't it be likely to cause a certain discouragement on their part?

[Answer] It is in fact unanimously admitted that the North-South Dialogue, and more generally all the pledged agreements tending to modify the economic relations between the developed countries and the developing countries in the direction of equity, for a "new international economic order," have not given the results that people had a right to expect of them.

In fact, the principal objectives given to those agreements have not been achieved, for example:

--the need to organize a new international division of labor;

--the reevaluation of raw materials, particularly those of agricultural origin, especially by instituting remunerative prices, the stabilization of export receipts, as well as measures ensuring the transformation of the raw materials in the producing countries;

--putting international economic and monetary relations on a healthy basis with the aim of intensifying the flow of capital toward the developing countries under acceptable conditions and according to acceptable methods.

In our opinion, that absence of results is essentially due to the lack of a political desire to bring the matter to a head which predominates on the level of the rich countries, and correlatively in the lack of a real desire to negotiate on the part of the developed countries. Those countries, wrapped up in their selfishness and their desire for domination, refuse to recognize the growing interdependence of the economies and of the desire of the poor countries to participate in the general development. They do not admit the idea of a development model granting more respect to the essential needs of the poor countries and the establishment of more balanced and juster relations of cooperation.

It is also fitting to emphasize that the resistance of the developed countries is all the stronger because the new international order to which our countries legitimately aspire should be not only economic but political. The final declaration of the Colombo Conference (August 1976) is clear in this regard, when it specifies as I quote: "It is undeniable that an inherent connection exists between politics and economics, and it is erroneous to envisage economic questions in isolation without taking into account the political questions. A total modification of the political attitudes and the manifestation of a new political will are indispensable preliminary conditions if we wish to set up a new international economic order." (End of quotation.)

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Under different circumstances we have paid homage to the positive aspects of the agreements binding the countries of the European Economic Community to the countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, especially concerning exchange rates, the stabilization of export receipts and the agreement on sugar, financial assistance, institutional dispositions etc.

We consider the EEC-ACP Convention as containing the premises of a new kind of relationship between Europe and the developing countries, as an evolutionary approach on the difficult road to putting a new world-wide economic order into effect. In fact, its value is in the hopes that it opens and in the realistic approach which has permitted the most sensitive problems of the developing countries' economies to be taken into consideration. However, let us declare this, if the EEC-ACP agreement presents the premises of a new kind of relationship, if it represents a step forward in the present situation of the inegalitarian world in which we live, it cannot pretend to have solved everything. The asperity of the arguments which concluded that agreement and the resentments expressed there, bear witness to it.

Thus, if within the framework of UNIDO, the efforts of the European Economic Community and those of the member countries of the OECD appear to have been minimized, it is without doubt because the ACP partners consider the progress made in the realm of aid for industrialization as particularly insufficient.

The objective set at Lome in 1975 by the second general conference of UNIDO to raise the industrial production of the Third World at the end of this century to 25 percent of world production is far from being achieved. And everything allows us to believe that at the present rate that production will not go beyond 13 percent in the year 2000!

The ACP strongly hope to be endowed with the necessary infrastructures for their industrial development and to be assured of openings on the European market for their industrial products. They are demanding in fact a new international division of labor. In this context, the creation of a "center for industrial development" may seem laughable when the ACP are insistently demanding the creation of an industrial development fund--distinct from the EDF--endowed with its own budget, in whose management they will be associated.

These demands by the ACP on the methods to be put into action to favor a closer industrial cooperation, demands that met with disillusionment on the level of the general conference of UNIDO at New Delhi should on the contrary lead the member countries of the EEC, already engaged in making daring innovations in the relations between industrialized countries and developing countries, to again take up the negotiations with a view of defining a new policy of industrial cooperation which would effectively permit the developing countries to industrialize themselves and to participate in the international division of labor in that domain.

[Question] However, up to now the cooperation of Cameroon with France and the other countries of the EEC seems to have given you satisfaction. For the

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eventual growth of that cooperation, what would be your suggestion, on the one hand concerning Franco-Cameroonian cooperation and on the other hand the cooperation of Cameroon with Western Europe?

At the same time, do you hope for a more active collaboration with the other western countries, Americans (United States and Canada) and Europeans (not members of the EEC)?

[Answer] It is only just to recognize that our cooperation with France is exemplary in every way. Cooperation with the other countries is also giving us legitimate motives for satisfaction. That does not mean that the cooperation of Cameroon with France and with the other EEC countries is exclusive or that it entirely fulfills our immense needs. We are open to cooperation without regard to frontiers as soon as it promises reciprocal advantages, a respect for our sovereignty and our independence and if it does not mean interference or alignment. Our cooperation, which is greater and greater with the western countries in general, the United States, Canada, etc., proceeds from that philosophy.

For the eventual growth of that cooperation, our suggestions would be placed on two levels:

1) in the immediate future:

a) a growth in the volume of financial resources to be transferred from the pledging countries to our country; the fulfillment of the objective fixed for the second decade of development, or in other words an aid from the developed countries equal to 0.7 percent of their GNP. And taking into account the possibility, it would not be excessive to hope that that aid would reach 1 percent of the GNP. A restructuring of the debt and making the conditions for aid more flexible are part of that objective.

In the case of France, in this context, we shall be led to request the assistance accrued within the framework of the FFAC [Aid and Cooperation Fund] and in the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation (first and second wickets particularly) to finance our great projects for production and to buy equipment.

b) the intensification and the diversification of cooperation for the realization of our communication, health, education and cultural infrastructures.

c) a greater assistance for the training of technical cadres and a better understanding for transferring technology.

2) In a progressive way, and with a care for integrating the development of cooperation in the pursuit of our claim for a new international economic order, we are adopting as our own the proposals generally formulated by the Third World countries, as follows:

a) a regulation of the raw material markets and of basic products, according to cases; stockpiling provisions in order to stabilize the receipts that they

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get from trade in those products in real terms, in other words at price levels indexed on the prices of the industrial products that they import; of a reevaluation of the prices of those products, in order to take into account the ever-present inflation and the fluctuations in exchange rates, for the purpose of ameliorating the terms of exchange for the producers; and encouragement for transforming those products in their countries of origin.

b) some measures facilitating access to the markets of the developed countries for the basic products and the raw materials as well as for the manufactured products of our countries, which involves the suppression of tariff and non-tariff obstacles to the entry of manufactured articles from our countries into the industrialized countries inventive measures to facilitate industrial investments and the transfers of technology to our countries.

c) taking into consideration the cultural dimension of the cooperation equation, so that the affirmation of the cultural identities of our countries and the search for social models of our own will not constitute an obstacle to the development of cooperation.

[Question] In 1978 and 1979, "Cameroonian Days" were organized in France and in the Federal Republic of Germany. Were you satisfied with those two promotional events in Europe? What concrete results have you obtained from them? Are any promotional events anticipated in 1980 and 1981?

[Answer] In fact, in 1976 and 1978 Cameroon organized some Economic Days in France and in the Federal Republic of Germany. Also, in 1979 an investment mission went to the United States of America and to Canada. Those days and missions had as their essential goals:

--to make Cameroon and its economic potentials better known abroad;

--to encourage private investment in Cameroon.

On the whole I must declare that those operations were a great success and were warmly welcomed by the business circles in the countries visited. As a result we have seen since then a new interest in business circles in investing in Cameroon. For example, we are still receiving missions of businessmen who come to inquire on the spot about the possibilities of investment or perhaps to continue negotiating the arrangements begun at the time of their journeys.

If it is difficult to quote to you statistical data on the results of those promotional events, one thing is sure, and that is that they have had a very real impact on strengthening economic relations between Cameroon and the countries we visited, especially on the trade level and in the sector of small and medium enterprise.

Finally, we think that the outcome of those promotional events has established a greater understanding between our partners and ourselves to the degree where

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our objectives and our concerns on the question of development have been better perceived and better understood. We shall therefore continue such promotion in other countries, especially Spain, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands in coming years.

[Question] The industrial cooperation of the PMI [small and medium industries]--French or not--with Africa is developing and we know that Cameroon considers it an indispensable means for its industrialization. What have you anticipated to stimulate it? What are the formulas that seem to you the most effective for conciliating the interests of the Cameroonian enterprises and the PMI?

[Answer] The promotion of small and medium enterprises with Cameroonian capital and directors constitutes an important stepping-stone in our development policy since we believe that this sector, which needs a relatively modest financial investment and which puts into action relatively unsophisticated technology, can even better, as an initial step, respond to our needs. From this point of view the government hopes for and encourages the constitution in Cameroon of a real class of small Cameroonian businessmen not only to favor the activities of retail business, but also to create jobs as well as to create an embryo of industry chiefly in the secondary cities. To this effect the government has established provisions permitting assistance to enterprises both on the study level and on the financing level and on the realization of projects.

The National Assistance Center for Small and Medium Enterprise, whose role was limited up to now to assistance in management, has also been assigned the mission of encouraging projects by Cameroonian promoters in the idea stage and the creation of small and medium production enterprises.

The Aid and Guarantee Fund, whose resources are constantly growing, guarantees the credits granted to small and medium enterprises by commercial banks.

Finally, on the level of the National Credit Council a request has been made of the commercial banks to devote 20 percent of their rediscount quota to the financing of small and medium enterprises. All these measures should in the future be able to give a new impulse to the creation of PMI and we can see nothing but advantages in a close cooperation between Cameroonian enterprises and foreign PMI, the latter generally contributing technical knowledge and a complement of financing.

