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1 of 1

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11 May 1979

TRANSLATIONS ON SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA  
FOUO No. 634



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CONTENTS	PAGE
INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS	
Unprecedented African War Analyzed by Marc Yared (JEUNE AFRIQUE, 11 Apr 79).....	1
CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE	
Emperor Bokassa I Releases Prisoners (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 16 Mar 79).....	4
Bokassa Described as Being Megalomaniac (E. Zingo; AFRIQUE-ASIE, 16-30 Apr 79).....	5
CHAD	
Kano Agreement Has Not Settled Chadian Problem (Jos-Blaise Alima; JEUNE AFRIQUE, 4 Apr 79).....	7
CONGO	
Nation's Orientation To Be More Radical Following Congress (Ginette Cot; AFRIQUE-ASIE, 16-30 Apr 79).....	10
LIBERIA	
Briefs	
Saudi Petroleum Supply Agreement	15
FIDA Loan	15
REUNION	
Cantonal Elections Analyzed by Yvon Mace (AFRIQUE-ASIE, 16-29 Apr 79).....	16

- a - [III - NE & A - 122 FOUO]

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CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
SENEGAL	
Premier's Official Visit to France Consolidates Cooperation (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 6 Apr 79).....	19
TANZANIA	
1978-1981 Plan for Zanzibar (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 9 Mar 79).....	22
UPPER VOLTA	
Movement Towards Unity Government Examined by Siradiou Diallo (Siradiou Diallo; JEUNE AFRIQUE, 11 Apr 79).....	23
ZAIRE	
Mobutu's Efforts at Rehabilitation Viewed With Distrust (Jack Bourderie; AFRIQUE-ASIE, 16-29 Apr 79).....	28
Arms Trafficker, Mercenaries Arrested (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 23 Feb 79).....	31
Mobutu Visits Europe Seeking Aid (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 30 Mar 79).....	33
Briefs	
Budget Deficit	35
PRC Aid for Drought	35

-b-

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

UNPRECEDENTED AFRICAN WAR ANALYZED BY MARC YARED

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 11 Apr 79 pp 12-13

[Text] In several weeks time, the nature of the conflict between Uganda and Tanzania has changed and become an unprecedented African war. Originally (in October-November of 1978), it was a duel between two heads of state which everything opposed to each other: their social origin, religion, education, character, type of government, regional alliances (of JEUNE AFRIQUE no. 948).

A Moslem born into a humble family, the Kampala dictator acquired a rudimentary education. He is a cynical actor moved solely by ambition. In order to safeguard his power, he chose a bloody internal repression and alliance with Arab states which made it possible for him to receive important financial, petroleum and military backing.

The "Mwalimu" ("professor" in Swahili) of Dar es-Salam is, for his part, a "progressive" intellectual profoundly marked by his Catholic convictions and by Anglo-Saxon culture. His dream is to transform his country into a federation of communal villages, or "ujamaas." Contrary to Idi Amin, Julius Nyerere incarnates in Black Africa a tradition which is distrustful of the Arab world.

Today, however, the bilateral character of the Ugandan-Tanzanian dispute is becoming more and more blurred. An internationalization of the conflict, fraught with danger for the entire dark continent, hovers in the air. Africa is threatened threefold.

--The invasion, since January, of Uganda by the Tanzanian army is a serious precedent. For the first time in Africa, we are witnessing armed intervention of a state openly intended to bring down the regime of another state. The Ogaden war (July 1977-March 1978) was intended to settle a territorial dispute. Furthermore, the Somali never admitted that their army took part in combat. Libya has never admitted that some of its troops were supporting Chadian revolutionaries against the legal authorities of that country. Even Egypt made it clear in July 1977, when they launched a mini-war against Libya, that they intended to "teach Colonel Qadhdhafi a lesson," but not overthrow him...

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Certain delegates of the United Nations Security Council and of the Council of Ministers of the OAU (Organization of African Unity), which met in Nairobi (from 23 February to 4 March), did not hesitate to conjure up the spectre of an "Ugandan Cambodia" with Tanzania playing Vietnam's role. In South-east Asia as in Eastern Africa, the army of a "progressive" country has launched an assault against another "progressive" country accused of tyranny and serious human rights violations. What country of the dark continent could feel itself safe today from an identical undertaking?

More serious still: the Tanzanian army is accompanied by Ugandan opponents who are supporters of Dr Milton Obote, the predecessor of Marshal Amin. What African top man can henceforth not fear the return of his predecessor in the ammunition wagons of an enemy army?

--The attitude of President Nyerere, who opposes to the "syndicate of African heads of state concerned with perpetuating their power," the interests of the people struggling against tyranny, risks widening the gulf between the continent's moderates and progressives. A near-unity of militant African supports Dar es-Salam: national liberation movements (the Rhodesian Patriotic Front, Namibia's SWAPO, the Saharan Polisario Front), "frontline" states opposing the racist regimes of Southern Africa (Botswana, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola) and revolutionary countries (Ethiopia, Madagascar, Benin, the Congo...). On the other side, the "moderates" (Nigeria, Liberia, Kenya, Zaire, Rwanda) fear the contagion of the Tanzanian example and a calling into question of the status quo.

--Finally, and above all, the conflict between Dar es-Salam and Kampala risks causing the old demons of pre-colonial Africa to rise again: the antagonism between Arab Moslems and Black animists or Christians. For the duel between Idi Amin and Nyerere has become a confrontation between Tanzanians and Libyans on Ugandan soil.

For the first time, the Jamahiriya troops intervene officially beyond their frontiers. Champion of panislamism and of panarabism, Colonel Qadhafi is combatting in Kampala the "Mwalimu," who incites anti-arab Black Africa. For once united, the overwhelming majority of the Arab-Islamic "Oumma" (community) (with the exception of Algeria and South Yemen) approves Libya's attitude: allocation on 15 March to Kampala of four million dollars in aid by the Islamic World Bank; appeal from the Islamic Conference for withdrawal of Tanzanian troops; multiform aid furnished Idi Amin by the Palestinians, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arabic Emirates, the Sudan and Egypt. The Ugandan opposition has threatened to execute in reprisal every captured Arab combattant.

This evolution is all the more fraught with implications for the future in that tension is perceptible today in the majority of the continent's zones where there is a junction between the Arab world and Black Africa: Mauritania, where a Front of the Negro-African Peoples' Armed Struggle was created on 29 March; Chad, where Moslems on one side, and Christians and animists on the

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other indulge in random slaughter; Eritrea, where Ethiopian forces are fighting against nationalist maquisards supported by Arab states; South Sudan, where a small group is trying to renew guerrilla warfare against the Arab-Moslem North.

The war between Uganda and Tanzania is a fuse which can blow to bits not only a solidarity already rudely taxed among the continent's states, but even their territorial integrity. The OAU and African public opinion must be aware of this.

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CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE

EMPEROR BOKASSA I RELEASES PRISONERS

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 16 Mar 79 p 698

/Text/ During a ceremony arranged in Berengo on 22 February by students of Bokassa Foundation on the occasion of its 59th anniversary, the head of the Central African state gave a speech and released certain prisoners. However, this act of clemency does not apply to all prisoners; the exceptions are:

- persons prosecuted or condemned for political reasons (the emperor places this number at about 20);
- persons prosecuted or condemned for attacking the internal or external security of the state;
- persons prosecuted or condemned for misappropriation of public funds;
- prisoners attempting to escape; and
- persons apprehended after 1800 hours on 22 February.

