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JPRS L/9377

30 October 1980

Sub-Saharan Africa Report

FOUO No. 695



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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

FOUO No. 695

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

KENYAN EMBARGO AFFECTS UGANDAN COFFEE

No Ugandan Coffee Through Mombasa

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 Sep 80 p 2305

[Text] On 11 September, Ugandan officials announced that Kenya had totally interrupted shipments of Ugandan coffee through the port of Mombasa.

The decision, which will have a great impact on the Ugandan economy, already in serious difficulties, demonstrates the deterioration of relations between the two countries, heightened by the growing lack of security in Uganda and the inability of that country's leaders to correct the situation or to fulfill their obligations, especially regarding the holding of elections that were to take place at the end of September. Kenyan Chief of State Daniel Arap Moi also repeatedly criticized the Ugandan Military Commission in power for its support for former president Obote, on the recommendation of Tanzania. It is feared that his likely return to the head of state, if he is elected, would mean an equally likely return to a socialist policy quite different from the one followed by Kenya.

It should be noted that shipments of Ugandan coffee were already hard hit several days earlier by the boycott of Kenyan railroad haulers and a strike of railroad workers on 4 September because of the Nairobi government's refusal to have convoys escorted by police.

It will be recalled that most of Uganda's coffee production, estimated at 120,000 tons and representing 90 percent of the country's export receipts, goes through Kenya to be shipped out of Mombasa.

Officials of the Coffee Marketing Board of Uganda explained that even if the Kenyan route were reopened, the strike of a thousand workers at a processing plant located near Kampala would prevent shipments. Also according to these officials, 154 railroad cars, 85 containing coffee, are allegedly blocked in the border city of Tororo.

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Lifting of Embargo Sought

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 26 Sep 80 p 2367

[Text] The Kampala government has sent a delegation to Kenya at the end of last week to persuade that country's authorities to lift the embargo placed on the transport of Ugandan goods through Kenyan territory. The embargo mainly affects the shipping of the Ugandan coffee crop, which represents 90 percent of Uganda's foreign exchange income.

The delegation sent to Nairobi includes the permanent secretaries of the ministries of Interior, Foreign Affairs and Marketing.

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

JAPANESE CONTRACT FOR ABUJA--In our issue of 11 April, page 871, we announced that the famous Japanese architect, Kenzo Tange, was to be entrusted with designing the center of the future federal capital at Abuja. The BUSINESS TIMES of 12 August confirmed the contract concluded by the Nigerian authorities with this architect. We recall that he is to work in partnership with two Nigerian colleagues, Oluwole Olumuyiwa and Oumar Benna. On the other hand, details have recently been given out on the conditions for allotting land in the future capital, as well as the rehousing of the displaced populations, for which task a team of experts has been formed. (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS for 11 July and 15 August, pages 1746 and 2032.) [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 29 Aug 80 p 2139] 8946

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BURUNDI

BRIEFS

JAPANESE VEHICLE DONATION--The Japanese charge d'affaires in Zaire, A.I.M. Kawamura, on 11 September in Bujumbura delivered in the form of a gift to the Burundi Transportation Service (STB) a first lot of vehicles to be used for agriculture and health services. Mr Kawamura indicated that this gift is part of the agreement concluded between the two countries after the visit to Japan of the minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Burundi, Edouard Nzambimana, in October 1979. The vehicles were built by the Sumitomo Corporation, a Japanese company which had made the deal by bidding on it. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 26 Sep 80 p 2369] 8946

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ETHIOPIA

IMPROVING ECONOMIC SITUATION DETAILED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 Sep 80 p 2308

[Text] The visit to France of the Ethiopian minister of Justice, Getachew Kibret, who took to the president of the Republic a message from Lt Col Mengistu Haile Mariam, head of the provisional military government of socialist Ethiopia (DERG); Addis Ababa's strong reactions to the agreement signed by Somalia authorizing the United States to use the Berbera base; the plan for a conference on demilitarizing the Indian Ocean revived by Malagasy President Didier Ratsiraka during his recent visit with Giscard d'Estaing, focused attention on this country [Ethiopia]. Despite considerable military aid from the Soviet Union and Cuba, 13,500 of whose soldiers are fighting at the side of the national army, Ethiopia has not succeeded after four years in reducing the Eritrean resistance nor, despite its victory over the Somalian regular army, in triumphing over the guerrilla warfare being waged by the Somalian population of Ogaden.

The civil and foreign war, the internal struggles and the instability, the outcome of which no one can predict, continue to weigh heavily on the economy of this country of 31,000,000 inhabitants who, according to United Nations standards are among the poorest countries in the world, with an annual per capita income of about \$120 in 1978.

Nevertheless, the year 1979 saw the first positive results of the recovery policy set up by the DERG after its military successes of 1978 in Eritrea and Ogaden, which enabled it to pay more attention to the economic situation.

The balance of trade deficit was brought down in 1979 to 317,000,000 Birrs (\$153,000), whereas it reached 442,000,000 Birrs (\$214,000) in 1978 and 339,000,000 Birrs (\$164,000) in 1977. This improvement is the result of a strong increase in exports, which reached 876,000,000 Birrs (\$423,000) in 1979, compared to 634,000,000 (\$306,000) in 1978 (+ 33.4 percent), while the increase in imports--1,193,000,000 Birrs (\$576,000) in 1979 against 1,076,000,000 (\$520,000) in 1978--was limited to 9.8 percent.

Nevertheless the balance of payments in 30 June 1979 presents a positive balance of 78,000,000 Birrs (\$37,500) from the surplus from the services, transfers and movements of capital which for the first six months of 1979 totaled

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a positive balance of 267,500,000 Birrs (\$129,000), whereas for all of 1978 they totaled 298,800,000 Birrs (\$144,000) and in 1977 they 134,000,000 Birrs (\$114,000).

The balance of payments therefore illustrates a considerable recovery as of 30 June 1979, since it had been adverse by 143,500,000 Birrs (\$69,500) in 1978 and 102,200,000 Birrs (\$49,000) in 1977. Obviously this recovery is also seen in gold and foreign currency reserves, which represented 363,000,000 Birrs (\$175,500), or about four months' imports.

The foreign debt, as of 30 June 1979, was 1,213,000 Birrs (\$586,000), half of it owed to the World Bank group. The service of the debt in percentage of exports, because of the increased value of the exports and inflation, has dwindled and went from 9 percent for the two previous years down to 7.6 percent for the year ending 30 June 1979.