[Question] In conformity with your principle of "cooperating without discrimination," do you hope--and under what form--to have closer relations on the economic level with the "socialist" countries?

Don't the interventions in Africa of certain of those countries seem to you to be of a kind to limit the extension of those relations for the time being?

[Answer] What we declared earlier with relation to the question asked earlier is valid as far as "socialist" countries are concerned.

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We are pleased to emphasize the quality of the various kinds of cooperation that we are developing, especially with the People's Republic of China.

In the same way the completion of the Dschang Agricultural School and that of the Mbalmayo School of Waters and Forests by the USSR are a symbol of cooperation between our two countries.

You have brought up the "interventions in Africa by certain socialist countries" and their bearing on the development of cooperation with those countries.

We consider that in that domain each African country must assume responsibility for its own choices. As for us, we assume it fully and without any complexes and we are still vigilant so that the limits and the principles that we assign to all cooperation worthy of that name are not overstepped. By that I mean that it must be an enterprise of solidarity with reciprocal benefits and be respectful of the independence and the sovereignty of each state.

[Question] And the UDEAC [Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa]? Does its market offer today any interesting penetrations for Cameroon? Would a broadening of UDEAC be possible? Could ECOWAS eventually be a "protective structure" for Cameroon?

[Answer] In spite of the inevitable difficulties inherent in this kind of enterprise, the balance of UDEAC's activities is eminently positive and we can judge that it has been consolidated as one of the most solid foundations for African unity and an effective instrument for development in each one of our states.

We think that a broadening of UDEAC is objectively possible, to the degree where all the states of the subregion satisfy the criteria which presided over the creation of UDEAC, in other words the imperatives of geography, the common historical heritage, ethnic affinities, the necessity of pooling their efforts and their resources in regional cooperative organisms constituting realistic, articulated and coherent economic wholes.

UDEAC is therefore in principle an organization open to all the countries of the subregion which are animated by a political desire to participate in the developmental efforts of our subregion as a whole.

Of course, for several years Cameroon has been carrying on privileged relations with most of the member countries of ECOWAS, but Cameroon is a Central African country and a founding member of UDEAC. Which means that it is difficult to envisage that ECOWAS can be "eventually a protective structure for Cameroon." However, as we have stated, African unity cannot be achieved except through concentric circles of solidarity which, starting with a realistic regional cooperation, will spread from one place to another as it awakens the conscience of the masses until it reaches the continental scale.

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In this context, it is the approximation of ECOWAS to UDEAC which should be eventually sought.

[Question] While examining in your report to the Congress the deficit of Cameroon's trade balance you announced some possible administrative measures for dealing with a crisis. What will those measures be? The ONCPB [National Basic Necessities Marketing Office]--whose leading role in Cameroon's foreign trade must be emphasized--will it have its resources increased in order to insure an even more active promotion of basic products on the international markets?

[Answer] In fact, in my report to the Congress, as I spoke of the deficit in the trade balance, a balance which, it must be pointed out, is essentially due to the effort undertaken by the government to industrialize the country, I announced that I was going to take a certain number of measures for the purpose of correcting that imbalance.

On the subject of measures of an administrative type, there is room to mention:

- the regulation of imports of products whose domestic supply is sufficient;
- a more rigorous selection of products to be admitted free of duties and taxes within the framework of the public markets;
- a reinforcement of customs control in the border posts;
- an effective establishment of the National Center for Foreign Trade;
- the creation of a bank for foreign trade.

Finally, the most important structural measures will bear on the increase of our capacities for industrial and agricultural production. In the same way the communication infrastructures will be strengthened and a way sought to diversify our partners.

As far as the National Basic Necessities Marketing Office [ONCPB] is concerned, an increase in its resources is the function on the one hand of the volume of the products marketed and on the other hand that of the acceptance of those products on the international market. However, taking into account the mission which has been assigned to that organization, it is evident that we shall put everything into action to grant sufficient means to permit it to play an effective role in the promotion of our basic products. I must add that the promotional activities carried out by the office are further complemented on the one hand by those of the economic and trade missions of Cameroon in foreign countries and on the other hand by those which the National Center for Foreign Trade will soon undertake. In a general way, no effort will be spared to make our trade policy more enterprising, more active than in the past.

[Question] Finally, on the international level you have often spoken of Cameroon's unity with the struggles of the peoples for their independence.

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However, you have stated that "in spite of the changes that have taken place in the team in power in Pretoria, the apartheid policy of the racist South African Government has not undergone any modification." Certain members of South African Prime Minister Botha's party have been finding fault with him on the contrary for too great a liberalism in the policy if not the total renunciation of the "management" of apartheid. Do you think that if the present South African Government gave proof of liberalism as compared to its predecessors the African states should accept having contacts with it or that no contact is possible without the preliminary renunciation of the apartheid policy?

[Answer] It is a fact that until recent times no important change has taken place in the inhuman apartheid policy of the racist South African Government. Unless the "vertical" modification is considered as progress.

At the same time we must consider that with the effect of a certain number of factors--the political isolation of South Africa, the reprobation of the international community, the pressure of the blacks in South Africa who, under the resolute impulse of the liberation movements, the ANC and the PAC, have the courage to challenge the onerous police system and the scoundrelly South African laws, and finally the liberation of the countries which surround South Africa (Angola, Mozambique), the recent triumph of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, the probable victory of SWAPO in Namibia,--the racists have been brought to think about the inexorable course of history.

Thus the most realistic of those racists, especially Prime Minister Botha, believe that they can channel the powerful breath of liberty by "managing" apartheid, which would consist in weakening certain provisions called "petty apartheid" and also to promote to a certain degree a black petit-bourgeoisie.

But we must not give in to any illusions. In South Africa, it will always be a question of the same reality: racial oppression, the cynical and limitless domination of the majority by a minority. It will always be a question of the same absurdity: that of a system which bases its reason for being on contempt and the denial of equality among men and which erects the superiority of the white man endowed with power into a doctrine and scorns all the rights of the black man.

In reality the management of apartheid does not change the basis of the problem. For it is necessary to consider that the South African problem goes beyond the simple recognition of the claim for respect of the rights of man which postulate the equality of the races, the liberty of expression, and the equality of opportunity.

Since South Africa is no one's colony, the South African problem is presented in the same terms as the Rhodesian problem. Its a question of terminating the shameful domination of the majority by a minority.

Thus beyond the fact that South Africa is not ready to abandon apartheid, which it rightly or wrongly considers as a necessity for survival and for

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the perpetuation of white domination, beyond the fact that it is not ready to envisage democratic practices and majority rule, the duty of the African countries--or rather the duty of all countries devoted to peace and liberty-- is to maintain all possible forms of pressure on South Africa in order to make it renounce its inhuman policy.

In any case, Cameroon is not ready to establish contacts with South Africa as long as the present state of affairs lasts. Cameroon urges all the countries devoted to peace and liberty, whose complacency in regard to South Africa consolidates that country in its arrogance, to strive in the same direction as the African countries for the triumph of justice, morality, dignity and right in South Africa.

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CAMEROON

NEW COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH EEC

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 16 May 80 p 1157

[Text] Financial aid from the European Development Fund (EDF) to Cameroon for the next 5 years will total between 65 and 77 million European accounting units (19 and 22.5 billion CFA francs), according to an agreement signed in Yaounde on 30 April between Klaus Meyer, general director of development of the EEC, and Pierre-Desire Engo, Cameroonian vice minister of economy and planning.

On the occasion of Meyer's visit, Engo expressed the position that it is vital for the future of cooperation between the EEC and associated nations that while it improve in quality, such cooperation must avoid any substantial reduction in volume.

Engo referred to the repair of an initial section of the Douala-Yaounde railroad and the modernization of the port of Douala, two projects successfully carried out, partly thanks to the assistance of the EEC. He also stated that the Cameroonian Government had already embarked upon the procedure of ratifying the new Lome Convention.

The agreement signed makes it possible to establish the provisional financial and technical cooperation program within the framework of the Lome II Convention between Cameroon and the EEC. It specifies that 19.8 million accounting units (5,781,000,000 CFA francs) will be granted in the form of loans with special conditions and the rest in the form of nonrepayable aid.

The final amount of the sum will be set at the time of the reexamination of the provisional program, which will take place, in accordance with the Lome II Convention, during the period covered by the agreement.

Some 50 percent of the financial aid from the EEC will be for transportation infrastructures, 30 percent for rural development, 5 percent for training, 5 percent for health, and so on.

According to the agreement, the European Investment Bank may contribute to the financing of projects, particularly in the industrial, agroindustrial, tourist, mining and energy sectors.

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At their work meetings, the EEC representatives indicated to Cameroonian leaders that the amount of financial resources that could be allocated for regional projects in Central Africa (Cameroon, Chad, Gabon, the Central African Republic, the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome and Zaire) might be between 50 and 60 million accounting units (14.6 and 17.52 billion CFA francs).

The agreement indicates that Cameroon will also receive such aid by designing and proposing, in close cooperation with neighboring countries associated with the EEC, projects aimed at promoting the economic and social development of the region.