During the same speech, Emperor Bokassa I again referred to the events of January and denounced both ideological and religious subversion threatening the CAE /Central African Empire/ and other African countries. The head of state particularly asserted that one should respect the ideology of each country and added: "We are socialists; we are remaining with our type of socialism." In regard to religion, the emperor stated that religion should not be imposed by force and that he would oppose the CAE's becoming a Moslem country.

The head of state discussed the same subjects on 24 February in satisfying the wishes of President Dacko and Prime Minister H. Maidou, but he also made some remarks on respect for human rights and the role of newspaper people.

He also "identified," without naming them, two countries which are enemies of the CAE and which were behind the disturbances of the previous month, undoubtedly alluding to Libya and the USSR (all relations were severed with Libya on 23 February).

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CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE

BOKASSA DESCRIBED AS BEING MEGALOMANIAC

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 16-30 Apr 79 p 26

[Article by E. Zingo: "The Emperor's Youngest Victim"]

[Text] "Starting at 0000 hours my decision is that the disorder which has been disrupting the capital for the past 48 hours should come to an end. I formally prohibit all assemblies and all demonstrations." These were the words of Emperor Bokassa I speaking on Bangui radio on 20 January 1979.

In fact, his personal militia, stationed at Berengo and supported by a company of the Zairian army (Bokassa no longer trusts the Central African army since the aborted coup of Colonel Obrou in 1976), did not wait for this official declaration to take action against the demonstrators: Children from primary schools and public and private secondary schools whose only crime is that they object to wearing an expensive uniform which the Emperor has ordered to distinguish them "from other children not enrolled in schools who are often thieves."

The results of the violence of repression were especially heavy: 400 fatalities recorded by the various public health centers of Bangui, a French physician who was present at the National Hospital Center (the largest Central African hospital) noted.

More than 1,000 fatalities, Central African citizens who have reached Paris since these events reported.

Only the wounded who did not die immediately in the streets were taken to care centers. Among the survivors was Nadege Longo, a baby girl 6 months old.

Nadege is now at the Necker Children's Hospital under the care of Dr Polliot (ophthalmology) after undergoing a serious operation during which a bullet was removed from her brain.

This bullet first struck the child's mother, piercing the muscles of her upper left arm which was holding an umbrella, then it went and lodged in the

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infant's brain. Mrs Longo was carrying the child fastened to her back as do millions of African mothers. She was getting ready to leave her home and go to the market when her husband motioned to her that she should wait. She then recalls seeing many soldiers alight from trucks and hearing the initial shots.

A martyr in this International Year of the Child, Nadege Longo had to be hidden. No government could be proud of what happened to her. Will the French continue to accept much longer without reacting that their President, who likes safaries, should continue to supply arms of all kinds of an emperor because the latter controls enormous hunting grounds and uranium? Muzzled, hunted, young Central African citizens are now expatriating themselves in large numbers in order to survive and escape from this megalomaniac who has been ruling the Central African Empire [Republic] in a bloodbath for the past 13 years.

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CHAD

KANO AGREEMENT HAS NOT SETTLED CHADIAN PROBLEM

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 4 Apr 79 pp 21-22

[Article by Jos-Blaise Alima, "Goukouni, Giscard, Kaddafi, and The Others"]

[Text] It is true that since 23 March the main protagonists resumed partnership within a provisional Council of State of the Republic of Chad. But the caution with which the Kano agreement was greeted does not fail to cause worry. A provisional institution--like the government--the Council of State includes, on the individual level, elements whose points of view are irreconcilable from the start.

Appointed president of the Council of State, Mr Goukouni Oueddei is going, during a period still difficult to determine, to direct the country beside representatives of the other factions: the Movement for the Liberation of Chad with its leader, Aboubakar Mahamat Abderhamane; the Armed Forces of the North with Mahamat Nouri and Mahamat Saleh Ahmat, two associates of Hissein Habré; and the Chadian Armed Forces, represented by the head of the gendarmerie, Colonel Wadal Abdelkader Kamougue. Theoretically, all the signatories of the Kano agreement will have their say in the establishment of the future institutions of Chad. It remains to be seen to what extent the 8 men of this provisional executive are really masters of the situation.

More than ever, actually, the future of Chad seems to depend largely on foreign countries. The game of France is particularly revealing with respect to the international appetites which recent events have only sharpened. In announcing the withdrawal of its troops, the French Government in reality is obeying one constant factor of its policy: not to be absent at the moment of great turning points. Announced on 27 February, when the Kano meeting was being held, the decision was not inspired, as they had led one to believe, by the fact that the conditions of a settlement of the Chadian problem were thenceforth met.

It is true that those who had been battling with well known vigor agreed to sit down at the same table. But it was precisely because of the new turn which events were taking that the French Government decided to change

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tactics by trying to anticipate them. Its attitude was decided by the confrontations of N'Djamena, during which it is said to have taken a position in favor of Mr Hissein Habré.

Members of the entourage of former President Malloum do not hesitate to speak of laxity today. According to certain information, France had been persuaded that the forces of Hissein Habré would control the capital in 48 hours of fighting. Everything has happened as though by counseling moderation to Felix Malloum from the beginning of the test of strength undertaken by Hissein Habré in September 1978--only one month after the formation of the government of national union--, France had wanted to weaken the former president. This charge seems all the more surprising since it was at the insistence of Felix Malloum that Valéry Giscard d'Estaing had ended by endorsing the appointment of Hissein Habré as head of the Chadian Government. But politics has rules, one of the most constant of which is that of opportunity.

Confusion

With or without the complicity of France, the troops of the prime minister succeeded in getting those of the president of the republic into difficulty. There ensued a vacuum of power enhanced by a climate of confusion which made possible the entry of the FROLINAT [Chadian National Liberation Front] into the capital in force. After that everything was jeopardized. This was the moment France chose to come out of the muck so as to arrange the future. The mass departure of its citizens who had little desire to return to Chad had moreover facilitated this decision. The presence of its troops was thus no longer justified. In addition the latter would have had to fight eventual partners in the talks. So they had to avoid mortgaging the future.

France therefore suggested the idea of a federation by proposing the meeting, under its auspices, of a round table at N'Djamena. Considering himself betrayed, General Malloum rejected the French proposal. The intervention of the Sudan, actually requested by France, did not necessarily change his position. He preferred to entrust his fate to Nigeria, the entry of which on the scene considerably changed the basics of the situation. France was no longer the only one in the lists.

What emerges from the Kano agreement is perhaps not yet the formalization of the partition of Chad--thus this famous federation urged by France. On the other hand all the countries which were pulling with strings from behind the curtains through the intermediaries of the various factions now have their representatives within the provisional executive. With Hissein Habré it is the Sudan, and, in the background, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The MPLT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Chad] is officially supported by Nigeria. The only poor parent in this business is finally the faction represented by the Chadian Armed Forces, wrongly described as southerners.

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Subtle Tactics

For, even if divergences have appeared between Goukouni and Libya, it must not be forgotten that the latter helped him to oust Hissein Habré as head of the FROLINAT. Today Acyl Ahmat, the official protégé of Tripoli, does not possess the same trump cards as the son of the Lérdei. And it would not be surprising if Libya did not press him toward reconciliation with his "enemy brother", leaving to cool down the problem of the Aouzou band which was at the origin of the dispute between Goukouni and Tripoli. The Libyan Government cannot permit itself to be absent from the scene at a time when the future of Chad is going to be decided. It will have to have its own man there, which would push it to concessions toward its old protégé, Goukouni, who, without Libyan support, would risk seeing his position weakened in the face of Hissein Habré and Abderhamane.