However, to that debt is added the debt contracted with the Soviet Union and the GDR for aid and military supplies, whose total is not known with certainty, but which is generally estimated to be \$2,000,000,000; it is no longer possible to state whether or not it includes an element of generosity. In 1978 Ethiopia may have made the first payments to the Soviet Union and the GDR with deliveries of coffee in quantities that have not been officially stated.

Coffee remains by far the principal export resource, still representing 70 percent of that resource in 1979 with 605,000,000 Birrs (\$292,000), although its relative share in the total exports has regressed, since it was 79 percent in 1978 with 502,000,000 Birrs (\$243,000) and 75 percent in 1977 with 519,000,000 Birrs (\$251,000). Tonnages exported have increased, however, going from 48,000 tons in 1977 to 66,000 tons in 1978, to reach 89,000 tons in 1979. Thus Ethiopia, like all the countries producing basic products, supports price fluctuations on the world markets.

The other important export item is represented by leather and hides, which registered a spectacular 122.5-percent increase in 1979, reaching 147,000,000 Birrs (\$71,000) against 66,000,000 (\$32,000) in 1978 and 48,000,000 (\$23,000) in 1977.

The military operations in recent years, the exodus of hundreds of thousands of refugees, the absence of a system of convenient-access airstrips, the poor operation of the marketing system, the policy of agricultural development by creating production cooperatives and state farms explained the mediocre results obtained by agriculture. The country's potential is still largely unexploited. The Economic Commission for Africa estimates that the cultivated land represents one tenth of the land that could be cultivated. The plan for developing the "virgin land" adopted by the DERG at the beginning of 1979 has not yet produced any effects, and the drought makes it improbable that in agriculture the growth rate of 4 percent for budgetary year 1979-1980 and 8 percent for 1980-1981 will be realized. About 5,000,000 inhabitants are currently being threatened by famine, and Ethiopia has had to make a broad appeal for international food aid.

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On the other hand, Ethiopia must support the increased cost of oil, which is largely supplied by the Soviet Union and represents a factor on the order of \$300,000,000 per year. The cost of importing oil and military operations is evaluated by Western economists at approximately \$1,000,000,000 per year.

The aid that Ethiopia receives from the Soviet Union and COMECON [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance], to which it belongs, as well as from the Western world, is far from being equal to its needs. Last July the United States abolished any aid other than humanitarian because of the Ethiopian government's refusal to pay for nationalized American goods valued at about \$16,000,000. Various European countries are granting aid to Ethiopia, but most of the aid it has received in the last four years has come from the EEC, which should contribute more or less the same volume during the next four years--\$250,000,000.

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ETHIOPIA

BRIEFS

REFUGEES FROM SUDAN, SAUDI ARABIA--The return of the Ethiopian refugees to the Sudan that began after the normalization of relations between the two countries (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 5 September, page 2203) is continuing. Early in September some 2,300 had already returned to their native country. On the other hand, some 80 partisans of the leader, Afar Ali Mirah, exiled in Saudi Arabia, surrendered to Ethiopian authorities of Wollo province. They had been in rebellion against the regime since 1974.
[Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 26 Sep 80
p 2369] 8946

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GABON

FRANCE'S PRIVILEGED POSITION IN TRADE RELATIONS EXAMINED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEANS in French 3 Oct 80 p 2427

[Text] France remains Gabon's most important trade partner (60 percent of Gabon's purchases and 27 percent of its sales in 1979) and exchanges between the two countries are continuing to grow in 1980.

According to French statistics, during the first 7 months of 1980 Gabonese exports to France amounted to 1,679 million French francs (FOB value), as compared to 1,082 million for the same period in 1979 (an increase of 55 percent). Oil and uranium (which is exported to France in its totality) occupy first place, as well as unprocessed wood.

Gabon's purchases in France have also been on the rise (by 31 percent) during this same period: 1,055 million French francs instead of 805 million for last year. Equipment goods represent half of this amount.

The balance of exchanges between the two countries presents a deficit for France since 1978 because of the decrease of economic activity in Gabon (the austerity plan) and the increase in the price of oil.

The share of French investments in Gabon, amounting to 77 percent of the total, is also preponderant in all fields: mines, transportation, public works and trade.

French Government assistance to Gabon is very high. In 1979 non-reimbursable assistance amounted to 258 million French francs. Out of this total, 243 million came from the Ministry of Cooperation. A total of 683 French cooperants are serving in Gabon. Reimbursable assistance amounted to 204 million, of which 147 million to the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation [as published].

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GHANA

BRIEFS

GOLD SALES UP--Ghanaian gold sales during the first half of this year totaled 92.7 million as against only \$48.17 million for the same period last year. June sales this year came to \$20.58 million as against \$12.76 million in May. The amount to \$9.92 million in June 1979. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 Sep 80 p 2297] 11466

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IVORY COAST

POLITICAL REVITALIZATION PROCESS EXAMINED

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 8 Oct 80 pp 46-47

[News analysis by Siradiou Diallo: "The Revitalization Congress"]

[Text] Revitalization: that in fact is the key word which characterized the seventh congress of the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (PCDI, the single party) which met in Adidjan from 29 September to 1 October in the sumptuous setting of the Ivory Hotel's Conference Room. The honorary chairman of the party and chief of state, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, gave his general political report on 30 September: the 84-page report required 3 hours to present.

Often applauded, the speaker elicited a veritable ovation when he took up the section on revitalization. It was this that the delegates to the congress and with them all Ivory Coast citizens had been awaiting: "the Old Man" and his scalpel. A universal sociological principle maintains in fact that the "little people" are always happy to witness the fall of the "big people." Even if it means that they obtain no real benefit from their brutal disappearance. Nonetheless those who were waiting for real change from these sessions were not disappointed.

The Solitude of Power

For the observer who is cognizant of the Ivorian political scene, the wind of revitalization was blowing from the very threshold of the Conference Room; this was obvious at first sight of the way things were set up in the vast hemicycle. During previous congresses, the official speakers' platform was occupied by members of the Politburo seated on either side of the honorary chairman. On this occasion, there was a change in the arrangements. A podium had been installed from which, in the solitude of power, Houphouet-Boigny dominated the entire audience, as the other dignitaries were placed at the foot of the podium.