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CAMEROON

BRIEFS

CACAO PLANTING--On 15 April, an expert from the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization), Mr Bellon, visited the Cameroon Development Corporation for the purpose of gathering all necessary information in order, at the request of the Cameroonian Government, to draw up a national plan for the establishment of nurseries. The director of the Likomba cabbage palm plantation explained the preparation of the fruit of the oil palm and the process of setting up nurseries, particularly for coconut palms. Some 5,000 plants are produced by the Likomba nursery yearly. The two officials also discussed small plantation owners, the establishment of their nurseries, the hauling of plants and harvests and all factors affecting the drafting of the plan. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 16 May 80 p 1157] 11,464

EXPLORATORY OIL DRILLING--According to a 9 May bulletin from the CFP [French Petroleum Company], more drilling done on permit H17 in Cameroonian waters off the coast of Victoria by Total Exploration Production Cameroon, subsidiary of the CFP, on behalf of an equal partnership with Mobil Exploration Equatorial Africa, has gone through a layer impregnated with oil. Tests are underway and the oil flow obtained confirms the quality of the reserve. It should be recalled that initial drilling on this permit in the summer of 1979 had already found signs of oil. Further work (seismic and drilling) should make it possible to measure the extent of the reserve and to evaluate the amount of oil it contains. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 16 May 80 p 1157] 11,464

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CHAD

POLITICAL SITUATION IN CHAD ASSESSED

Paris L'EXPRESS in French 12-18 Apr 80 pp 102-104

[Article by Jacques Buob: "Chad--The Explosion"]

[Text] As with Sergio Leone, there is blood, dust, beating sun, friendship, bullets. And a final duel with an apocalyptic aspect. How can the war in Chad end if not with the death of one of the two heroes? For the point has been reached at which flight, negotiation, can no longer settle anything. At the end of the path of words, it is with blood that accounts are settled.

To what purpose the ceasefires, appeals for calm, mediation, so long as Hissene Habre and Goukouni Oueddei, combatants so close yesterday and so far apart today, remain face to face? Betrayed friendships engender the most adamant hatreds. What has become of the Chadian National Liberation Front (FROLINAT) of the days in which the two men fought together among the rocks and the lunar mountains of Tibesti against the Ndjama regime supported by Paris?

When on the second day of this second battle of Ndjama the two men met again for a last peace effort, they gave each other a paradoxical accolade imbued with the whole of their common past, their frustrated ambitions and their despairs.

Goukouni Oueddei, the frail and timid son of Derdei, the spiritual leader of the Tubu people, educated in a Koranic school, speaks French imperfectly and has no Western cultural background. He who never traveled farther from his Tibesti than Tripoli, knew only the best of the colonial era with the camel-riding officers who administered the northern provinces, and the worst, with the paratroopers' repression. He lost two brothers. He learned to mistrust servitude, to try to rally forces rather than impose his will. His hesitation and his doubt are his strength and his weakness.

Hissene Habre, arrogant and sure of himself, is the son of a shepherd who was sent to Paris to study by a French officer won over by his intelligence. From France he brought back diplomas and a good measure of realism and cynicism, an understanding of the wheels of politics and a style of speech which is bombastic but persuasive.

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Habre for his part is no man for compromise. For him it is all or nothing. He is impatient. So different, these men together made a beautiful team. Together they made of the riffraff of Tibesti a guerrilla army which stopped the French troops, and the kidnaping of Francoise Claustre contributed to catapulting the Tubu rebels into the forefront on the international scene. But how could these two leaders, who respected each other and knew each other so well, have got along in the confines of Ndjama, within the government itself, when the desert had already proved too small for both of them? They separated one day in 1975. Habre, to whom Goukouni had willingly yielded the leadership of the FROLINAT, was already pursuing a policy of stardom which was not much to the taste of the austere nomads of the North. The Claustre affair, which Goukouni had not liked very much, had somewhat worsened their relations. The action in Libya, finally, which at that time promised France an African Vietnam, consummated the divorce. Habre wanted to engage in combat with Tripoli, while Goukouni preferred to wait until matters were settled with General Malloum's regime. Hissene chose to leave. One fine morning he disappeared, taking with him into the desert some 50 faithful followers, to seek his fate elsewhere, leaving behind him no more than the print of his foot on the sand.

Nothing has changed since. It is simply that the chasm between them has deepened further, to the point of becoming an abyss. Habre went off, opportunistically, to play the game of France, which saw in him a means of reconciling the Christian animists of the South and the Moslems of the North, while blocking the path of Libyan ambition. When a year ago Hissene Habre ousted General Malloum, whose prime minister he had been, he still hoped to effect reconciliation with Goukouni Oueddei and to impose the unity of the strong on the factions in the South and all the others.

But the weak Goukouni had not changed his ideas one iota. He wanted to negotiate unity for all, to be the great Chadian rallying force. They could no longer end this conflict except by engaging in a savage battle, finishing the destruction of one of the poorest countries in the world.

So there they were face to face, these soldiers in fatigues looking as much alike as brothers, Hissene Habre's Armed Forces of the North (FAN), with a blue band on their shoulders, and Goukouni Oueddei's People's Armed Forces (FAP), with their white bands, cousins against cousins. They fought, and the torrid heat of noon did not stop them. For 20 days the successive ceasefires did not calm their rage for battle, their desire to finish with it once and for all. And the blood flowed. A thousand dead, perhaps, during the first 2 weeks. Ndjama emptied, and in the streets of its center, once filled with colorful costumes, nothing was to be seen but combatants, sometimes only children no taller than their Kalashnikovs, patrolling in the midst of the odor of death.

Across the Chari, which marks the frontier with Cameroon, now in its low-water season, uninterrupted lines of Chadians streamed back and forth, during the lulls. At the central hospital and university, in the midst

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combat zones, Red Cross teams and three international physicians operate and amputate on any available surface, without running water, splashing about in blood. In the deserted city, some 15 Frenchmen decided to remain at their risk and peril, because everything they have is here, not only their fortunes but a part of their past.

The battle of the two men is that of two leaders, whether they like it or not, as is the case with Goukouni Oueddei, who has never concealed his lack of any real personal ambition, his desire to return one day to the desert, his true fatherland. He has moreover already proposed giving up the command of the FAP if Hissene Habre will surrender his role with the FAN. This proposal is unacceptable to the former apprentice at the sub-prefecture of Chaumont, who cannot separate the battles he is waging from his personal role. Under these conditions, the battle will continue to the end.

The rules of this duel escape any analysis, any logic, and diplomacy, as everywhere else, is lost therein. France continues to experience its purgatory here. It cannot decide to pull out because no one wants its departure, neither Hissene nor Goukouni. It remains because it feels responsible for the drama in its former colony and feels somewhat to blame for it. It is further hanging on because Paris believes that there remains something to be rescued, if only by blocking the path of Tripoli or Moscow.

While the recoilless 106 guns rumble ceaselessly, while the 2 camps machine-gun each other with 14.5s, taking a street, then losing it, hardly advancing after so many murderous days, the 1100 soldiers at the French base count the casualties they occasionally suffer (1 dead, 4 wounded by wild shots), and operate what can still function in the city to prevent the savannah from taking over the area again. The military doctors at the base hospital are also operating and amputating in the midst of blood which there is no time to wash away between one patient and the next. In Kousseri, in the Cameroon on the other side of the river, the Emmir, the French army field hospital, is in full operation, on a war alert for the first time in its history.

French Ambassador Marcel Beaux remains, the last to be found in a city abandoned by all foreign diplomats. He finds himself in a convoluted situation, in a post for which none of his colleagues on the Quai d'Orsay envies him, crouching to avoid the bullets which whistle past the cathedral, crowded, simply dressed, into an unstable canoe on the Chari under a beating sun, the representative of Paris is trying to sponsor an African settlement from which France would not be excluded.

During the most recent ceasefire, arranged on 6 April by Gen Gnassingbe Eyadema, the president of Togo, he is still trying to repair the damage done by the stubbornness of the warring parties.

Goukouni immediately spread a wet blanket over the hope born of the signing of the text: "I am signing reluctantly." In brief, in order not to

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disappoint the president-general who had made such a great effort to obtain this fragile personal success. An effort to prevent newsmen from printing Goukouni's terrible statement served no purpose. The hope of seeing the battle end was so slim!

Between the "African-controlled Pinochet" (Habre, according to the FAP) and "Tripoli's man" (Goukouni, according to the FAN), neither Libya, nor France, nor Africa, nor anyone else is in a position to impose a solution. The chasm is so great between the two men, the two armies, that neither reason, nor pressures, nor the OAU, which dispatched its secretary general, Edem Kodjo, to Ndjamena, can apparently do anything now.

There remain only the guns, which came from Libya, Egypt or elsewhere, and are still sputtering. One day they will decide between these enemy brothers whose hair has whitened astonishingly, and who are risking here, in this war of absurdity, more than their future--their lives, and those of others.

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CONGO

CATHOLIC CHURCH STILL IN PROCESS OF REORGANIZATION

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 12-25 May 80 p 42

[Text] In the People's Republic of the Congo, the Catholics, who number 530,000 members, represent 36.8 percent of the population. After the overthrow of Abbe Fulbert Youlou, the puppet of the former colonial power, then above all following the proclamation of the choice of scientific Marxism in 1963, not everything was going for the best between the Catholic hierarchy and the government, as can be imagined. All the more so because one of the first measures taken by the new regime was to nationalize the schools and to suppress the youth movement and Catholic Action. For the Missionary Church that was the end of colonial privileges and the obligation to reorganize itself if it was not to lose all credibility.