One can see that the coastal Arab states enjoy the main role in this affair. This explains the French game: to keep its troops in Chad and support Malloum would be to alienate itself from the friendship of countries with which, for various reasons, the government at Paris insists on having the best relations.

The French tactics nevertheless do not lack subtlety. Paris actually chose the stronger side at an earlier time. Its choice was facilitated by the Arab countries, which ostensibly supported their protégés. Which was not the case with the French-speaking countries of the region, friendly to France but disinclined to interfere in the internal affairs of Chad. By subsequently proposing the formation of a federation, the French intended not to abandon totally the southern part of Chad, which has a frontier with other countries in its zone of influence.

Torn Apart

The Kano agreement has not finally settled the Chadian problem. It has only clarified the situation: caught between its more or less powerful neighbors and its former colonizer, Chad remains tragically torn apart. The fact that the abrupt decision to withdraw French troops was regretted first of all by the Chadians themselves proves at the very least that, 20 years after its independence, Chad is still very far from having control over its own destiny. And, by taking this decision, France was doubtless aiming to calm passions and demonstrate its good will. In order better to prepare its return.

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CONGO

NATION'S ORIENTATION TO BE MORE RADICAL FOLLOWING CONGRESS

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 16-30 Apr 79 pp 21-23

[Article by special correspondent Ginette Cot: "The Wind of the Three Glorious Ones"]

[Text] The events which have just taken place in the People's Republic of Congo lead right away to an initial determination: The existence in that country of a powerful, genuinely revolutionary movement and the deep rooting of the ideals of socialism among the popular masses.

The rebound which the situation has just witnessed finally confirms this tendency verified on numerous occasions in history, namely, that nothing--neither plots and political intrigues, nor economic strangulation and threats of all kinds, nor even failures and setbacks experienced by the revolutionary process, nor even less the assassination of a prestigious leader or the usurpation of power by elements guided by the sole concern of their egoistic and short-term ambitions--can bend a people determined and inured by long years of struggle--quite the opposite.

That is how the assassination on 18 March 1977 of President Marien Ngouabi and the 600 days of rule by the one who has been dubbed "Shah of Mpils" in the Congo finally led to the explosion of a truly revolutionary situation where anything (despite the serious handicaps which still have to be overcome) is again possible.

For that is indeed what is involved. The fact that the Special Third Congress of the PCT [Congolese Labor Party]--whose convening, announced publicly 500 days before his death by the assassinated Congolese president as scheduled for April 1977, could appear, after these 2 tragic years, as a stake--should have become a reality, the fact too and especially that these meetings, occurring from 26 to 31 March 1979 in Brazzaville, should have broadly fulfilled their promises, these two events are already sufficient to have convinced one of it.

In truth, the Third Special Congress of the PCT will unquestionably have been--and no one has made a mistake about it--the congress of Marien Ngouabi.

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His priority goal (the establishment of a solid and coherent political executive) sought by the movement of radicalization launched in September 1975 by the late Congolese president and for which the latter finally paid with his life was achieved. The March meetings indeed concluded with the election of a central committee, very largely renovated and reinforced, whose 60 members chosen by the rank and file have proved themselves, very particularly in the latest period during the decisive struggle engaged against those following the rightist and liquidationist line in the party.

Three Basic Documents

Accordingly, 20 of the 45 members of the former PCT's central committee held over from the Second Ordinary Congress of December 1974 were struck from the slate while 35 new activists, originating from the rank and file of the party, from the CSC [Congolese Trade Union Confederation], the UJSC [Union of Congolese Socialist Youth], and the APN [National People's Army] have made their appearance in the PCT's executive organ.

Similarly, the 10-member PCT politburo whose members were elected by the new central committee for their proven competence in the face of the needs of the hour includes officials who have played a determining role in the initiation and waging of the struggle against the dictatorial power which Gen Joachim Yhomby-Opango had arrogated upon himself.

Finally, the Third Special Congress of the PCT brought out in broad daylight all the qualities of a leader whom the people and all the progressive and revolutionary activists had already chosen on the very narrow of 5 February 1979 to preside over the destinies of the party and the government. Greeted with enthusiasm everywhere during the meetings which preceded the congress, Col Denis Sassou-Nguesso had been proposed by all the regional and communal congresses of the PCT as well as by all the mass organizations as the only candidate to assume this heavy responsibility. It is then without surprise but in an atmosphere of warm brotherhood and regained confidence that the 500 delegates to the congress elected by acclamation the one who was the comrade-in-arms from the outset of Marien Ngouabi and about whom everybody in the Congo agrees that he is the closest spiritual heir of the founder of the PCT to the office of chairman of the party's central committee.

At the same time as is known, Colonel Sassou-Nguesso was slated from that time to assume, too, the burdens of the Congolese presidency, of head of state as well as chairman of the Council of Ministers [prime minister].

Preceded by preparatory work effected in record time but in depth all the same, first in committees and then in base organizations across the country, through regional and communal congresses as well as meetings of councils or central committees of the mass organizations, the March meetings were characterized by a spirit of unprecedented competition and frankness. Reflecting the discussions held in districts, regions, "arrondissements" [administrative districts], and communes, the congress was dominated by



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the firm resolve of putting an end once and for all to lackadaisicalness, compromise, complacency, hesitation, and all the other ills which for too long have undermined if not paralyzed the Congolese revolutionary movement.

Three documents providing a critical exhaustive and serious analysis of the country's political, economic and sociocultural situation, specifying the orientations of the PCT and proposing solutions to emerge from the crisis, as well as a report of the central committee had been made part of the record of the congress. Enriched by the recommendations and comments made by the regional and communal congresses, all these documents reactivated and extended in some way in the light of the experience of these past 2 years the declaration of 12 December 1975 which had had, it will be recalled, the effect of a boomerang, as well as the work of the party's national conference held in November 1976 at the initiative of President Marien Ngouabi in the context of a process of radicalization and preparation of the Third Special Congress.

Immediately with the opening of the March session, in a speech which incidentally was to be approved as an orientation document of the congress and to which we shall have occasion to return, Colonel Sassou-Nguesso, who chaired the meetings, had set the keynote. He said that people should know "that the leadership role of the party does not flow and cannot flow from any special authority, for example, from a decree .... We must know that our party will not be credible, consequently, will be unable to effectively lead the revolution if our slogan is: To take advantage of one's membership in the party in order to enjoy privileged social status. We must know that it is thanks to the correctness of our position, the prestige acquired in the concrete struggles of the masses, the example given in the acceptance of the sacrifices imposed by the struggle, our unbounded devotion to the cause of the people, and our exemplary discipline that we shall be able to play our role as avant garde activists .... In the past we did not pay sufficient attention to all this but too frequently used our status as party members not only to promote the struggle but also to try to improve our personal position. We must henceforth act in such a way that each of our words, each of our actions may reflect the interests and aspirations of the people: Each one must know that if he commits errors no one will protect him. If he is honest, the people will appreciate him while if he resorts to betrayal the people and the party will strike him ...."

Today the country is experiencing a particularly severe economic and financial crisis and waste inherited from General Yhomby-Opango. Sixteen years after the Three Glorious Ones it is also found that the establishment of public enterprises in sectors of economic and social life, while it reflects the popular will for national liberation, far from having initiated a split with the strategy of neocolonial improvement has, contrariwise, strengthened the outward-looking development model, that is, turned to the outside represented by France.