At other congresses, he was caught in the act of whispering a few words to one or another of his companions, exchanging knowing smiles with yet another. On the podium, there was no one. Not a shadow, not a screen between him and his people. As proclaimed by a banner unfurled behind him, the

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Ivorian leader doubtless intended in this manner to show that he is "a single chief at the head of a single party for development in unity and solidarity."

However, revitalization went far beyond this simple setting. Observing that within the party "the pure current of the ideal" increasingly had the tendency to be lost in "the bog of personal interests and egoistic ambitions" and that everyone was now following his own path, the speaker said that in 20 years of independence the rank and file activists had fortunately attained great political maturity. The intimation: they were not like the leaders who consider themselves the "president's elected ones" and, therefore, have no account to render to their real electors.

Healthful Measures

This must change, "the Old Man" thundered; and, to clearly demonstrate his wish to get away from such practices which have corrupted the life of the party, he affirmed for the activists the "right to freely choose all elected officials at every level." More than that, he announced revisions of the statutes in such a way as to reduce by about half the number of Politburo and directive committee members. Finally, the position of secretary general occupied by Phillipe Yace, president of the National Assembly, was eliminated. In its place: a committee responsible for assisting the president of the party, in this instance the chief of state himself.

And since the outgoing Politburo was accused of mishandling the dues of the activists, three members of the executive committee will be specially charged with the management of finances. They will render an account once a month to the executive committee, every 3 months to the Politburo and twice a year to the national council. Similarly, five members of the Politburo, one per large region, will have the job of controlling the subsections.

One Thousand Technicians...

Before taking up these measures, the president had gone over an exhaustive balance sheet of his country's economic achievements. This balance sheet revealed that between 1960 and 1980 the Ivory Coast doubled and at times tripled the tonnage of its principal export crops (coffee, cacao, bananas, pineapples, etc.) while at the same time expanding the gamut of food crops. Rice, for example, in which sector the country proposes to attain self-sufficiency in the next few years. Because, the speaker said, agriculture which is and must "remain the firmest pillar of our development does not have the sole purpose of bringing the state export revenues."

In any case, the chief of state proposes to keep his country from committing the same mistake as a number of developing countries which, by giving priority to export crops, today find themselves "forced to import at great expense that which their neglected soil could have supplied them in abundance."

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Similarly, he feared the development of unemployment among intellectuals. While expressing his pleasure over school attendance figures (75 percent today compared to 20 percent in 1960), Houphouet did not conceal his concerns. That is because the Ivory Coast is training four to five times as many persons in the arts as in the sciences. Over the long term, this threatens to cause a blockage, the source of social perils with foreseeable consequences. Also it is not just by chance that, paraphrasing the words of a famous German statesman on the subject of France, according to whom when one asks for a technician, 1,000 orators stand up, Houphouet confided to us the day before the congress opened, "What I want in the Ivory Coast is that when one asks for an orator, 1,000 technicians will stand up."

"Blindness, Deafness"

President Houphouet-Boigny also did not conceal his fears which are inspired by the rivalries of the capitalist and communist blocs. According to him, the former is on the defensive, while the latter, "young, dynamic and powerful" continues to be "totalitarian" and "is pushing its offensive with perseverance." "Will not the liberal Old World end up understanding that happiness which fortifies freedom is incompatible with the constant deterioration in the rates of exchange?"

President Houphouet-Boigny is visibly suffering profoundly from what he considers "the blindness" and "deafness" of Western leaders. What is more, he confided to us a few days before the congress opened, "The Russians no longer have to stir up things or engage in subversion; the West is making it easy for communism in the Third World. By stubbornly refraining from buying basic products at the just price, the West is forcing the Third World into poverty, misery and revolt." Things are proceeding as if the Westerners were failing to realize that their "insane behavior results in the death of freedom, thus favoring subversion, interference and, finally, foreign intervention."

Rich Heritage

Although frequently punctuated by applause, this unrelenting diagnosis of the world economic situation, which placed the north-south conference in the "category of good intentions," did not arouse the same enthusiasm as the section on revitalization. Doubtless the congress delegates were sensitive to the denunciation of the structures and mechanisms which are strangling and ruining the economies of the Third World. Is not the Ivory Coast paying the price of the present drop in the prices of coffee and cacao?

That notwithstanding, one of the characteristics of this seventh congress will have been the advent of young cadres in the 35-45-year old range. They are the real and big beneficiaries of this change in stability which the president calls for wholeheartedly. They will have the lion's share both in the Politburo and directive committee of the party and in the National Assembly and government. Will they make better use of this rich heritage which falls upon them from the heavens than have the present holders of power? We must hope so; otherwise the measures resulting from this historical congress will run the risk of being a mere sword thrust into the water. As is already being feared by certain persons.

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MALAWI

ETHANOL PRODUCTION PLANS REPORTED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Sep 80 p 2255

[Text] According to an evaluation report which is available in Paris at the CFCE [Council of Commercial Federations of Europe] (30, avenue d'Iena, 75783 Paris Cedex 16), the Ethanol Company Ltd. of Malawi is proposing to produce ethanol. The total cost of this project is \$8,170,000, or 6,500,000 Malawi Kwacha. The executing agency is the Oil Company of Malawi Ltd (OILCOM) and the supervisor is Jager and Associates (J and A).

The International Financial Company (SFI, or IFC in English) would procure a \$1,700,000 loan for the project and a \$262,000 interest.

The other interests would be: OILCOM (\$788,000); INDEBANK (\$525,000); Dwangwa Sugar (\$525,000); Jager and Associates (\$263,000); oil companies (\$263,000); loans from: INDEBANK (\$1,975,000); South African SA Mutual Life Assurance Society (\$625,000); and supplier credits would reach \$1,250,000.

The rate of yield for the project is 25 percent. It provides for building and putting into service a plant for converting the byproduct of molasses produced by the Dwangwa Sugar Corporation into ethanol (anhydrous alcohol) to be blended in perfume. The Dwangwa Sugar Corporation's molasses production will no doubt be stabilized between now and 1984, which will make possible production of about 4,875,000 liters of ethanol per year. The plant's production will be in the neighborhood of 8 to 10 percent of the overall perfume consumption. The executing agency is OILCOM, which is meeting nearly two thirds of Malawi's petroleum products needs. OILCOM, a Malaysian company, is owned by Shell International, BP International and Press Holdings Ltd (a Malawian group controlled by President Banda); Shell International provides its management.