The appointment of Monsignor Biayenda to the Archbishopric of Brazzaville in 1971 seems to have contributed to that reorganization to a great degree. In February 1972 the three bishops in the country published a pastoral letter inspired by the encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, by John XXIII: "Twelve years ago our people regained their independence and they are making every effort to construct national prosperity in spite of all difficulties; to struggle against underdevelopment, to ensure to the entire community and to each citizen an improvement in his life and the highest possible living standard with respect to the values of our culture. To accomplish this great step forward, Congo has chosen the socialist way. That way is not opposed to the evangelical message; it even coincides with it at least insofar as it is not necessarily connected with atheism and with a conception which disavows and contradicts the true dignity and the supernatural destiny of mankind."

Since then, a cooperation has begun between the revolutionary regime and the Church. At the national conference in 1972, which met under the initiative of President Ngouabi, a certain number of Christians were among delegates coming from all over the country and several priests and one pastor participated as representatives of the institutional churches.

In a general way, these churches were from that time on associated with the great events of the nation and their delegation came to give a message to

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the Congress of the Congolese Labor Party. "In Brazzaville and in the entire Congo today there exists a conviction among a growing number of Christians that the role of the Christian community is a determining factor in social change and for the success of a policy of independence and of promotion in the socializing line adopted by the country," Robert Ageneau and Denis Pryen wrote in a book consecrated to the "Third Church," which appeared under the title A New Age of the Mission, distributed by the magazine SPIRITUS.

It is known how the assassination of President Marien Ngouabi, on 18 Mar 1977, followed, several days later, by the kidnapping and murder of Cardinal Emile Biayenda--who had been the last person to see the president alive--plunged the country into tumult and two years of torment. Struck with a hard whip-lash by the disappearance of the archbishop--it was the first time in half a century that a member of the Sacred College found death under such tragic conditions--the Congolese Catholic Church saw its activities slowing down.

After the appointment of the new archbishop, Monsignor Batantu, a former curate of the Parish of Notre Dame de Bacongo (a popular quarter of the capital), the Congolese Church began to reorganize itself. However, it is not certain that the traumatism has yet been completely eradicated.

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CONGO

INCREASE IN PETROLEUM PRICES AIDS NATION'S ECONOMY

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANNEENS in French 16 May 80 pp 1159-1160

[Article: "Improvement of the Economic Situation, Thanks to Oil"]

[Text] Under the effect of the oil price rise, the Congolese economy has recovered to some extent since the beginning of the year. From 1.8 million tons in 1977 and 2.4 million tons in 1978, production of crude went to 2.8 million tons in 1979. The large investment program (100 billion CFA) decided on by the two operating countries, ELF [Gasoline and Lubricants Company of France]-Congo and AGIP [Italian Petroleum Enterprise], together with the contribution from the new deposits discovered, is the basis for forecasting production of more than 3 million tons in 1980, with 5 million tons reached in 1982.

The successive price rises are reflected in the volume of royalties, which went from 15 billion CFA in 1978 to 20 billion in 1979; this income is forecast at 40 billion for 1980, which would thus represent 60 percent of the funds for the operating budget. The improvement in budgetary intake has permitted resumption of regular payment of the salaries of the civil servants and accelerated settlement of the arrears and debts owed to the state's suppliers.

Nevertheless, despite the reasserted desire to put the state apparatus back in order and impose the rules of rigorous financial management on the national enterprises, the balancing of their expenditures will have to be ensured by increased and more economical productivity.

A certain disorganization of the public services, ideology entrenched at all levels, ill-considered demands, untimely and frequent stoppages in the production system, deficiency of the means of communication and of water and electric-power distribution: these remain disturbing problems.

In such a context, the private sector finds itself confronted with many difficulties, and the recovery of the public enterprises becomes problematic. Both in Brazzaville and in Pointe-Noire, some enterprises have been forced to shut down or limit their activity to a few hours a day because of lack of raw-materials supplies from the state organism that has a monopoly on impor-

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tations. At certain times, deliveries of rough lumber have been suspended. Cutoffs of water and energy supplies, deficiencies in the telephone and tel-ex systems, the deterioration and slowness of the traffic of the Congo-Ocean Railway, the precariousness and irregularity of the air connection between the capital and the port, mobilization of workers for reasons that are too often futile, and excessive absenteeism are restricting production and the profitability of the enterprises.

The enterprises have become no longer competitive: exports are down sharply, and the domestic market, for lack of sufficient supply of consumer goods of local production, is invaded by imported goods, often introduced through a parallel circuit. What is more, the domestic market is characterized by a decrease in buying power and contraction of demand.

The deficiencies of the National Marketing Office (OFNACOM), which has a monopoly on importation, have been so obvious in recent years that a fundamental structural reform of this agency is necessary within the framework of the austerity and efficiency policy prescribed by the chief of state, with an overhaul of the public enterprises; these measures will contribute to an improvement of the national economy.

This reform is all the more necessary in that the internal and external public debt is a crushing one: it is estimated at 250 billion CFA, and it should take some 10 billion CFA to service it in 1980; because of the financial situation, application has been made to the International Monetary Fund.

For years, the support given to the state companies in deficit and the excessive staffing of the civil service and the semipublic establishments have burdened the budget, which is now in better financial condition because of the increase in oil royalties.

The Congo presently has financial means which, with recovery of the state enterprises, make possible the revival of production, attenuation of the deficit in the balance of trade exchanges, and resumption of equipment programs halted in course of execution.

The private sector is also suffering from heavy and restrictive administrative, fiscal and social regulation. Although the public authorities accept concertation with the representatives of the enterprises, the contacts remain uneasy, the tax load has not been alleviated (the law of 14 January 1980 has put off for 1 year the contribution to the National Solidarity Fund), and price exceptions and rises are too late in following the pay increases granted to workers.

Since the beginning of 1980, sales of new vehicles have climbed, after the 25-percent drop in 1979 vis-a-vis 1977. The construction and public works sector, seriously affected last year by the shortage of cement, has been having better activity for the last few months. The work to realine the Congo-Ocean Railway is continuing and making progress despite the difficulties encountered.

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As regards shipping, the traffic of the port of Pointe-Noire consists largely of the shipments of manganese ore of the Ogooue Mining Company (COMILOG); in 1979, this traffic came to 2.3 million tons (up 36 percent over 1978), coming from Moanda in Gabon. In Pointe-Noire, the oil refinery is going to become operational, as well as the glassworks.

A better environment would facilitate resumption of a flow of private investments in forest exploitation and in the agroindustrial branch (oil-milling, flour-milling, livestock feed). The AGIP-Research company has obtained a permit for prospecting and eventual mining of uranium-bearing ores in the southwestern part of the territory.

An exposition-fair will be held in Pointe-Noire from 20 December 1980 to 2 January 1981. This event could attest to a solidified recovery of the Congolese economy and, with loosening-up of the control-oriented and socialist constraints that hem in the country's options, could promote a flow of private investment indispensable to development.

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EQUATORIAL GUINEA

BRIEFS

PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO SPAIN--President Obiang Nguema Mbasogo has paid an official visit to Spain, where, on 1 May, he talked with Adolfo Suarez, prime minister, in Madrid. According to an informed source in the Spanish capital, the Equatorial Guinea chief of state set out for Mr Suarez the most urgent needs of his country and called for the aid that Spain could, in his view, give it. The same source indicates that Mr Nguema Mbasogo also told Mr Suarez about the principal subjects taken up at the latest OAU meeting in Lagos, which he attended. The next day, Lt Col Nguema Mbasogo had a working breakfast with King Juan Carlos. At the conclusion, on 3 May, of a 5-day visit in Spain, the Equatorial Guinea chief of state made a private visit to Morocco. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANNEENS in French 9 May 80 p 1099] 11267

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GHANA

BRIEFS

POLITICAL CONTROVERSIES--Dr Bilson's statement was made precisely at the moment when President Limann was absent from his country and was attending a summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Lagos. The government did not wait for his return to publish immediately in the local press of 30 April a clarification calling Dr Bilson "irresponsible" and stating its desire to hold its ground and to defend the constitutional order. The government carefully noted in this clarification that it was in no way responsible for the country's current economic situation inherited from previous military regimes, and that it will need more than 6 months to rectify it. The political unrest found expression elsewhere in the announcement of the formation of a new movement, the New Democratic Movement, which would like to have the man on the street participate in the discussions of national interest. This movement plans to organize various demonstrations: meetings, conferences, and film showings throughout the country. President Limann who, it was said, sought to upset an attempted coup d'etat perpetrated by the military in the middle of the month, seems in fact to be more afraid of the civilians and certain old politicians than of the military. [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 9 May 80 p 1095] 9569

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LESOTHO

BRIEFS

ARAB LOAN FOR AIRPORT--A. M. Monyake, representative of the Lesotho Ministry of Finance, Development and Planning, and Dr Chedly Ayari, president of the Arab Bank for African Economic Development (BADEA) recently signed in Khartoum two loan agreements by which BADEA will provide \$9.9 million to finance two projects for transport development. The first, approved by BADEA in 1978 and totaling \$6 million, with 18-year term including a 5-year grace period and 4 percent annual interest, is for an international airport at the Lesotho capital Maseru. Other international aid is also expected. The second project is a road project approved by BADEA in 1979 for a total of \$3.9 million. Lesotho has already obtained from BADEA an urgent loan of \$2.8 million. [Excerpts] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 11 May 80 p 1168]

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LIBERIA

NEW GOVERNMENT LACKS PROGRAM OTHER THAN IMPROVING POLITICAL MORALS

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 21 May 80 pp 18-21

[Article by Raphael Mergui: "The Noncommissioned Officers Who Took Power a Month Ago Have No 'Program' except for Reforming Political Morals--After the Executions, Moderation"]

[Text] Sergeant-Major Doe, frail and timid, always barricades himself behind his dark glasses to read his declarations in a hesitant voice. One may photograph him but not speak to him. He has said nothing or has nothing to say. By doing so, he is breaking one of the most solidly established rules of politics: the more one keeps silent, the more one speaks.