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It is also noted that the sound initiatives (such as, for example, the plan for a people's school, in abeyance since 1970) were for the most part blocked or reactivated by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie as well as by the parasitic bourgeoisie of government agreements, a bourgeoisie which grew like mushrooms in the rain through the implementation of the First Economic and Social Development Plan (1976) whose principal goals were thereby scuttled.

Thus thought will inevitably lead to the absolute need of waging twice as hard and significant a class struggle against these underminers of the people, objective allies of imperialism, and an unceasing struggle against all those practices which favor and tend to perpetuate the existing situation. That, in fact, is a life-or-death question for the Congolese revolutionary process. To emerge from the crisis and the neocolonialist mire demands, it goes without saying, considerable efforts and sacrifices. This also and especially mandates unprecedented popular mobilization which cannot be concretized effectively unless the party leaders and activists first set an example and do not give evidence of particularly severe demands first vis-a-vis themselves.

We must consider ourselves--President Sassou-Nguesso declared in essence in his opening speech--as a generation doomed to live austerely today so that our children may live better tomorrow. To remove from the bureaucratic and parasitic bourgeoisie its means of existence (gratuities, corruption, commercial and financial shenanigans, embezzlement of public funds, and so on), to act in such a way that the elements of these minority groups may no longer infiltrate themselves into positions of responsibility in the party and the government, to prevent the self-corruption of the PCT cadres--such are the concerns which underlie the numerous resolutions and motions approved by the Third Special Congress as is the resolve to undertake a decisive struggle against the domestic allies of imperialism. This was expressed in the measures sought by the congress-holders (who thereby acted as spokesmen for the wishes of the rank and file and the popular masses). Regarding the "Shah of Mpila" (leader of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie), the resolution approved in this regard calls, as is known, for the immediate arrest of General Yhomby-Opango, the seizure of his assets, and his trial before a people's court for the crime of high treason.

A New Direction

To wage the struggle for national liberation and the construction of socialism to its conclusion implies today more than ever, under existing circumstances, the rally of all revolutionary forces within the PCT. That is why the Third Special Congress will also have marked this resolve concretely with the full and complete rehabilitation of former participants in the movement of 22 February 1972 as well as in the aborted strike of March 1976, individuals who had sought to be reintegrated in the party during the latest period.

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In addition, the PCT should be able to manage to overcome one of its weaknesses concerning its policy with regard to campaigns with the decision of the congress to strive for the construction of a mass peasants' organization. Let us note finally that a new constitution as well as new methods for the election of officials and the People's National Assembly were approved in order to reinforce the leadership and dynamic role of the party and to prevent enemy elements from managing, as in the past, to use these democratic institutions to their own ends. But as President Sassou-Nguesso underscored at the closing of the congress, to approve resolutions is one thing while to implement them is a completely different thing.

However, while no one is expecting miracles or promising abundance for tomorrow (it is evident that the next 4 or 5 years will be difficult), the revolutionary situation which was created through the toppling of the Yhomby-Opango clique should make it possible for the Congolese revolutionary movement to take a new direction and move at the double. On their part, the people are ready, and popular demonstrations, which in Brazzaville and Pointe Noire marked the close of the congress, are evidence of it. But the activists in Brazzaville say that the people will not always have the patience to bear disappointments and procrastination.

For the time being the new leaders have adopted a work tempo which tends to confirm that things have indeed changed. On the very next day after the congress one could thus witness the formation of the new government which immediately got to work while the political commissioners were appointed to go into the regions in view of the election of officials for which the date was already set for 8 July 1979.

The wind of the Three Glorious Ones, blowing strong once again over the People's Republic of the Congo, seems at any rate to be really bringing hope.

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LIBERIA

BRIEFS

SAUDI PETROLEUM SUPPLY AGREEMENT--A Liberian delegation led by Mr James Phillips, minister of finance, signed an agreement in Riyadh at the beginning of March whereby the Saudi company, PETROMIN /General Organization for Petroleum and Minerals/, agrees to furnish 4.1 million barrels of oil annually to the Liberian Petroleum Refining Company (LPRC). It was stressed in Monrovia that this agreement would thus end the uncertainty of supply and very wide price fluctuation to which the Liberian company has been subjected during the last few months, particularly in view of the interruption in the supply of Iranian oil. /Text/ /Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 23 Mar 79 p 749/ 8568

FIDA LOAN--The International Fund for Agricultural Development (FIDA) is preparing to grant Liberia a loan of \$10 million to be used specifically for a rice-growing development program. A delegation from that organization arrived in Monrovia on 14 March precisely for the purpose of arranging that loan. /Text/ /Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 23 Mar 79 p 749/ 8568

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REUNION

CANTONAL ELECTIONS ANALYZED BY YVON MACE

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 16-29 Apr 79 pp 25-26

[Text] France is behind the times. On the eve of the year 2000 it retains the death penalty in its panoply of repression and the sole power in its case, which remains resolutely colonialist.

The death penalty is a French internal matter and I will not dwell upon it here; on the other hand the fact of colonialism is an international problem which concerns directly the countries of the Third World, those which have recently gained independence first of all.

A glance at the map of the Indian Ocean is illuminating on this subject: all the coastal states, including the smallest islands of this area of the world, are independent and can make themselves heard in international bodies, make their own decisions, and possibly try to block the advance of imperialism in their immediate vicinity. The only exceptions are Mayotte and Reunion, French overseas territories and "departments." The anachronism is obvious.

The inhabitants of these islands are supposed to be entirely French. Under this heading their destiny is clear, they have outlined a vocation for them from which they cannot escape. If they have a brown skin they can only solicit underling jobs in the metropole: postal workers, RATP [Independent Parisian Transport System] agents, menial jobs in the hospitals or with private persons. Only a handful of privileged people escape this fate. The others, those who remain in the country, the great majority, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, remain prey to underemployment, poverty, and illiteracy. The billions of francs injected by France will change nothing there. On the contrary, they are designed to perpetuate a state of affairs of which a tiny minority of privileged local people and metropolitans (the "zoreils") are the sole beneficiaries. A colonial situation if there ever was one!

The "colonial policy of integration" intends to make monkeys of the mass of these island people. On certain occasions one guesses that they were created to lend their support to the power in charge in the metropole. When the French vote, the inhabitants of Reunion also vote. And as much as

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possible they should vote "right." No holds are barred for that. Everyone knows that fraud, threats, and violence are everyday occurrences in the "overseas departments."

Toward Autonomy?

Thus the inhabitants of Reunion voted in cantonal elections on 18 and 25 March. There were 19 general councillors to elect. As one might have expected, the candidate sponsored by the central power won: 13 reelected or elected, against only 6 for the opposition.

The analysis of the results nevertheless shows a serious setback for the RPR [Rally of the Reunion People] to the advantage of the UDF [Union Pour la Defense de la Republique] which will cause gnashing of teeth among the friends of Mr Michel Debre. Yesterday still a Gaullist stronghold, the Reunion of the musclebound departmentalists is fast becoming Giscard territory. But the anti-autonomist tide anticipated by the powers that be did not take place to the same extent. The sole socialist councillor candidate was reelected on the first round; as for the Communists (who did not enjoy the carryover of the socialist votes, at least officially, only the MRG [left radical movement] having solemnly called for votes for the Communist candidate in favorable balloting), they lost only one seat, that of Saint-Louis 2. Paul Verges, who was the candidate at Saint-Pierre, was beaten.