The ethanol plant will be established near the Dwangwa Sugar Corporation refinery on the western bank of Lake Malawi, close to the Dwangwa River delta. The plant should be operation by mid-1981, shortly after the beginning of the sugar cane harvest, but only if the financing of the project can be effected quickly, so that the infrastructure work can be completed before the rainy season begins in November.

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MALAWI

BRIEFS

FRG AID--The FRG has decided to grant Malawi a loan of 11,500,000 MD [expansion unknown] for rural development, according to the terms of an agreement recently signed in Blantyre. The loan will be used to develop road infrastructure, water supply, sanitary equipment and administrative services within the framework of the Kawinga rural development plan, in the Machinga district in the southern part of the country. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 26 Sep 80 p 2369] 8946

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MAURITIUS

FATE OF ISLANDS TIED TO POLITICAL PARTIES

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 29 Sep 80 pp 44-45

[Article by Herve-Masson: "Islands and Islets Up For Sale"]

[Text] Ramgoolam has abandoned Diego Garcia. The rightist opposition allegedly would willingly sell Rodrigues...and South Africa is interested.

Not having the courage to face up to a people's referendum, fearing to lose his position of prime minister that the British had arranged for him prior to decolonization, in 1965 Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam had agreed to cede to his masters in London part of the Mauritian territory, the archipelago of Chagos, of which Diego Garcia is the main atoll. All of the population of the island has since been deported to Mauritius, and Diego became an American nuclear base in the Indian Ocean. At the instigation of the MMM (Mauritian Militant Movement) and of the progressive governments of the region, the OAU [Organization of African Unity] now demands the return of the archipelago of Chagos to the Mauritian fatherland.

In vain, up to now. Largely dependent on the International Monetary Fund and the United States, subjected in all things to orders from the West, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam and his puppet government content themselves with uttering good words and taking care not to really wage a campaign for retrocession. They have said and repeated this: the British and the Americans are in their own home in Diego and the government of Port-Louis officially is very happy.

30,000 Inhabitants at Public Auction

Only the MMM and the various opposition parties of Mauritius continue to wage a campaign for the return of Diego to Mauritius and for the dismantling of the base, to be followed by demilitarization of the region. An international campaign has been organized to this end.

Will it now be necessary to fight in order to avoid another more considerable clearance sale? That could be, because Rodriguez island, an integral part

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of the Mascarene islands and a dependency of Mauritius for more than 200 years, is now threatened. With an area of about 400 square kilometers, Rodrigues has nearly 30,000 inhabitants. Endowed with a good port, Port-Mathurin, the island constitutes an important strategic point. Possession of this island and the installation of a base on its territory cannot help but stimulate the appetite of the great powers.

We know from a reliable source that the Mauritian government several times has allowed at least one foreign power to glimpse the possibility of establishing a military naval base there, this in exchange for economic aid and in order to defray the tremendous expenses of a hard pressed government. Forewarned, France refused. The island is not one of its fiefs. In its time the French embassy in Port-Louis had even thought it necessary to state that Paris did not have any design on this dependency of Mauritius. That is all well and good, but what would happen if, having seceded, a Rodrigues pseudo-government should call on France for help?

This hypothesis is not excluded; and today less than ever. In fact, Gaetan Duval, former minister of foreign affairs of Mauritius, leader of the PMSD (Mauritian Social-Democratic Party) of reactionary, that is, pro-fascist, tendency, has just made a shattering statement. Back from a trip to South Africa, Gaetan Duval, alluding to an eventual victory of the progressive MMM ("communist," according to him) in the 1981 general elections, pledged, in this case, "to act." When Gaetan Duval returned, journalists asked him for specific details. Duval explained that if the MMM were in power in Port-Louis and Rodrigues voted for the PMSD, he would demand, and would actively work for, the secession of this dependency. The next day he went by plane to Rodrigues.

It will be noted that the PMSD currently is a member of the coalition government in power in Mauritius and that Nicol-Francois, minister of Rodrigues Affairs, belongs to this party. If some members of the Labor Party (Ramgoolam's party) have protested against Duval's statement, neither the prime minister nor Minister of Foreign Affairs Walter, and still less Minister of Agriculture Boolell, reacted. In addition, Boolell is considered to have joined hands with Duval.

The MMM and the opposition in general for their part have accused the leader of the PMSD of high treason and have demanded explanations. In vain.

The "Borrowers" Are Back

An even more alarming fact: seemingly well-founded rumors are circulating in Paris regarding a possible violent or illegal act in Rodrigues. Gaetan Duval, who was on a private visit in Paris this past July, allegedly persuaded some of his (tough) "borrowers" to return to Mauritius. He even allegedly financed their installation on the island. In addition, he

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allegedly would finance their installation on the island. In addition, he allegedly contacted some mercenaries (Corsicans, it is specified) and, at the right moment, would have them intervene in Mauritius, itself, or in Rodrigues. Some of his avowed partisans, currently emigrant workers in France, openly state that a violent or illegal act is in the making in Rodrigues. They complain only of the fact that "the good-natured man talks too much when he is on a bender."

The threat seemed so serious to Clerge Clair, leader of the Rodrigues People's Party, that weekly meetings were immediately organized on the island to warn the population against the eventuality of a violent or illegal act.

According to Serge Clair, it is not France who would be the payee in such a hazardous exploit, but the South African Republic. In fact, Pretoria has privileged ties with Gaetan Duval and his PMSD friends.

After the recent statements of Paul Dijoud, the French minister of the DOM-TOM [Overseas Department-Overseas Territory] in Mayotte, one can well believe that Paris would not gladly jump into a hornet's nest in the Indian Ocean. But Rodrigues island would not be able to be self-sufficient and to truly assert itself as an independent nation. If Gaetan Duval should succeed in bringing his plan to a successful conclusion, in order to survive the island would of necessity have to appeal to a foreign power.