The soldiers were still attending the meetings of the opposition formations: the PPP (Progressive People's Party) and the MOJA (Movement for Justice in Africa). A number of these people had been arrested following the agitation in March.

Thus there was a union of the discontent of the military and of the poverty-stricken people of the shanty-towns (one inhabitant out of two in Monrovia is jobless). On 2 March, Bacchus Matthews (leader of the PPP) organized a strange demonstration. He made the rounds of the ministries at midnight, at the head of a thousand sympathizers, to demand to meet with the ministers. When, on 7 March, he issued a call for a general strike, he was arrested--several embassies having refused him asylum--with 70 militants of his party. The chief of state, William Tolbert, accused him of having prepared an armed insurrection and promised him an exemplary punishment. Matthews and his friends were to be judged on 14 April. On that day, it was Tolbert's ministers who were hauled before a military tribunal.

By carrying out his putsch on 12 April and saving Matthews from a trial--and perhaps execution--Doe knew that he would arouse the enthusiasm of a population won over to the PPP. But the military did not bring any civilian into the preparation for the putsch, which had been decided on 2 weeks earlier. Doe and his companions bet on the support of the army and of the people. They won that bet. But taking power is not everything, especially when one does not have any driving wheel. The second act of the new regime expresses astonishing political sagacity on the part of these soldier-novices in poli-

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tics. Sergeant Doe, installed in the Executive Mansion on Saturday morning, 12 April, immediately put in place the elements essential to the exercise of his power.

First of all, the army. Sergeant Thomas Quiwompka--who christened himself the "strong man"--was named commanding general of the armed forces, with the mission of disciplining soldiers left to their own devices. With the exception of the former commander-in-chief, all the officers retained their positions. Certain were even assigned ministerial posts. The new minister of finance, Major Perry G. Zulu, is 31 and has a licentiate in economics. Chubby and well-behaved, he has a good head for the job he held before 12 April: controller general in the Ministry of Defense. How did he react to the coup d'etat?

"I was sleeping when soldiers came to announce the death of Tolbert to me. They advised me not to stick my nose out-of-doors."

"Were you frightened?"

"Of course, especially when soldiers sent by Doe came looking for me to take me to the presidential residence. I had time to take off my insignia. Samuel Doe ordered me, to my great surprise, to put them back on. Then he told me I was named minister of finance."

"Do you have some power?"

"I am the president's technical advisor."

"But how can Sergeant Doe take financial decisions?"

"I prepare the options and he chooses."

The CPR (Popular Council of Redemption--the name of the junta that took power) has also kept some of Tolbert's ministers, such as Gabriel Tucker. The PPP and the MOJA share between themselves the six or seven remaining portfolios. They have been assigned, it appears, without their future holders' being asked their opinions. Nah-Tipoteh, head of the MOJA, learned by radio that he was named minister of planning and economic affairs. As for Matthews, he was brought directly from prison to the presidential palace, where Doe offered him Foreign Affairs.

The overwhelming majority of deputy ministers and cadres have kept their jobs. A former minister of finance, Mrs Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, has become a very influential advisor of her successor. All the ministers are answerable for their management to the CPR, which, obviously, inspires great fear in them.

Why, then, the macabre staging for the execution of the 13 close collaborators of Tolbert's? It was doubtlessly an irrespressible--and not at all excusable--reflex of vengeance by people who had been long oppressed. Most

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Liberians, including the most fervent supporters of the new regime, have disapproved of them. Lt Col Frank K. Senkpeni, who presides over the military tribunal, is said to have "recommended" only four executions. The chaplain-general of the army called Sergeant Doe to order in a radio-broadcast sermon: "It is up to God and God alone to take away people's lives." The new chief of state himself admitted on 29 April: "Because the people have asked us to, we have no other choice than to halt the executions."

Nevertheless, the 137 persons arrested continue to file before the military tribunal in general tedium. Each accused must draw up a list of his houses, present his bank account and a report of his annual income; contrary to what might have been feared, there is no witch-hunt of the Afro-Americans, the privileged ones under the old regime. The conflict between "Americans" and "natives" is real, but its scope has been greatly exaggerated.

There is even prudence in economic matters. The new masters are surprised when they are asked what their program is. The stated objective of the coup d'etat is not to overthrow the economic and social structures but rather to inject morality into public life by ridding it of corruption and abuses of power. As for the rest, Doe and his friends are assuring bankers and industrialists that they will not touch free enterprise. The workers who wanted to demand pay raises will have to wait patiently. They understand nonetheless that one of the government's first measures has been the doubling of the salaries of the lower-level civil servants and of the soldiers. The minister of finance hopes to compensate for the resulting increase in public expenditure by savings on sumptuary expenses and seizure of the property of the executed dignitaries. Liberia wants to remain the paradise of flags of convenience. It could triple its ship-registration fees without losing its No 1 position as a world maritime power.

The unknown factor remains the attitude of the business circles, which are all foreign. The CPR has frozen all banking operations to prevent a flight of capital. This measure was to be completely cancelled on 15 May. The businessmen are concerned mainly about the risks of political instability. "We are," one of them told me, "like water: we take the form of any vessel whatsoever. The corruption will probably resume, but the new leaders will certainly be less gluttonous."

The problem remains the supply of rice and gasoline. When Doe took power, there was a rice supply for only 1 week, and gasoline reserves for 2 weeks.

The Liberian "Revolution" is remarkably quiet. But will the leadership team remain united? Will it continue to enjoy the support of a people to whom, for the time being, it gives only a vague promise to lower the price of rice and furnish school books free of charge? The delegations of students and pupils, soldiers, businessmen, merchants, etc, follow one another in pledging allegiance to the "redeemer," Sergeant Doe. On Monday 5 May, however, the crowd of young people gathered on the immense lawn of the presidential palace reacted to the appearance of Sergeant Doe without too much enthusiasm. The president of the Liberian Students Union spoke first, reading an

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impressive list of...demands and complaints. "The people," he declared, "will respect the CPR if it establishes an agenda for return to a civilian regime." He was already reproaching the leaders with having taken a liking to the material advantages of power, including the use of the Mercedes and American limousines of their predecessors. "The people," he concluded, "are complaining that you are behaving like Tolbert and his acolytes." Doe, imperturbable, heard the student leader out to the end, and then read a brief reply in which he promised to examine all these demands carefully.

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LIBERIA

SHIP REGISTRATION RULES REMAINING IN FORCE

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANNEENS in French 16 May 80 p 1156

[Article: "The Maritime Regime Will Be Maintained"]

[Text] The Liberian minister of finance, Maj Perry G. Zulu, announced on 7 May that the country's maritime regime, which it was thought would be revoked after the military coup d'etat (see in particular JOURNAL DE LA MARINE MARCHANDE of 17 April, p 881), is to be maintained.

The minister gave assurance that "Liberia will continue to shoulder its responsibilities as the world's No 1 maritime nation and that the financial laws as well as the rules concerning ship registration would remain in force." He added, however, that studies had been initiated toward "a reasonable increase in the tariffs." These tariffs, unchanged since 1949, come to \$1.20 per registered ton, with an annual tax of \$0.10 per ton.

Major Zulu also stressed the importance of the receipts from the country's maritime activities, specifying that in 1979 they totaled \$13.5 million, and more than \$9 million already this year.

He also called attention to the assurances given on 15 April by the chief of state, Samuel K. Doe, according to which all foreign and national contracts are to be honored by the new government. In conformity with this promise, he stated, the government of the Popular Council of Redemption has, since taking power, honored all scheduled loan repayments on time, and will continue to do so.

Major Zulu further announced that Liberia had obtained a credit of \$4 million from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and \$8.2 million under the heading of special drawing rights.

On the domestic level, he stated that the tax-collection system remains unchanged for the present and that the Liberians had even responded favorably to his ministry's calls for payment of them. However, he announced that his department would shortly be given more extensive powers for combating tax fraud.