If the metropolitan press and television made a big thing of the defeat of the secretary-general of the Reunion Communist Party (PCR), it is worth pointing out Paul Verges lacked only 200 votes to be elected in that district, the private preserve of the UDF and of election fraud.

On the other hand Lucet Langenier was elected at Sainte-Suzanne, a former RPF district, which was not easy. Finally, and most significantly despite its low score in seats, the PCR received and it alone, 48.8 percent of the votes in this election. One can therefore conclude that almost half of the inhabitants of Reunion are not hostile to the autonomist policy preached by the Reunion Communists.

All things considered, one can estimate, along with TEMOIGNAGES, the organ of the party, that without fraud, without violence, and without metropolitan assistance (300,000 receiving "assistance" out of 500,000 inhabitants!), and with access to the television (which has been prohibited to the Communists up to now), the autonomists would have been in the majority.

The election of Paul Verges to the parliament in Europe, which is assured, can only emphasize this trend.

Autonomy, according to the PCR, would be only administrative, and to a certain extent economic and political. Close links would be preserved with France, and the inhabitants of Reunion would keep French citizenship.

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A Federation?

The departmentalists are nevertheless making a case of the intentions of the autonomists: autonomy, they say, will quickly result in independence and to the cutting of links with France. It is perhaps conceivable. This is all the more so since the fraternal parties and progressive governments of the area desire that the island gain independence. In their eyes an independent Reunion Island would not only make possible the binding of regional alliances, but of even closer links. Even before the independence of Mauritius, the Seychelles, and the Comoros, the idea of a federation of the Grand Mascarenes in which Reunion would have been an integral part, had been launched.

But that point has not yet been reached, and it is not at all worth dramatizing it. Autonomy in the union with France, such as that suggested by the PCR and its allies, does not mean an obligation to independence tomorrow. The choice would remain, whatever one may say, in the hands of the inhabitants of Reunion, finally free for self-determination. If they desire to remain French, no one would prevent them. Unless they succeeded again in deceiving them with electoral fraud and violence.

For the present, Reunion remains an assisted colony.

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SENEGAL

PREMIER'S OFFICIAL VISIT TO FRANCE CONSOLIDATES COOPERATION

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 6 Apr 79 p 870

Text Mr Abdou Diouf, prime minister of Senegal, made his first official visit to France from 27 to 30 March. In his press conference of 29 March, he stated that his visit has achieved its essential objectives: "a deepening of Franco-Senegalese friendship and a consolidation of their cooperative ties." The results of his visit were termed excellent by the Senegalese prime minister. "We were favorably received," he said, "and we shall try to be worthy of Franco-Senegalese cooperation by exercising a good and strict administration."

In fact, the joint communique signed at the end of the visit, after having emphasized that the two countries will join forces to achieve a "great Euro-Arab-African axis of solidarity," states that, on the bilateral level, the Senegalese prime minister obtained additional financial aid from France in the amount of 30 million francs to be added to the 30 million already granted for the construction of the University of Saint-Louis-du-Senegal, aimed at accommodating 4,000 students in 1982. Mr Robert Galley, French minister of cooperation, who received Mr Diouf at lunch, is said to have plans to visit Senegal within the next few months to establish a schedule of payments of the French aid for this university project.

France also confirmed that it was granting Senegal exceptional aid in the amount of 20 million francs within the framework of the Sahel Plan to implement a program aimed at combating the drought within the next few months. Moreover, the French Government will release 20 million of the 80 million francs already foreseen in participating in the construction of the Diama Dam. In addition, Mr Barre stated that he was prepared to examine favorably the possibilities of supporting the development projects of Senegalese radio and television and an expansion of the Ziguinchor hospital.

In reference to radio and television, it was agreed that French Television System (TDF) will collaborate with the Ministry of Cooperation in making a "preliminary study" aimed at assisting Senegal in the choices it has relative to the restoration and expansion of equipment. In an interview with Radio-France International Mr Diouf indicated that Senegal was hesitating between the construction of an ORTS (Senegalese Radio and Television Service) House and a more modest project calling for the installation of television in new localities separate from those it now shares with the radio service. The TDF study will take from 3 to 6 months.

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As for fishing, the Senegalese and French prime ministers stated that they were prepared to pursue the line of cooperation contained in the provisions of the agreement now being concluded between Senegal and the EEC. This confirmation is of particular interest to French fishing fleets operating along the Senegalese coast.

In the technical assistance sector the French Government offered to devote its efforts more to higher education and the sending of technicians rather than to secondary education. One will further deduce from the final communique that the Senegalese and French prime ministers "expressed their pleasure at the progress achieved between the Africa, Caribbean and Pacific Common Market states and the EEC in arriving at a new agreement" replacing that of Lome.

Miscellaneous Questions

In addition to the above economic questions and questions on bilateral relations, Mr Diouf was asked to speak in his press conference of certain political or specific problems:

--The Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty: Senegal wants to see the problem of the national rights of the Palestinian people settled.

--Western Sahara: Senegal hopes that the OAU's commission of sages will propose definite solutions during the Monrovia summit meeting in July.

--Relations with Guinea-Bissau: This is a friendly country with which Senegal has trustful relations. The problem of maritime borders is being handled dispassionately; but, if it were necessary, and upon mutual agreement, the two countries would appeal to the International Court of Justice of The Hague.

--Mauritania: Mr Diouf used the term "worrisome situation" in speaking of the announcement of the establishment of an armed-conflict front for self-determination of the blacks of Mauritania.

--Oil: Asked to give his opinion on offshore petroleum exploration, the Senegalese prime minister stated emphatically that there was no difference of opinion with Guinea-Bissau in this regard and that negotiations were going on with various countries, particularly Venezuela, to achieve a profitable exploratory method.

Meetings With the Private Sector

On 28 March the Senegalese prime minister had a long meeting with a delegation of about 30 French industrialists led by Mr Jean Dromer, chairman of the ACP (Africa, Caribbean, Pacific) Commission of the National Council of French Protection (CNPF).

Mr Diouf was surrounded by several of his ministers, particularly Messrs Ousmane Seck (finance and economic affairs), Oumar Ba (urbanism, housing and

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environment), and Louis Alexandrenne (plan and cooperation). The French industrialists represented a variety of sectors such as chemistry, banks, the automobile industry, engineering, the cement industry, food and the like.

Three major projects were brought up during this meeting. They concern the creation of 100 jobs in various industrial sectors in the free zone of Dakar with a credit of 100 million French francs, the installation of a cement plant in which the Creusot-Loire company might participate, and achievements in the chemical domain with the collaboration of Mining and Chemical Enterprise.

The principle of CNPF's organizing Senegalese days in Dakar at the beginning of next year was also adopted. This type of event, already arranged in other countries by the CNPF, makes it possible for industrialists to meet with local economic leaders and thus obtain information on the industrial aspects, problems and plans of the country in question.

Mr Raymond Barre, French prime minister, agreed to pay an official visit to Senegal at a date to be determined later. Mr Barre conferred the insignia of the Grand Cross of the National Order of Merit on Mr Abdou Diouf.