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MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION OBSERVER STATUS--At the second conference for the revision of the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons Treaty (TNP) it was decided to accept Mozambique as an observer at the conference. Mozambique is thus the 11th country to have been granted observer status, following Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Spain, Cuba, Israel, the United Arab Emirates, Tanzania and Zambia. Two regional intergovernmental organizations have also received this status. These are the Organization for the Banning of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (OPANAL) and the League of Arab States. Observer status permits participation in the conference's public sessions and submission and receipt of documents during the conference. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 Sep 80 p 2313] 11466

FISH-PROCESSING PLANT PLANNED--Bidding has been opened by the Mozambique National Fishing Administration on the construction of a fish-processing plant in the fishing port of Beira which will include fish canneries and plants for the production of fish meal and oil from fish trimmings. The terms for submission of bids are the following: preparation of presentation of one or several preliminary projects and, in the event of market allocation, preparation of a definitive plan for one of the preliminary projects presented, provision and construction of buildings, provision and installation of equipment, initiation of plant operations, technical assistance, training of personnel and supervision of civil engineering operations. A production volume of 7.5 million cans a year is envisioned, to be distributed over 250 production days. The Ministry of Industry and Energy, in whose name the agreement will be concluded, reserves the right to choose the contractor. The total cost of the project is estimated at 4 million European accounting units. Bids will be made and payments effected in terms of European accounting units, meticaïs, in the currency of the country in which the bidder has his main office or in the currency of the country where the equipment is manufactured. [Excerpts] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 Sep 80 p 2313] 11466

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NIGERIA

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM OUTLINED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 29 Aug 80 p 2140

[Text] The Food Strategic Mission, made up of Nigerians and experts from the World Bank, this summer sent the federal government a report proposing for Nigeria the means to enable it to become self-sufficient in food products within five years, and even to become an important exporter in seven years.

To attain the first objective, the report estimates, the government would have to provide for an investment of 4,636,000,000 naira. The largest part of the effort would be in favor of small farmers, the pivotal element in local agriculture, since they are actually meeting 97 percent of the population's food needs.

The report stresses the need to increase the supplies of fertilizer and to develop mechanization. The latter is very far behind schedule and contributes only 2 percent to the energy expenditures of the peasants who furnish 98 percent of the work, with their hands.

To arrive at producing 3,400,000 tons of grain at the end of the fourth national development plan in 1985, as provided for, would require, according to the report, fertilizer supplies totaling at that time at least 430,000,000 tons. But, having been 26,900 tons in 1974-1975 and 53,765 tons the next year, the total for 1979-1980 is still only 117,473 tons, which is clearly inadequate.

On the other hand, this fertilizer should be distributed at the opportune time in sufficient quantity and quality in terms of the needs and the nature of the crops. It is also proposed to create an Agricultural Input Supplies Corporation, which would be in charge of the distribution and would have research laboratories at its disposal.

To replace the efforts of manpower, it was suggested that Tractor Hiring Units (THUS) be created which would enable the peasants to procure the appropriate equipment for mechanization under advantageous conditions.

In the livestock raising sector, the report recommends eradication of diseases and the tset-se fly for cattle. This would require development of aerial spreading of manure, biologic controls and vaccination.

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Combined farming businesses should also be promoted, and the report speaks of the creation by the governments of the various states of at least 5,000,000 hectares of pasturage reserves. It also mentions many other methods of improving animal qualities and the production of meat, milk, eggs. It estimates that Nigeria in particular should arrive at being able to do without importing day-old chicks.

In the fishing sector the report recommends substantially increased investments and the granting of more credits to fishermen, both for creation of equipment (jetties, storage facilities) and for supplying motors for small craft, nets, hoop nets, etc. It also recommends training courses.

Lastly, in the hydraulics sector it asks that more significant credits than at present be allotted to building dams and irrigation canals. It suggests that additional water supply systems make it possible to irrigate some 30,000 new hectares for maize, rice and legumes crops, and that the existing systems be improved and developed.

We recall that agricultural development was one of the first concerns of Alhaji Shehu Shagari's new civilian government; he took office last 1 October. In December the minister in charge of this important department, Alhaji Ibrahim Gusau, moreover, was to promote a short-term program dealing with the period of January-March 1980 and providing for 18,300,000 naira of investment (13,300,000 for agriculture proper, 3,000,000 for livestock raising and 2,000,000 for fishing), which was obviously not very much beside the 4,363,000 recommended by the Food Strategic Mission for the next five years. At that time the minister had been inspired by a document established by his predecessor, Mr Mafeni, entitled "New Concepts in Nigerian Agriculture (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS for 15 February 1980, page 386). A short time after that, the chief of state himself was to decide to transform the Operation Feed the Nation set up by his predecessor, Gen Obasanjo, into a Green Revolution (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 22 February, page 446). Finally, the 1980 budget for the period 1 April-31 December was to grant to agriculture an important extension of credits over the preceding fiscal year (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 28 March, page 752).

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NIGERIA

PORT HARCOURT INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT DESCRIBED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 29 Aug 80 p 2139

[Text] The new Port Harcourt international airport, which was first expected to become operational last April and later, because of delays, in June of the same year, will finally become operational early in September. The announcement was made, anyhow, in August, by the representative of the Nigerian Airways pilots, Captain Olubunmi Oke.

At first the airport will go into service only for planes serving domestic lines, its opening to foreign traffic not being scheduled to take place until November.

The installations, valued at some 35,000,000 naira, were actually received officially last year, but they lacked certain equipment to make them truly operational, especially runway equipment required to conduct navigation.

The runway, approximately four miles long (6.5 km), is now equipped and so will soon be able to receive the whole gamut of large equipment, from the DC-10 to the Boeing 737.

As for the terminal, a few small items remain to be completed, in particular those having to do with receiving and transferring passengers.

Because of its distance from the city, 24 km, the airport must be served by taxi and bus services, and Nigerian Airways and the Nigerian Airports Authority (NAA) are to handle this jointly.

It is a fact that one of the reasons for the delay in putting the airport into service may be that the NAA, a government-owned company created in 1976 and responsible for the management of all the country's airports, is currently having treasury problems. These troubles are due precisely to the very onerous operation of another new airport, the Murtala Muhammed Airport in Lagos, which was opened and put into service last year.

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NIGERIA

PORT TRAFFIC IN 1979-1980 DETAILED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 29 Aug 80 p 2141

[Text] During fiscal year 1979-1980 (1 April-31 March) traffic increased in all of Nigeria's ports. A total of 6,330 ships from over 60 countries were registered passing through. They carried 69,400,000 tons of merchandise, compared with 68,400,000 the preceding fiscal year. Their mooring ports were Lagos-Apapa, Tin Can Island, Port Harcourt, Bonny, Okrika, Warri, Sapele, Burutu, Kobo, Escravos, Forcados, Pennington, Calabar and Qua-Ibebe.