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MALI

BRIEFS

DIPLOMATIC BLUNDER--Mali is having trouble in making Africa forget a diplomatic blunder. When President Moussa Traore was a member of the Committee of Wise Men of the OAU on the Sahara affair, one of his close advisors declared over Radio Bamako at the beginning of the year that Mali had granted to the POLISARIO the right to train its troops in Malian territory. In spite of a denial by Alioune Blondin Beye, minister of foreign affairs, certain African states are finding it difficult to pardon such a lapse by a mediating country. [Text] [Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French No 1010, 14 May 80 p 40] \$2116

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MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

CAHORA BASSA TRANSPORTATION--The Empresa Fluvial de Cahora Bassa [Cahora Bassa River Company], which is in charge of transportation on the Cahora Bassa dam lake, will start operating 5 boats purchased by Mozambique in Holland, each with a capacity for 60 to 80 persons. Original plans called for the company to operate between the northern and southern shores of the lake; additionally, it will transport passengers between Chicoo and Zumbo on the Zimbabwe-Zambia border. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 30 May 80 p 1281]

FISHING COMPANIES NATIONALIZED--Several Mozambique fisheries belonging to some Portuguese were nationalized at the end of April, announced Mozambique's Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Industry and Energy in a joint communique. According to this communique, the Impescal, Promar, Copesca, Emopesca, Camaronex, Arpem and Amilet Marterra enterprises had been managed in a fashion contrary "to the interests of the national economy" or had been abandoned by their owners. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 9 May 80 p 1110] 9589

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NIGER

BRIEFS

EDF LOANS 1980-1984--It was learned in Niamey on 5 May that for the period 1980-1984, the European Development Fund (EDF) will have available in Niger a sum between 21.316 and 24.528 billion CFA, including 2.236 billion in the form of special-condition loans and the rest in the form of nonreimbursable aid. The definitive amount will be arrived at upon reexamination of the development programs that are part of the 1979-1984 5-year plan. The EDF will participate in the modernization of the road system, improvement of dry and irrigated crops, installation of water and sanitary systems in the rural zones, as well as industrial, touristic and mining projects. Furthermore, the Niamey-Zinder tarred road that links the capital and the prefectures of Dosso, Maradi and Zinder was officially inaugurated on 4 May. This road (902 km), whose cost totals 17 billion, has been financed entirely by the EDF. The work took 13 years. Finally, a delegation of seven experts from the European Economic Community and the European Investment Bank (EIB), led by Mr Klaus Mayer, visited Niger starting on 1 May. to study the files for setting up a guideline program relating to the country's needs. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANNEENS in French 9 May 80 p 1093] 11267

MINISTER'S MAY DAY SPEECH--The Niger minister of civil service and labor, Mayaki Issoufou, announced on 1 May, on the occasion of the labor-day holiday, that upgrading of the pension rates of retired wage-earners is under study in his ministry. He also announced that the National Social Security Fund has not only reabsorbed its deficit of 800 million CFA but has also built up a surplus of more than 1 billion CFA. In the area of occupational training, Mr Issoufou said that special emphasis has been placed on this problem in the 5-year plan. It involves the future creation of two occupational-training centers and a skill institute to deal with the shortage of skilled technical personnel. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANNEENS in French 9 May 80 p 1093] 11267

PRESIDENT VISITS OPVN, ONAREM--On 24 April, the Niger chief of state, Col Seyni Kountche, visited the warehouses of the OPVN (Niger Foodstuffs Office) in Niamey and the construction sites of the future Customs buildings and the complex that is to house the offices of ONAREM (National Office of Mineral Resources). This visit to OPVN enabled the Niger president to see the quantity of foodstuffs available in the capital and the measures taken by the officials for storage and protection of these foodstuffs with the approach

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of winter. The OPVN presently has 5,814 tons of millet, 2,047 tons of sorghum, 2,177 tons of rice, 5,110 tons of corn, 3,748 tons of wheat, and another 413 tons of sorghum, a gift from the European Economic Community (EEC) to Niger. The international aid that was supposed to be delivered in October of last year was received only a few days ago. President Kountche then visited the construction site of the Customs buildings, which will make it possible to decongest the Customs facilities at the airport. The construction work is proceeding normally. Finally, the chief of state stopped at the site of the future complex of ONAREM, opposite the present headquarters of SONARA [Niger Peanut Marketing Company]. At present, the work is at the stage of clearing and levelling of the land. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANNEENS in French 9 May 80 p 1093] 11267

WATER TREATMENT PLANT--A water-treatment plant at Goudel, near Niamey, was inaugurated in April by the Niger minister of public works, transportation and urbanism, Moussa Bako, in the presence of the ambassador of the FRG, Harald Ganns. In his dedication speech, the Niger minister stressed that the FRG contributed 3.5 billion CFA of the total cost of the plant, which is 4.5 billion CFA. [Text] [Paris, MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANNEENS in French 9 May 80 p 1093] 11267

NEW WELL DRILLED IN TARASSADET--The Tarassadet well in the Tchintabaden arrondissement is completed and has been in operation since 21 February last. The drilling of this well, one of the biggest in the region, was halted from February to November 1979. On his visit to the department of Tahoua last November, the Niger chief of state, Col Seyni Kountche, instructed the officials of OFEDES (Office of Subsoil Water) to resume the drilling of the well immediately. Thus the state released 60 million CFA for completing the drilling of this well, which is indispensable for the pastoral zone of the Tahoua department. The work lasted 3 weeks. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANNEENS in French 9 May 80 p 1093] 11267

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TANZANIA

AUTHORITIES CALL TO MIND THEIR SOCIALIST OBJECTIVES

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANNEENS in French 16 May 80 p 1162

[Text] Participating in a seminar of the single party CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi [Revolutionary Party]) in Arusha on 5 May, President Nyerere reviewed the political objectives of his government. He declared: "Our objective is the achievement of socialism, there is no discussion about that. At the present stage, we are not yet socialist. We are on the road of 'Ujamaa' ('spirit of familial solidarity,' in Kiswahili), which will be realized stage by stage."

The Tanzanian chief of state then went on to define the place of the private sector in the Tanzanian economy. It is important, he said, to identify which "bourgeoisies" and "petites bourgeoisies" should be attacked in the immediate future, and which should be temporarily left aside.

The little occupations (shoeshiners, taxi drivers, etc) are not a danger to "Ujamaa," although they do not have a place in a true socialist situation, declared the president, who is also the national "Mwalimu" ("schoolmaster").

The national "capitalists" should not have access to the services sector, but only to the sector of production of goods. This sector should be assisted and monitored by a state organism, Mr Nyerere further stated.

During the same seminar, the Tanzanian minister for planning & economy, Ki-ghoma Malima, was entirely in agreement. The private sector should also, he said, receive consideration within the framework of the national development program. The private sector's investment projects, like those of the public sector, will have to take into account the party's policy, based on egalitarian development of all the regions of the country.

The minister too urged creation of a state organism to control the private sector.

He also suggested that direct external loans for industrial projects be prohibited. All such loans, Mr Malima declared, should go through the Tanzania Rural Development Bank.

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The minister asked that all measures be taken in order for public organisms to take Tanzanian foreign trade entirely in charge, so as to avoid the "siphoning-off of our foreign-exchange resources." It is necessary, he said, to strengthen the role of the Board of External Trade and to ensure exportation of the products of private firms through the channel of GAPEX (General Agricultural Products Exportation Corporation).

Mr Malima made some comments on his program in rather violent terms. He declared: "This is the time to attack the roots of capitalism and feudalism and of their social implications, for if we do not, they will develop at the expense of our policy of 'Ujamaa' and self-reliance."

On 9 May the Tanzanian minister of trade, Ibrahim Kaduma, declared within the framework of the Arusha conference, which was to last 10 days, that in the long term, the private sector, restricted to production, would be excluded from the domestic trading sector, except for the small vendors in the markets.

He recommended that distribution of commercial goods in Tanzania be assigned to the national or regional state trading companies and that the community village shops and the state shops be supplied on a priority basis.

A Presidential Analysis of the Crisis

In Arusha on 5 May, along with the statements that we have quoted above, President Nyerere expressed some considerations regarding the economic crisis. He had affirmed that the principal problem that Tanzania has to face is not a lack of food but rather a lack of foreign exchange needed for importation of raw materials for industry.

These cash difficulties are due essentially, the chief of state said, to the sharp drop in production of the main money crops (cotton, sisal, coffee, cashew nuts). In order to reverse this tendency, he proposed that the party identify the crops to be encouraged in each region of the country and specify purchase prices to the producer high enough to encourage production, inasmuch as the food crops often produce more income for the peasants than do the money crops.

The president also indicated mechanization of agriculture as a solution to the crisis.

The seminar participants generally stressed the role of agriculture as the "spinal column" of the Tanzanian economy.

According to a report published in the government newspaper DAILY NEWS on 8 May, one of the speakers, whose name is not given, declared that Tanzanian agricultural production is not satisfactory "because of the uncertainty of the peasants in their day-to-day activities."

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He is reported to have expressed the desire that the peasants have an organization by which they can freely express their opinions on the development of their activities. Finally, this speaker is said to have declared that it is perhaps time to revise the rural cooperative system.

Other speakers stressed the possible future role of food crops such as potatoes, manioc and millet, which the Tanzanian authorities still only consider to be "emergency crops."

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TANZANIA

DETAILS OF FRENCH-TANZANIAN COOPERATION GIVEN

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 16 May 80 pp 1133-35

[Article by Jacques Latremoliere: "France and Tanzania: a New Start for Cooperation"]

[Text] Will the weight of mistrust and misunderstanding that has been weighing on the relations between France and Tanzania finally lift and give way to a future of cooperation? Foreign Affairs Minister Mkapa's visit to Paris in October 1979 and Mr Soisson's statements during his mission to Dar es Salaam allow hope that this change may take place. (Mr J.-P. Soisson declared in Dar es Salaam on 12 April that President Nyerere had accepted an invitation from President Giscard d'Estaing to come to France (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS 18 April p 937).) This change was begun under unfavorable conditions by Mr de Guiringaud in 1978 and may find their fruition next July in an official visit by Mr Jean Francois-Poncet to the Tanzanian government.

The bad start that these relations have had may be explained by certain Victorian prejudices left over from British colonization. These prejudices have been dissipated in Kenya and even in Uganda under much more difficult conditions when that country was under the heel of Marshal Idi Amin Dada. The complex personality of the Mwalimu is probably not unrelated to a situation that has for a long time made Tanzania the instigator of hostility to France in the Organization of African Unity on the issues of Djibouti, the Comoro Islands, and Reunion. He is authoritarian with a kindly air, does not hesitate to take courageous and dangerous initiatives, is quick to reproach the USSR openly for its lack of economic aid to Africa and England for being too lax too long in settling the Rhodesian issue, and has had a view of French activity in Africa that may have been distorted by geographic particularism. He may have been more inclined to attribute imperialistic motives to them because he did not seem to find in Great Britain the formulas for cooperation that enabled the French-language states of West Africa to make economic progress comparable to Tanzania's in size and resources.