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TANZANIA

## 1978-1981 PLAN FOR ZANZIBAR

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 9 Mar 79 p 642

[Text] The Third Tanzanian 5-Year Development Plan (1978-1981) foresees an annual growth rate of 5.6 percent for the whole of Zanzibar's economy, with 5.5 percent being anticipated for agriculture; 4.5 percent for industry; 10 percent for public works; and 7.5 percent for transportation. At current prices the island's GDP will be 887 million shillings in 1981 on the assumption of a real rate of inflation of 10 percent. These objectives imply a total investment of 1.14 billion shillings, divided as follows:

Sectors	Millions of Shillings	Percentage
Agriculture	273.6	23.9
Industry	107.8	9.4
Water, energy, mines	215.4	18.8
Natural resources	53.8	4.7
Transportation and public works	152.2	13.3
Trade	15.5	1.4
Education	69.3	6.1
Health	47.1	4.1
Housing	137.4	12.0
Information	13.5	1.2
Administration	58.3	5.1
Total	1,143.9	100.0

A total of 420 million will be invested in 1978-1979; 412 million in 1979-1980; and 321 million in 1980-1981. The financing is to be assured by 546 million of local funds, 160 million of foreign gifts and 427 million of foreign loans. It is to be noted that among the foreign contributions Zanzibar is counting on assistance from the Tanzanian Treasury Department for the continental part of the country. Among the principal industrial projects we must cite:

- alcoholic beverages, gasoline and perfumes (29.7 million shillings);
- central coconut-oil works (18 million);
- expansion of cigarette manufacture (9 million); and
- expansion of Mahonda sugar mill (22.8 million).

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UPPER VOLTA

MOVEMENT TOWARDS UNITY GOVERNMENT EXAMINED BY SIRADIOU DIALLO

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 11 Apr 79 pp 68-71

[Article by special envoy Siradiou Diallo]

[Text] The opposition demands it. President Lamizana is waiting for Parliament's spring session to propose national reconciliation.

The political truce in effect since the formation of the Third Republic Government (July 1978) will be short-lived. This crucial event in the country's political life ended a long and difficult period of confrontations punctuated by the 27 November 1977 referendum, the March 1978 parliamentary elections and the May 1978 presidential elections. In fact, following the appointment of RDA (African Democratic Rally) veteran Dr Joseph Conombo as head of the government, protagonists of the Upper Voltan political scene pretended to check their weapons at the door and retrench. But this was nothing but a false start, not to say a simple military ruse.

Six months later, recovered from their wounds, full of faith in their lucky star and more than ever bucked up by a well-deserved, although a bit forced, rest cure, the gladiators once again entered the arena. The kick-off for the first skirmishes was delivered by the unions on 3 February. On that day, a big meeting was organized at the Ouagadougou Labor Exchange. On an appeal by the CNTV (National Confederation of Upper Voltan Workers), the CSV (Upper Voltan Labor Union Association) and the OVSL (Upper Voltan Free Labor Union Organization), several thousand workers in an overwhelmingly enthusiastic atmosphere raised their hands in favor of a "call for general mobilization."

In a short, incisive document, the unions declare open war on Mr Conombo's government, described as a "patched-up peace," if not a "regrouping of tired politicians." They reproach him for his blindness in the face of the growing poverty of the masses while, according to them, members of the government benefit from "fabulous" salaries and advantages. Likewise, (majority as well as opposition) deputies are reproached for having increased their compensation and privileges in a "flabbergasting and shameless way." If we are to believe union members, the government does not hesitate to create new

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posts with an eye to rewarding its political allies, at the risk of arbitrarily awarding contracts for government deals to businessmen who made "the right choice" in the elections. And in order to divide the workers, regime detractors assert, "they sweeten the pot for some while throwing a bone" to the others.

In the eyes of union members, this sort of squandering proves that the government has the means but deliberately refuses to meet their just demands. And what are they demanding? An "adequate" increase in workers' purchasing power which, they claim, has dropped considerably. The last raises in Upper Volta prior to the 8-percent salary increase decreed at the start of this year go back to April 1976. The protesters in addition advocate an adjustment in scholarships for pupils and students and a fair organization of stores and grain distribution as well as a housing policy bold enough to eliminate speculation on property and rents.

But union members do not stop at purely corporate or crassly material demands. They denounce seizures of newspapers, arbitrary assignments of officials, nepotism and favoritism. They conclude with a vibrant appeal for general mobilization, calling on workers to hold themselves "ready to engage in those actions necessary to satisfy their own interests and those of the Upper Voltan people."

A vigorous warning which the government interprets as a veritable challenge. Then too, Dr Conombo has picked up the gauntlet. Without any delay either. Four hours after the 3 February meeting at the Labor Exchange came to an end, the head of the government presided over a big rally not far from there on the Place du 3 Janvier. Officially to thank voters from the capital who supported the RDA during the last few election campaigns! In reality, this was in response to the arrows released that morning by union members. And through them by the opposition. The language employed by the prime minister on that occasion is ample proof of this.

In fact, for Dr Conombo union members are nothing but partisan minds. They defend a "workers' share," while the government, which "defends the interests of 7 million Upper Voltans," is the "real union." But the president does not stop at castigating the unions. He actively attacks the opposition parties which he feels are the ones who are really pulling the strings. Thus he describes ex-President Maurice Yameogo's UNDD (National Union for the Defense of Democracy) and Joseph Ouedraogo's Refusal Front as a "renegade rally." As for Prof Joseph Ki-Zerbo's UPV (Upper Voltan Progressive Union), he calls it "bourgeois" and "opportunistic." And Dr Conombo concludes his violent diatribe with a strong warning to troublemakers and all those who might be tempted to destabilize the Third Republic! With these aggressive and at the very least unaccustomed statements by this experienced and generally soft-spoken politician, the president touched off the powder keg and in so doing lightened the task of the opposition parties.

The latter could hardly miss catching the ball on the rebound to shout their challenge and provocation. And that is what they did. Better yet, they

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took advantage of the situation to once again set in motion the unity of action they had given up since the end of the May 1978 presidential election campaign. In short, a veritable windfall.

It nevertheless took 3 weeks of negotiations to get the UPV, the UNDD and the Refusal Front to work side by side. The three organizations called an important meeting which was held on 24 February at the Place du 3 Janvier in Ouagadougou. Of course, the atmosphere was not the same as during the election campaign. Less passion, portraits of leaders and pennants. But in the spring sunlight, a crowd that was just as big danced to the rhythm of the orchestras. Groups of athletes rivaled one another in feats of strength and adroitness. It was in this relaxed and childlike atmosphere that Mr Macaire Ouedraogo for the UNDD, Professor Ki-Zerbo for the UPV and Mr Joseph Ouedraogo (Refusal Front) successively took the floor.

The speakers unanimously condemned the repressive methods the government has used since its inception. If we are to believe them, for 6 months now the government has been resorting to intimidating maneuvers, vendettas and settling scores with opposition party members. To illustrate these accusations, they pell-mell cited cases of officials arbitrarily silenced, bullied villagers and tribal chiefs revoked or imprisoned on orders from the ministers of interior and justice. But the severest accusations are more particularly based on what the opposition considers to be a "flagrant violation" of the Constitution: the decrees that deal with the appointment of special delegations charged with the administration of the communes, departments and subprefectures.

In fact, Article 104 of the Constitution provides for elected assemblies to ensure the administration of all local collectives. Under the circumstances, Professor Ki-Zerbo would probably say, in his typically sarcastic tone, that Upper Voltan democracy is a "one-eyed man whose good eye looks abroad to make us believe that everything is beautiful under the skies of Upper Volta while the bad eye is turned inward to frighten Upper Voltans." As for Mr Joseph Ouedraogo, the fiery leader of the Refusal Front, he would point his forefinger accusingly at President Lamizana's residence, which looks out on the square, to threaten it with the thunderbolt of the people.