Container traffic set a new record. There were over 1,000,000. Nearly 80,000 of them, representing a tonnage of 924,000 tons, were unloaded in the five main ports, Lagos-Apapa, Tin Can Island, Port Harcourt, Warri and Calabar. And on that subject, on many occasions we have pointed out in our columns the extraordinary development of container-ship traffic in Nigeria, especially from Europe.

The new expansion of traffic in Nigerian ports began to be manifested in the first quarter of the year (April-June 1979; see details in MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 14 December 1979, page 3466). The expansion was carried on even to the point that a certain congestion reappeared this year, but without reaching the proportions of two or three years ago.

Greek ships were the most numerous during the year: there were 1,023, with 7,600,000 tons of merchandise. They were followed by Dutch ships, with 782 units and 2,800,000 tons of merchandise, and next by Liberian ships with 711 units and 21,700,000 tons of merchandise (chiefly petroleum).

Nigerian ships anchoring in the country's ports numbered 502 (compared to 498 in 1978-1979), with 713,000 tons of merchandise. They are therefore in fourth place. Their number bears witness to the development of the local fleet and of the national company in particular, the Nigerian National Shipping Line, which is known to have acquired new units (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 2 November 1979, page 2953).

British ships were in fifth place, with 456 units, but on the other hand their tonnage reached a relatively high level, with 10,200,000 tons of merchandise.

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NIGERIA

BRIEFS

JORDAN-NIGERIA AIR AGREEMENT--On 24 August Jordan and Nigeria signed an air agreement in Amman, providing for two daily flights between the capitals of the two countries, to be operated by both countries' national companies. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 29 Aug 80 p 2140] 8946

AUSTRIA-NIGERIA AIR AGREEMENT--The Nigerian federal minister of Aviation, Samuel Mafuyai, announced on 5 August that his country was going to negotiate an air agreement with Austria. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 29 Aug 80 p 2140] 8946

SWISS AIR AGREEMENT--The Nigerian federal minister of Civil Aviation, Samuel Mafuyai, and the charge d'affaires of the Swiss Embassy in Lagos, Pierre Monod, on 12 September signed a bilateral air agreement renewing the first agreement of this kind concluded in 1965, and renegotiated as of January of that year. The Swiss national company is providing four daily flights between Zurich and Lagos. Two of them are joint flights operated by Swissair for Nigerian Airways, and the other two are entirely operated by the Swiss company. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 Sep 80 p 2298] 8946

BARBADOS AIR AGREEMENT--Around the middle of September Nigeria and Barbados signed an air agreement, aimed at developing passenger and freight traffic between West Africa and the Caribbean Islands. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 Sep 80 p 2298] 8946

NIGER RIVER BASIN--The Niger River Basin Authority (PMB [expansion unknown] 1529, Ilorin) put out a prequalification notice, which expired on 21 August, for a feasibility study of hydraulic projects under the Niger River Basin irrigation project. On the other hand, the Ondo State Tenders' Board (Governor's Office, Akure) issued a call for bids, valid until 6 October, for construction of the Ikogosi-Erinjiyan-Ipole-Iwaji water distribution system and temporary extension as far as Ilawe-Ekiti. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 29 Aug 80 p 2139] 8946

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UGANDA

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, POLITICAL DISORDER REPORTED

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 29 Sep-13 Oct 80 p 41

[Article by A. Fall: "The Night Belongs to the Looters"]

[Text] After the decade of Amin Dada's dictatorship, the Ugandese people are living--and dying--in a time of internal rivalries and external machinations.

Economic debacle, social disorder, political uncertainties; 18 months after the collapse of Amin Dada's bloody dictatorship, Uganda, a victim of troubles of an extreme gravity, is striving, with great difficulty, to survive.

In the northern part of the northern province of Karamoja, famine is literally decimating the population. The drought that strikes this region is not the only factor. The armed bands of "raiders," left over from the former dictator's troops, poor wretches who find the means to survive only in looting, are terrorizing and holding at ransom a population already deprived of the bare essentials. And the help sent by the international organizations or certain countries like France--often more concerned with assuring for itself a humanitarian image than with efficiency--is very far from meeting the most elementary needs.

Other regions, especially at the Sudan and Kenya borders, are being threatened in their turn by the scarcity of food. And insecurity is everywhere. In Kampala, the capital, the curfew, set at 2200, is respected to say the least. After the close of day the inhabitants shut themselves up at home, and the night belongs to the looters. The shops, disemboweled and empty since the war, have had nothing to offer for a long time, and the basic foodstuffs reach the black market, the only one flourishing, with its alarming prices: a bunch of plantain bananas--with which to feed a family for two or three days--represents the value of an average monthly wage. Only the weapons of war--the objects of an intense traffic--are sold cheaply. The country is overflowing with them and there is some reason to think that certain neighbors are no strangers to these destabilizing supply practices.

The state coffers are empty and coffee exports, the principal source of foreign currency for the country, have now stopped completely; that product has long been traveling the smuggling routes to Kenya or Rwanda.

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Under those conditions the elections announced for 30 September become more and more hypothetical. The revision of the constitution that is necessary if they are to take place has not yet been accomplished; it is not even known whether these elections will be legislative, or presidential, or both. The census is not finished, the electoral lists are not established, the equipment needed for voting is lacking. And it cannot be forgotten that the electoral process is unknown to three quarters of the population that has lived through nearly ten years under the authoritarian reign of Amin Dada.

The campaign, though it has barely begun, is taking place in a climate of violence. After the assassination in late August of one of the principal leaders of the Democratic Party, the leader of the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), Milton Obote, became the target, along with the commander of the army, Gen Tito Okello, of a failed murder attempt.

For the time being four parties have entered the competition. The UPC, led by Milton Obote, the former president overthrown by Amin Dada, is displaying socializing options. He has the sympathy of neighboring Tanzania--where the ex-president had taken refuge--and he seems to enjoy the support of the majority of the military commission that took the country's destiny into its hands, after ousting, last 12 May, President Godfrey Binaisa, who we have since learned had begged Carter and Margaret Thatcher, the British prime minister, to intervene.

The Democratic Party (DP), whose leader is the old politician, Semogere, but which includes a more progressive wing, is openly conservative. While the UPC is especially vigorous in the north, the DP is supported by the Catholics in the south, and, notably, by the middle and upper classes in Kampala.

The Conservative Party (CP) is aggressively reactionary, but its audience seems to have been considerably reduced.