New French Contacts

An obvious turning point in relations between France and Tanzania was reached on 22 September 1979 with the signing of an agreement concerning the enlargement and modernization of the Dar es Salaam airport. The work was assigned to Aeroport de Paris for Fr 125 million. On 19 February 1980 a second agreement was signed that made available to Tanzania a loan of Fr 100 million

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with privileged conditions for Technip's furnishing a glassware factory in Mwanza. These agreements had to be appreciated in Dar es Salaam at a time when the arrival of capital contributes to the recovery of the balance of payments. Its 1978 deficit (1.76 billion shillings) was greater than the amount of its 1977 surplus (1.23 billion shillings) because of the Tanzanian army's campaign in Uganda. (One Tanzanian shilling equals approximately Fr 0.55.)

But for both France and Tanzania, the importance of these agreements is due more to the mechanism and conditions of the loans than to their size, because they actually signify in other forms and procedures the opening of French cooperation to the whole continent preceding or following an analogous evolution of European aid.

Many things have oriented French industrialists toward French-language countries: well-known trade networks, flexible insurance coverages, convertibility of currency, and free transfer of capital. These very advantages have turned industrialists away from East Africa, which has long been considered a private British reserve (wrongly, it seems, judging by the positions gained by Japan, the FRG, and the Scandinavian countries). The free subsidies granted to African countries have favored the formation of credible economic partnerships and stable trade between them and France in addition to winning markets for French business.

The World Bank at first argued against this formula but then adopted it, and France has decided to apply it for the first time outside of its traditional zone of cooperation. In the context of the loans granted to Tanzania, France will provide guaranteed private credits, 25-year treasury notes at 3 percent interest deferred for 10 years, and free credits totalling a gift of about 36 percent adjusted for inflation in the case of the Dar es Salaam airport.

In addition to the symbolic value of the projects for which these loans are being made, these projects are characterized by studies and the high added value of equipment furnished mostly by 7-year commercial credits, the civil engineering being covered. The negotiations coincided with a marked increase in French exports to Tanzania, which rose from Fr 42 million to Fr 128 million between 1976 and 1978. This rise was unfortunately stopped in 1979 by a tight blockade of imports due to the difficulties mentioned above.

The projects have been followed by other, more classically financed operations. CGE-Alsthom is thus cooperating in the partial completion (Fr 50 million) of an international electrification project in Zanzibar, beginning with the Kidatu continental plant. The financing guarantee of a 150-room hotel is now assured for Fr 50 million. Also under study are the completion of a textile mill in Musoma, south of Lake Victoria, for Fr 130 million; the delivery of railroad equipment, and, in the radio-telecommunications sector, the delivery by Thomson CSF of medium-wave transmitters and the installation of a short-wave radio station in the new capital of Dodoma.

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The list is still open, and Tanzania's interest in the formulas of the French ministry of Foreign Trade and the quality of French industries should lead to new contracts in the future. These contracts answer a double concern of France's. The political and moral impact of its partner's population, which the latest censuses put at 17 million, and the undeniable seriousness of its administration are incentives to favor Tanzania. On the other hand, the drawing down of foreign reserves, which had reached a critical level at the beginning of 1979--they then amounted to 2 months' imports--had had the effect of lengthening certain payments. Orthodox financing, which also coincided with Tanzanian efforts, led them to keep for the moment only the projects likely to improve the balance of payments.

The bilateral and international flow of money to Tanzania continues to take the form of credit, loans to domestic industrial credit organizations such as the Tanzania Investment Bank, or advances to buy equipment or food. In these various respects, the projects agreed to in principle or already under way amount to \$644 million, French contracts not included. Of this total, \$173.9 million is from the World Bank and the International Development Association, \$158 million from Great Britain, \$95 million from Sweden, \$35.6 million from the United States, \$30 million from the EEC, \$31.25 million from the African Development Bank, \$31.6 million from Canada, \$33.7 million from the FAO-WFP [World Food Program], and the loans or gifts from Algeria, Denmark, and the OPEC countries are at most \$20, 19, and 15 million dollars, respectively. The EEC's donations for 1980-85 are estimated at more than \$140 million. They are not included in the above amount, nor is a \$15 million barter agreement made with the USSR for sisal, nor a \$15 million interest-free loan from the EEC special fund for consolidating the balance of payments.

After the argument between President Nyerere and the International Monetary Fund last September over ways of restoring the economy, new, unofficial contacts from this organization may soon bring about aid to the balance of payments in an amount not yet specified.

It may thus be hoped that the import, expenses and price controls that are weighing so heavily on the private sector may be gradually relaxed and will enable Tanzania to pay its overdue bills. Despite the appeal made in 1978 for short-term commercial credit, this liberalization will be facilitated by the partial gift of foreign aid, which has made it possible to maintain a reasonable balance between debt service and export income (7.9 percent at the end of 1979). This liberalization will naturally accompany new operations that French firms may be associated with.

Industry and Infrastructure Needs

In this area, French activity is not faced with payment problems more difficult in Tanzania than anywhere else, unless it is due to the recent measures mentioned above, and it is hoped that they will remain temporary. The government will retain control over the retail sale of basic products, will set quotas for establishing private shops, and will give central purchasing agencies a monopoly on importing certain materials, but this will not hamper the owners of supply markets or "turnkey" plants as a matter of contract in taking precautions against the difficulties of importing raw materials or the materials necessary for the job or for completing a project for which a loan was made.

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However, it is a good idea to bring to the attention of investors that under present conditions import requests will be turned down unless they are accompanied by 10-year credit with deferment on contracts at or above 90 million Tanzanian shillings with, in many cases, refinancing and delayed down payments.

Despite all, the structure of the economy remains liberal, at least for industry. It was even quite permissive in 1972-77, which also partly explains the present reaction.

As for infrastructure, the amount of work to be done is surprising for a country that was equipped long before independence with a deep-water port and two railroads.

The TAZARA (Tanzania-Zambia railway) is of ambiguous support in the problem of communications with Zambia. This line was built by the PRC with a generous loan of \$358 million payable in 30 years after 1983, but maintenance seems to be beyond local means both in terms of management and in the lack of rolling stock and spare parts. A railway workers' strike in March 1979 alone caused losses equivalent to 1978 profits. Floods have carried away 20 km of track between Mbila and Makambako and revealed unfortunate routing errors. But the resumption of Rhodesian and South African railways' removal of Zambian iron ore in 1979 can only be speeded up by a normal situation's being reestablished in Zimbabwe in 1980, and this will worsen the railway's deficit.

The road network is theoretically 34,000 km long, but only 7 percent of it, 2,359 km, is paved. In contrast, the Ivory Coast has an area of 322,500 square km, 35 percent that of Tanzania, yet it has 44,000 km of roads, 3,000 km of which are paved. The 1978-81 development plan allows for the completion of 2,800 km of new paved main roads with priority to the following corridors: Makambako-Songea (325 km), Morogoro-Dodoma (285 km), Kibiti-Lindi (350 km), Luisaluinga-Isaka (240 km), and Makuyuni-Oldeani (77 km). These corridors are intended to serve the North and link together the northern and southern regions.

The same is true for ports. According to the statistics of the Tanzania Harbours Corporation, the ports handled 2.4 million metric tons of merchandise in 1978-79, which reflects a decline of shipments in transit to Zambia, Burundi, Rwanda, and Zaire. Work estimated to cost 617 million shillings and planned for the next 3 years will be necessary to open the Dar-es-Salaam access channel to vessels of all tonnages. It has poor mineral- and oil-loading equipment, dry docks, and warehousing, which are behind the bottlenecks of recent years and have forced Burundi to airlift the 40,000 metric tons left on the wharves because the Kigoma railroad and the Lake Tanganyika crossing can only handle a monthly traffic of 3,000 metric tons.

In the case of air traffic, the airports of Dar-es-Salaam and Kilimanjaro will soon begin expansion work. Purchases must be made of airport telecommunications equipment (radioteletypes, VHF links, and ILS systems). A maintenance workshop will be built at Kilimanjaro. Also, the Air Tanzania fleet was recently strengthened by the addition of British airplanes.

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Among the bids soon to be advertised for labor and supplies, we should mention especially the enlargement of the refinery built by AGIP [Italian Petroleum Enterprise] in Dar-es-Salaam in 1966; its present capacity of 750,000 metric tons is to be increased to 1.3 million metric tons to meet the requirements of Tanzania and other African states. According to the process chosen, the labor costs will fall between \$180-250 million. The Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation, the supervising company, is studying a financing plan with large credit organizations and the main international petroleum firms.

Agriculture

Agriculture might be a privileged area of French-Tanzanian cooperation provided its particular structures are respected. "Ujamaa" and villageing--in effect the geographical relocation of farmers to help them benefit from a technical and social infrastructure--have evolved. These processes were speeded up between 1974 and 1976 and then moderated as various kinds of village cooperatives were being developed; they encountered many obstacles. Some were accidental, like drought, while others were due to a lack of roadway coordination, a lack of management, staff, and start-up personnel training, or to supply and marketing failures.

In sum, only tea and tobacco have shown an increase in tonnage since 1973. All other crops have declined. But as Prof Rene Dumont writes, "13 million Tanzanians now live in 8,000 villages, where their essential needs are met, they have drinkable water and can send their children to school."