In any event, at the close of the meeting it seemed clear that opposition leaders were appealing rather for concerted effort than for confrontation, trying rather to reach agreement with the government than to overthrow it. Professor Ki-Zerbo summed up this aspiration by saying that the prime minister ought to "use the flute rather than the staff to get the Upper Voltan flock together." To give the whole story, the opposition would like to have a national unity government formed, founded on a minimum political program, which, without renouncing the existence of the parties and their specific characters, would allow for the appeasement of artificial confrontations, the elimination of personal quarrels and other superfluous maneuvers in order to bend all our energies toward the struggle for development.

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Are President Lamizana and his government prepared to move in this direction, to favor the blossoming of this unitarian current the opposition is appealing for with its wishes? There is every reason to believe so. As "president of all Upper Voltans, I am above the parties," he confided to us in his office, adorned by a portrait of Ouezzin Coulibaly, the grand old man of the RDA, unanimously respected and considered to be the true father of Upper Voltan independence. Dressed all in blue from garrison cap to socks including the indigo boubou, the chief of state, his eye twinkling in a placid mask lined with ritual scars, went on: "When the time comes, I will call on all the parties to get together and form a government of national unity. If they really want to work in the interests of the nation, they will listen to my appeal."

Actually, President Lamizana has already chosen sides. He is only waiting for the spring session of the National Assembly, which opens in mid-April, to announce which one. With a view to this reconciliation looming on the horizon, the chief of state seems to have taken all steps likely to appease the opposition. Thus the apple of discord constituted by the special delegations charged with administering the local collectives will be eliminated. As the opposition parties demand, the government will undertake to organize municipal and departmental elections by the end of 1979 or, at the latest, the beginning of 1980. "Scarcely a few months ago, we concluded a long election campaign," the president told us by way of justifying the postponement of this election and explained that we had to "give the people a breather before calling them to the polls again."

Also, General Lamizana seems ready to apply those provisions of the Constitution relating to the limitation of political parties. The Constitution adopted by referendum on 27 November 1977 in fact only permits three political parties in Upper Volta. Also, since the March 1978 parliamentary elections, it was expected that the three parties receiving the largest popular vote: the RDA, the UNDD and the UPV, would be the only ones authorized to function. Now since then, no decree applying the law in that direction has been promulgated. Despite the fact it has been questioned several times, the government maintains absolute silence. And for good reason. Certain ministers — and not the little fish — that make up the government team turn out to be leaders of the PRA (African Regroupment Party) and the Independents, that is, two parties which, beaten in the elections, ought to legally disappear.

As of now, how can General Lamizana satisfy the opposition without breaking with the Constitution's rejected goods? The chief of state is satisfied with answering this question with a rather enigmatic smile. But then he at once says that "everything is going to be all right. In any event," he notes, the "law is ready; it will be submitted to the National Assembly as soon as the next session begins."

Then there is the mortgage constituted by the case of Maurice Yameogo. Thirteen years after his fall, the ex-president in fact continues to exert by no means negligible pressure on Upper Voltan political life. In order

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of importance, the UNDD, which is his creation, occupies second position on the political ladder. Then too, the government cannot indefinitely ignore the Koudougou recluse's demand for reinstatement. Any national reconciliation must of necessity satisfy Mr Maurice. "His (Maurice Yameogo) reinstatement depends solely on himself," Prime Minister Conombo confided to us. Then he went on to say: "Let him take it easy because we will yield to neither blackmail nor pressure."

Actually, the die is now cast. Secret conversations going on for months now between certain RDA leaders and Mr Yameogo seem to have reached an "interesting point." Furthermore, President Houphouet-Boigny has probably played an active role in this rapprochement. As RDA chairman and founder, the Ivorian leader has received the top men from the different factions that claim to belong to the family in his native village of Yamoussoukro. At present, there is every reason to believe that the "old man" has achieved success in his delicate mission. And in Ouagadougou the enemy brothers will no doubt soon bury the hatchet. This does not mean that their confrontations will not be pursued in other ways. But even if they were to come to a mere semblance of an arrangement, that would be something. Something we have been waiting for for 14 years and which would change a lot of things in Upper Volta.

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ZAIRE

MOBUTU'S EFFORTS AT REHABILITATION VIEWED WITH DISTRUST

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 16-29 Apr 79 p 24

[Article by Jack Bourderie: "Mobutu Under Surveillance"]

[Text] "We have another Iran on our hands," said Stephen Solarz, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the American House of Representatives, concerning Zaire. He added that given "Mobutu's inclination toward a violent solution" and the "rapacious horde" constituting his Zairian Army, Congress should be very cautious about aid suggestions presented by the administration so that the United States does not become "too closely identified with the unpopular government of Zaire," as it was at the time of the Shah's overthrow in Teheran.

This distrust is shared by French business circles, despite their growing interest in Zairian resources and the reassuring words which the "Guide" poured forth in the course of a long, 5-hour meeting with representatives of the National Council of French Employers (CNPF). "Outside of a few specifically Zairian factors such as those having to do with poor management and the ill effects of certain Zairianization measures, it is essentially external reasons that are the cause of our difficulties. Are we responsible for the dollar crisis, the energy crisis, world inflation, the spectacular drop in the price of raw materials, unemployment? That is the point of view I clearly put before the representatives of French employers whose guest I was on 19 March." With this solid conviction that once more he had succeeded in bluffing and backed by the vague assurances of French employers and the firm promise made by Sicard concerning Paris' resolute support for requests for financial assistance made again to the Group of the Ten, the Zairian president believes that he was able to ward off the threat consisting of the fact that the precondition for any new financial assistance might be purely and simply the overthrow of his regime.

The fact is that the record of his administration is not a shining one. In addition to debts totaling over \$3 billion and colossal squandering which, ranging from the Inga II project to the Kisangani project and including the Voice of Zaire (national radio and television office), the Maluku

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iron and steel complex, the space telecommunications system, the Kisangani steam generating station, and so on, amounts to the most incredible figure in the billions, there are now the countless examples of embezzlement sprinkled through the pages of the astounding reports of Erwin Blumenthal, the German expert from the International Monetary Fund in charge of "putting the situation in order" and named assistant to the governor of the Bank of Zaire in order to do so.

Cobalt and Buses

However, there is no end in sight to this rehabilitation that must precede the release of some \$200 million by the IMF and that led IMF experts to draw up black lists of Zairian companies and businessmen up to their necks in corruption and misappropriation of funds, all with the blessing of the Guide, whose family and tribal customers they are. Scarcely had the IMF noted that the drop in the production of copper and cobalt in the course of 1978 and at the beginning of 1979 had, despite the spectacular rise in prices, brought about a loss of \$16 million (over 65 million new francs) in January and \$30 million (130 million new francs) in February when the sordid cobalt mess surfaced.

In order to fool the international tutelage authorities, the Zairian leaders thought up the idea of creating from scratch a "Swiss company" in charge of selling 200 tons of cobalt for cash (annual production is about 12,000 tons). The difference between the cash price: \$46 per pound, and the official term price: \$25, thus enabled this pseudo Swiss company to make a net profit of \$8.4 million (some 35 million new francs or 3.5 billion old francs), which quite obviously disappeared without ever touching Zairian soil. Caught red-handed, the officials claimed that half of the sum obtained in this fashion was reportedly used to pay for an order for buses made with the French company SAVIEM [Industrial Vehicles and Mechanical Equipment Company]. As for the rest, nearly 2 billion old francs, it disappeared in the welcoming, discreet depths of the numbered Swiss coffers. Can one believe that the master of Kinshasa was not in on the deal when it was he who only recently traded French helicopters for copper?