A latecomer to the political scene, the Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM), the heir of the FRONASA (Front for National Salvation)--the first guerrilla organization to have fought the Amin dictatorship--has as its leader Museveni, the former Defense Minister and the current vice president of the military commission.

The president of the military commission, Muwanga, is thought to be close to Milton Obote, along with Gen Tito Okello and the chief of staff, Gen David Ojok. But one could not rule out the possibility of the elections being carried over, which would actually confirm the president of the military commission in his duties, which correspond to those of chief of state.

The Dread of Capitalism

Of course the presence of some 10,000 to 15,000 Tanzanian soldiers--who played a large part in the rout of Amin Dada--cannot be ignored. President Nyerere

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is hoping, definitely, that his neighbor will install a stable regime. And after the attacks on his country by the Ugandan dictator, he is understood to be hoping to have a friend rather than an enemy on his borders. But a Ugandan socialism allied with Tanzanian socialism can only frighten Kenya, where national and international capitalism are especially flourishing, as in the Sudan, which is bending under the rule of Numeiry.

Blood-soaked and ruined by a decade of dictatorship, Uganda has not seen the end of being the combat area for internal rivalries and outside machinations.

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UGANDA

REASONS FOR CHAOS ANALYZED

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 3 Sep 80 pp 24-25

[Article by Francois Soudan: "The Reasons for Chaos"]

[Text] Anarchy, famine, breaking up: Amin's legacy doesn't explain everything.

"Operation Peppermint." A pretty code name with perfumed fragrance to characterize a humanitarian mission: since 22 August two helicopters and about 40 French soldiers have been initiating a last-chance operation to save the 350,000 inhabitants of Karamoja from famine.

In Kampala, the anarchic capital of a phantom government, there is some indifference, due to the complete disorganization of the economic channels and the total absence of rain. The terrible food shortage that has been killing several dozen persons per week since May in this dry grass region 600 km from the southern urban centers, seems to concern the authorities less than the prospect of the legislative elections scheduled for 30 September.

The Gun and the Card

It concerns them so little, it seems, that the misappropriations of food convoys destined for Karamoja were, even some time ago, widespread on the long roadway that connects Kampala with Moroto. The authors of those misappropriations? Armed bands from the various parties on the lists who afterwards distributed the provisions on their election tours.

In early July one might also have seen 30 tons of powdered milk from the Red Cross scattered to the four winds by a meeting of the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), Milton Obote's organization. "In Uganda, one eats only if he has a gun or a party card," a French doctor comments on his return from Kampala. "The Karamojongs have neither. And then, they are a mere handful of the 12,000,000 Ugandans."

Chaos, breaking up, worthless government. Uganda, that former "pearl" of the British colonial empire, is no longer spoken of except in terms of disaster.

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The reasons for this, a year and a half after Idi Amin's fall, are many. The legacy, first of all, of the farcical dictator: his policy, which was very narrowly tribalistic, led to an explosion followed by a disappearance of the Ugandan national feeling. There is no longer one Uganda, but rather as many Ugandas as there are provinces and ethnic groups. Which explains, for example, why they are scarcely concerned in Kampala about Karamoja's famine.

The interaction and later rivalry between the two large neighbors, Tanzania and Kenya, after Amin's flight. Tanzania first. In placing Yussuf Lule in the presidency in April 1979, in replacing him two months later with Godfrey Binaisa, then on 11 May 1980 installing Paulo Muwenga and a few loyal members of the military at the head of the state, Julius Nyerere committed two errors. He established in Uganda a climate of chronic instability and alienated the fund of sympathy the people had once nourished for him.

Moreover, the 2,000 men of the army in Dar es-Salam, who are always stationed in the large centers are practically living on the inhabitants, with no one having a very good idea of how to send them home. Finally, the Tanzanian desire to economically encircle a country that has always been oriented toward Kenyan outlets seems suicidal for the moment; in fact, there is no real way of communication between the two countries, other than by air.

On the Nairobi side, they are no longer inactive. A single goal: to thwart what is known as Tanzanian "expansionism."

"Free and Fair"

To that end all means are good, including discreetly granting asylum to the Turkana raiders and the scattered looters of the army of Amin, who are plundering Lugbara, Madi and Karamoja.

In the midst of such a climate, the official statements asserting that free and fair (free and credible) elections will take place on 30 September throughout the country, seem somewhat surrealistic. However, although there are still no polling places, no ballot boxes, no ballots and no election commissioners, the campaign began in mid-August with great reinforcements of free beer and printed boubous [translation unknown].

The most conspicuous--and best known--of the candidates is Milton Obote, 60, the former head of state overthrown by Idi Amin in 1971. During his years of exile in Tanzania this bald little fellow, always dressed in black, opened a fruitful supermarket in Dar es-Salam and installed himself in a villa near that of his friend Nyerere. Today he leads what has always been his party--the UPC [Uganda People's Congress], a smooth-running, effective organization, with an impressive police contingent as its muscle. Obote's real audience remains to be seen, but he has one weighty asset: his men--Paulo Muwenga, Brig David Ojok and Maj Gen Tito Okello--direct the army and the government.

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The Battle

Facing this "candidate from Tanzania" is the one from Kenya, Paul Semogerere, the leader of the Democratic Party. Semogerere is Catholic, conservative and the sworn enemy of Obote, whose jails he knew in 1969. His movement is very popular among the 4,000,000 people in Baganda.

The battle will be played out between these two parties, the other organizations--the pro-Zambican Museveni's Uganda Patriotic Movement and the Conservative Party of Yussuf Lule's former deputy, Elizaphan Mayanja--having hopes of only a marginal role.

What difference will it make? If there is a contested election or it proves impossible to form a viable coalition, which seems probable, the army and the Tanzanian contingent will do the ~~deciding~~ deciding once again. Together, they both support Milton Obote. And the old fox of Akoroko is not about to be taught that truth from which he has made bitter experience. In Uganda as elsewhere the ballot box road is not the only way to accede to power.

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UGANDA

ADB GIVES AID FOR RANCH RESTORATION

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 22 Aug 80 pp 2091-2092

[Text] In June, the African Development Bank (ADB) granted a loan of 10 million accounting units (UC), or about \$12.5 million, to the Uganda Development Bank (UDB) to finance the ranch restoration project. The loan is repayable over 15 years and includes an amortization deferment of 5 years.