No administration, obviously, can imagine going back on the governing principles of a movement of this size. But it can be improved where it is most deficient and where France can provide qualified assistance. This is the case with agricultural research, which was hard hit by the East African Community's being dismantled, as was the cessation of rural improvements and equipping, especially in irrigation and technician training.

Cooperation, in the strict sense of the term, between France and Tanzania is obviously still limited by the funds available to France and the many tasks its personnel are called to perform elsewhere. However, France's aid is essential to prepare the climate for economic and financial cooperation, for which Tanzania offers remarkable outlets.

It is surprising that better economic performances have not been achieved with the great and varied international aid that Tanzania has enjoyed since it became independent. The reason may be that this aid was put into short-term projects rather than improving the material and human conditions that must first prevail before real development can be attempted.

Tanzania is a demographic keystone of East Africa and must therefore overcome its backwardness, which may compromise Africa's equilibrium if it is allowed to persist. Seen in this light, France's aid should be judged not only by the amount of its financial contribution but perhaps by the exemplary value of its methods.

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TANZANIA

BRIEFS

KILWA PORT EXPANSION--The Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) has granted 16 million Tanzanian shillings to Tanzania Harbours Corporation (THA) for expansion, in 1981, of the Kilwa port installations. The decision to enlarge the port of Kilwa is connected essentially with the prospect of exploiting the natural gas of Songo Songo (see following item). [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANNEENS in French 16 May 80 p 1162] 11267

NATURAL GAS EXPLOITATION--The Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation (TPDC) has issued a call for bids for drilling the natural-gas deposit on the island of Songo Songo (Kilwa district), in the south of Tanzania. This call for bids, which was opened on 5 May and will last 45 days, concerns the drilling, in that region, of one land well and three others in the sea. The Tanzanian government has negotiated a credit agreement for the work with the International Development Association (IDA), a subsidiary of the World Bank. According to diplomatic sources quoted by AFP, Tanzania would receive a credit of \$25 million to go ahead with oil exploitation on Songo Songo. The same sources specify, however, that this credit has not been approved yet. The exploration done on Songo Songo in 1977 revealed that natural-gas reserves on the other of 30 billion cubic meters, 82-percent recoverable, are located in this zone (see MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANNEENS of 29 July 1977, p 2072). In 1979, the Tanzanian government announced that it was considering building a urea and ammonia production plant on Songo Songo. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANNEENS in French 16 May 80 p 1163] 11267

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TOGO

BRIEFS

EYADEMA, CRITICS--On 3 May, in his Paris residence, Togolese President Gnassingbe Eyadema met with 500 of his fellow citizens, who had come from the capital and from the French provinces as well as from other countries in Europe. During the entire day he listened to the most varied criticisms and tried to explain his policies, which are under strong attack from the opposition based in France. At the close of the session, the general-president was persuaded that he had convinced his audience. [Text] [Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French No 1010, 13 May 80 p 40] 12116

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ZAIRE

REPORT ON OIL PRODUCTION IN 1979

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 16 May 80 p 1160

[Text] The general assembly of Cometra Oil held on 6 May provided an opportunity for company president Litvine to review the recent situation of oil production in Zaire, thereby completing information previously given by the firm on production in 1979 (see MARCHES TROPICAUX, 21 March, p 696).

For the first four months of 1980, production evolved as follows: January, 621,000 barrels, an average of 20,030 barrels a day; February, 574,000 barrels, or 19,700 barrels a day; March, 505,000 barrels, or 16,900 barrels a day; first half of April, 191,000 barrels, or 12,740 barrels a day; second half of April, 335,000 barrels, or 22,330 barrels a day.

The large difference between the two halves of the month of April stems from the following two factors:

1 -- During the first 2 weeks, production of three wells in the Mibale field was interrupted for several days for repairs. 2 -- Since 14 April, Mwambe wells 1 and 3 have gone into production.

"Concerning the future," Litvine went on to state, "production experience in Zaire's maritime zone must make us ever more cautious in our estimates. With all the customary reservations, on the basis of information known to date, the total output of structures currently in production could be on the average between 20,000 and 25,000 barrels for the first half of 1981. No future prediction can yet be formulated. The increase foreseen for 1981 will perhaps tend more toward an improvement of performance at Mibale rather than toward an additional output from Mwambe."

Regarding research work aimed at expanding production sources, the report states that the large program drawn up for 1980 will probably have to be limited because not all the drilling platforms needed are available in time. Part of the program will have to be postponed until 1981.

The president of Cometra Oil also described technical problems confronting oil production in Zaire's maritime zone, particularly the drop in pressure

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at the Mibale deposit. While not as successful as hoped, the injection of water did achieve its essential purpose. However, maintaining the total production of GCO and Mibale at the 20,000-barrel-a-day level has not been regularly ensured. There is also a problem of gas pressure, which the operator is trying to solve by planning to take gas from the Moko and Motoba structures, where it exists, although the quantities of oil discovered in those structures seems negligible. In order to avoid any misunderstanding over the gas, Litvine recalled that it is naturally a matter of a complement to the quantities of gas needed for oil production and not a marketable production of gas.

Litvine also repeated that "relations between Zairian authorities and members of the consortium remain excellent and marked by mutual trust. This is particularly important at a time when an adaptation of tax conditions in the concession agreement seems about to occur in the coming months."

The 1979 Cometra Oil report states that the outstanding event in 1979 was the decision made by Zairian authorities to ask the consortium to deliver to the government, beginning in September 1979, quantities of crude oil amounting to some 60 percent of total production, royalties in kind (12.5 percent) included. This operation has enabled the Zairian organization in charge of supplying the country with oil products to meet its needs, partially through local refining of Zairian crude purchased from members of the consortium with other qualities of crude and products. In accordance with the concession agreement, these purchases were made at the market price in keeping with a contract renegotiated in 1980. It should be pointed out that between January and December of 1979, the price of Zairian crude went from \$14 to \$25.47 a barrel.

One should recall that through its American subsidiary, the Muanda Oil Company (MOC), Cometra Oil holds a 17.72-percent share of oil research and production in Zaire's maritime zone. Together with its partners Gulf and Teikoku, it is executing the oil agreement of 14 October 1969. Total production in 1979 amounted to 7,614,000 barrels, a figure in keeping with estimates, but it should be mentioned that as yet, this is only the oil taken from the GCO and Mibale structures. Furthermore, the investment of some \$25 million by the Gulf-Teikoku-Cometra consortium to finance the injection of water into the Mibale structure may not have resulted in the substantial increase in production constituting the most favorable hypothesis, but it did achieve the essential purpose, which was to bring total production of GCO and Mibale over the minimum of 20,000 barrels a day and apparently keep it there.

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ZAIRE

BRIEFS

BELGIAN SHIPPING COMPANY LINK--On 8 April, the Zairian Government ratified the new cooperation agreement linking the Zairian Shipping Company (CMZ) with the Belgian Shipping Company (CMB). This agreement, which replaces the one dated 22 October 1976, was the subject of talks in Kinshasa and Anvers in February and March. Negotiations essentially dealt with the CMZ' recovery of the financial and administrative management controlled by the CMB, the roles and powers of the International Shipping Agency (AMI, a Belgian firm) and technical assistance provided to the CMZ by the CMB. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 18 Apr 80 p 935] 11,464

DIAMOND PRODUCTION IN 1979--The Bakwanga Mining Company (MIBA), the Zairian diamond mining company (industrial diamonds), produced 8,062,869 carats in 1979, compared with 10.6 million in 1978, according to the firm's annual report. MIBA improved its net profits, which totaled 12,238,669 zaires in 1978, compared with 10,042,372 zaires in 1978. The report indicates that within the framework of its investment program and plan to rebuild its stock of spare parts and equipment, MIBA committed an overall sum of 48,922,000 zaires in 1979. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 18 Apr 80 p 935] 11,464

INGA-SHABA POWER--Munga Mobindo, chairman of the board of the National Electric Company (SNEL), has announced that the first electrical tests of the Inga-Shaba line could take place toward the end of 1981 or the beginning of 1982. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 18 Apr 80 p 935] 11,464

MOBUTU DUPING PORTUGUESE--Kinshasa has once again announced that it would like to receive 100,000 Portuguese workers to help build the economy of that country where, according to Mobutu, everything is going well in that best of all possible worlds. In order to lure the European labor force, recruiting sergeants, relatives of the dictator, go to Lisbon, stay at one of the most luxurious hotels in the Portuguese capital and receive in their suites the candidates for that country of wonders. Nor are the promises made the kind to discourage Portuguese looking for work: 100,000 escudos (about 8,500 francs) a month, housing, good food, the climate, a real

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paradise! Last year, 40 Portuguese succumbed to the temptation. The result? No housing, an almost nonexistent wage, no transfer of funds to Portugal, in short, nothing of what Mobutu's relatives had promised them in Lisbon. The workers then complained to authorities in Kinshasa. The response? Either they would remain silent or they would get to know the prisons of the Mobutu regime! Realizing they had been duped, the Portuguese then went to the Portuguese Embassy in Kinshasa and asked simply to be sent back to Portugal, which was granted. This cost the Portuguese Government 1.5 million escudos. An official bulletin from the Portuguese Government has been published in Lisbon on this subject and yet, Zaire is repeating its wish to receive 100,000 Portuguese! [Text] [Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 14-27 Apr 80 p 45] 11,464

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