Everyone everywhere doubts everything Mobutu says. For example, no one took seriously the statement made by the Zairian president according to which since the production of his mines had resumed, Zairian copper sales were going to increase. The continuing rise in copper prices in London is there as evidence.

Likewise, knowing smiles greeted his statement that "there is now total security" throughout the country and that "the replacement of the Moroccan, Senegalese and Gabonese soldiers by the inter-African force is now nearly certain."

But while Mobutu may have lost all personal credibility, Western business circles are still clinging to Zaire because as the 20 March issue of the

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FINANCIAL TIMES emphasized, "this country, which is reduced to begging for international aid, is one of the most productive nations in Black Africa." Potentially, naturally! If only one could get rid of Mobutu.... But how is one to do so without risking overturned alliances and the hostility of the new rulers toward these Westerners who have always held him at arm's length -- and continue to do so. And all the while, until his fate is decided, a close watch is being kept on him by two watchdogs: a wounded national capitalism and a greedy international capitalism, which spy on one another and, like new Diogenes, both go looking for a man.

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ZAIRE

ARMS TRAFFICKER, MERCENARIES ARRESTED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 23 Feb 79 p 520

[Text] On 14 February, the ZAIRIAN PRESS AGENCY (AZAP) revealed that an arms trafficker of Italian-Belgian nationality and his accomplices, two Zairian upper-level employees, had been arrested the previous evening in Zaire by the Security Services, while 19 mercenaries, "hired to create disturbances in the eastern region of the country," had been duly "identified and booked."

According to AZAP, the arms trafficker and the two Zairian cadres were arrested in Lufu (Lower Zaire), near the Angolan border, while carrying "compromising" documents confirming instructions dictated from Brussels by self-styled opponents of the Zairian regime and proving that...the Italian-Belgian individual had previously succeeded in smuggling weapons and munitions into Zaire."

A little later, attention turned, not to the 19 mercenaries, but to 48 others. These mercenaries, mainly of Belgian nationality, but also from West Germany, the Netherlands and France, were reportedly in Rwanda at the border station of Gisenyi. According to AZAP, the recruitment of these mercenaries was allegedly carried out in Belgium in Liege. The same agency believes that the brains behind the operation sent a member of the opposition to the Zairian regime as an emissary to the United States in order to try to rally Washington to their cause.

This matter of the mercenaries remains a rather confusing issue. At any rate, authorities in Kinshasa are on the alert. Elements from the 311th Paratroopers Battalion have been sent to the Goma region. This battalion, made up of French instructors, performed brilliantly at the time of the events in Kolwezi in May, taking the airport of the mining city that had been invaded by the former Katangan gendarmes.

According to Zairian authorities, there is an actual plan aimed at "destabilizing the country a few weeks away from the scheduled meeting of Zaire's partners in Washington concerning the economic recovery plan."

In Brussels, observers note that Kinshasa's announcement of the arrest of several "lost soldiers" corresponds to the sending, as early as 12 February,

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of some 250 Belgian paratroopers to Zaire. Officially, the latter are to help train Zairian armed forces at the Kitona base, 300 kilometers west of the Zairian capital. Some Belgian newspapers believe that the discovery of a plot against the regime of President Mobutu Sese Seko is at the root of this sending of troops by Belgium. The Zairian presidency has formally denied this version of the facts.

What is certain is that the social situation in Zaire is still very tense. The Zairian opposition even states that relatively serious disturbances took place in Kinshasa at the beginning of February, which was also officially and formally denied.

It should be added that in addition to the 250 paratroopers, the last of which left Brussels on 19 February, Belgium has decided to send a navy ship equipped with a crane to the estuary of the Zaire River, near the Kitona military base. This ship, the "Zenja," will not be armed and will carry food and medicines. "This will facilitate things from a logistical standpoint," the Belgian prime minister said.

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ZAIRE

MOBUTU VISITS EUROPE SEEKING AID

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 30 Mar 79 p 820

[Text] Before going to the Federal Republic of Germany, where he was received on 22 March by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, President Mobutu Sese Seko went to Paris, where on 21 March he was the guest of the Diplomatic Press Association and stated that the situation in his country was being remedied.

Admitting "without hesitation" the existence of certain administrative deficiencies, President Mobutu attributed the deterioration in his country's monetary and economic situation to the world economic crisis, the drop in the price of copper and circumstantial difficulties.

"However, Zaire's situation is being remedied," said the Zairian chief of state, who announced that documents concerning agreements made between his country and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had been initialed and that he would soon sign them.

These documents are part of the Mobutu Plan for rehabilitating the Zairian economy, for which credits amounting to \$457 million are being sought. The program extends over 3 years and involves the reorganization of management, economic and financial stabilization through control and regulation of demand and a resumption of production.

President Mobutu also categorically denied that there had been any drop in copper production in Zaire. He said that production, put at 450,000 tons (sixth place in the world), should total 600,000 tons and that 150 foreign technicians were working in Zaire.

Referring to the reorganization of the Zairian Armed Forces (FAZ), President Mobutu recalled that France was in charge of the training of 3,000 paratroopers who will make up an airborne squad, that Belgium was training 3,000 infantrymen and that China was completing the training of 3,000 commandos.

In Bonn, President Mobutu Sese Seko joined with Chancellor Schmidt in a discussion of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the economic, financial and development policy domains. Chancellor Schmidt said that

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his country's government is willing, within the framework of the Mobutu Plan, to continue its financial and technical aid to Zaire and to participate in multinational efforts in order to enable it to carry out the plan.

In addition, it has been announced that the next meeting of the German-Zairian Grand Commission will take place in Kinshasa in the fall of 1979.

After his visit to Bonn, the Zairian president returned to Paris, where he once again met with President Giscard d'Estaing on 26 March. Upon leaving the Elysee Palace, he announced that France was going to supply emergency aid to the victims of the drought in Lower Zaire, particularly in the capital of Kinshasa. This aid will include 1,500 tons of wheat, 1,000 tons of sugar and 4 tons of medicines. The emergency aid will be delivered next month.

President Mobutu Sese Seko was then to proceed on to Rome in order to meet with Italian financial and economic officials. He was also to go to the Vatican, where he would be received by Pope John Paul II.

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ZAIRE

BRIEFS

BUDGET DEFICIT--On 21 March, the Zairian Legislative Council approved the proposed budget for 1979. The approved budget will be promulgated by President Mobutu Sese Seko. It provides the following for 1979 (round figures): 2,662,000,000 zaires in overall expenditures (operating expenses and investments); 2.43 billion zaires in receipts. This means a deficit of 232 million zaires. Priority expenditures included in the budget concern the sectors of agriculture, education, health and development of the territory, along with major projects of general interest, such as the construction of a new pipeline linking Matadi Port to the capital of Kinshasa and the continuation of work on expansion of the Inga hydroelectric dam. Discussion of the proposed budget before the Zairian Parliament gave rise in recent weeks to intense, often noisy debate, and members of the Zairian Parliament had several provisions presented by different ministers revised. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 30 Mar 79 p 821] 11,464

PRC AID FOR DROUGHT--The Chinese Red Cross has just offered a gift of 50,000 yuan to the Zairian Red Cross as emergency aid to the people of the region of Lower Zaire, which is suffering from a drought. The funds will be used to set up a clinic and to ship food to be distributed to the population. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 30 Mar 79 p 821] 11,464

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