The project has a double aim: 1) to encourage an increase in beef production by contributing to the restoration of 80 private ranches whose initial development was financed by the UDB and which were devastated by the war in 1978-1979; and 2) to rebuild herds of breeding animals that could be sold to other ranches, particularly small operations which had previously gone to commercial ranches for breeding stock.

The project aims to rebuild infrastructure elements destroyed on some 80 ranches, restock ranch herds and furnish vehicles, equipment and agricultural machinery along with other production factors such as medicines, veterinary products and breeding stock for ranches.

The cost is an estimated 11.5 million accounting units (some \$14.4 million). The project will be financed by the ADB and the Uganda Development Bank. The ADB will bear costs in foreign exchange relating to all component parts of the project, or 86 percent of the total cost of the project. Execution of the project will be spread out over a period of 4 years and will begin during the second half of 1980. The organ of execution is the Uganda Development Bank (P. O. Box 7210, Kampala).

Supply contracts for equipment and agricultural machinery, medicines and veterinary products, barbed-wire fence, cement, fence poles and sheep metal for roofs, which will be financed out of the ADB loan, will be concluded following an international call for bids, in keeping with the customary practice of the ADB. In order to speed up preparatory work, three of the six vehicles with four-wheel drive going to UDB agents will be purchased during the first year on the basis of an international comparison between prices demanded by suppliers. The purchase of the three other vehicles will be the subject of an international call for bids during the second

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year. With respect to contracts for purchases of breeding stock financed by the ADB, they will be concluded on the basis of an international comparison of prices demanded in neighboring countries. Finally, purchases of binding wire and staples will also be made on the basis of an international call for bids.

This loan constitutes the tenth intervention of the ADB in Uganda, for a total amount of 50.6 million accounting units (over \$63 million).

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UGANDA

BRIEFS

VEHICLE DISTRIBUTION--New measures aimed at a more rational and fairer distribution of automobile vehicles have been announced by the Ministry of Transport. A commission will be named and placed in charge of ensuring distribution in the different economic sectors. Requests must first of all be addressed to regional committees, which will transmit them to the National Motor Vehicle Allocation Committee. Officials will have to direct their requests to the Ministry of Public Service. The allocation of buses and heavy equipment (trucks and so on) will not take place until organizations and individuals can justify their use. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 12 Sep 80 p 2253] 11,464

RESTRICTIONS ON LEAVING--Paulo Muwanga, chairman of the Military Commission in power, announced at the beginning of the month that henceforth, all Ugandans and foreigners, including diplomats and their families, could no longer leave the national territory without first applying for authorization to do so. The measure immediately caused disturbances at the Entebbe Airport, where several persons leaving for Nairobi were prevented from boarding their planes. In addition, the Ministry of Interior was besieged by foreigners. Muwanga explained that the measure was part of a series aimed at increasing the country's security. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 19 Sep 80 p 2305] 11,464

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ZAIRE

CONTINUING SHAMBLES DESCRIBED

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 15-28 Sep 80 pp 34-36

[Article by Tania Vasconcelos: "The Shambles Continues"]

[Text] One has perceived very quickly that it is scarcely within the intentions of the Zairean nation's "guide" to launch a liberalization process.

Last 30 June Zaire--formerly the Congo Kinshasa--was celebrating the anniversary of its independence. The balance sheet was scarcely a cheerful one. The country is on the edge of an abyss, the political institutions are ossified or diverted from their functions; social structures are nonexistent, the arbitrary reigns in all areas. After 15 years of Mobutism the damage is such that, alas, the future promises to be no better than the past. Of course, with the support of the Western countries the "continuity" of the regime is assured. At least for the moment. For the anti-Mobutist forces are reorganizing.

In Brussels, on that same day celebrating the anniversary of independence, after a week of consultations a final attempt at unification took place. The Progressive Congolese Students' Movement (MEPC), the National Movement for Union and Reconciliation (MNUR), the Socialist Party as well as the People's Revolution Party (PRP) and the National Liberation Front of the Congo (FLNC)--the two armed organizations that had fought in past years in the regions of Kivu and Shaba respectively--in fact made up the Congo Kinshasa Liberation Council (CLC).

After getting a grip on themselves (some militants in these organizations, especially in the FLNC, had for a moment believed Mobutu's promises to liberalize the regime, in particular to accept the legalization of other parties), the most active opponents of the Kinshasa regime got together in an alliance, which one hopes will be less ephemeral than its predecessors, under the presidency of Mungul Diaka, a former Zairean minister of Higher Education until January 1980. The latter is a newcomer in the fight against Mobutism, but he is no less determined than his companions who are veterans.

The hope that was taking shape in the opposition of seeing a constitutional reform--bringing political changes--take place in Kinshasa had been brought on

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by several factors. It seemed in fact that the Western countries had demanded, in exchange for their support of the economic recovery plan that carries the name of the "founding president," the realization sine qua non of certain conditions, concerning in particular the fight against the corruption and disorder that prevail in the Zairean administration, as well as putting "democratic freedoms" in place. And Mobutu seemed to have yielded to the pressure. Certain initiatives, such as the appointment in Kinshasa of a former opponent, Kamitatu, to the post of Environment Minister, or the conversations engaged in by the emissaries of the Zairean chief of state and Jean Tschombe (the son of Moise Tschombe), certainly a very ambiguous important person of the opposition whose name nevertheless still makes former associates of Gen Mobutu shiver, might have been interpreted as so many signs of "openness." But one had to perceive very quickly that it was scarcely within the intentions of the "guide" of the Zairean nation to push a button that would risk launching a liberalization process, however controlled.

Strengthened Powers

Whereas it might be expected that after the important ministerial reshuffle in January (in which 20 ministers had been separated), he would give the sign for change, Mobutu merely announced measures that translated, on the contrary, into a clear strengthening of his personal powers. In particular he confirmed the single party regime, and made it known that he intended to exercise even stricter control over it. The members of the MPR, two thirds of whom have been elected until now, will all be appointed by the president from now on. As for Parliament, whose prerogatives were already extremely limited, after these measures it has only a very symbolic role. Denouncing the evils that afflict the running of the country, the "guide" did not spare the security service (National Documentation Center), which he accused of a series of abuses. And he found scapegoats in the persons of the dismissed ministers, before throwing himself into listing his never-ending demagogic promises to resupply the cities with fuel (always inadequate), control prices, develop agriculture, fight fraud, etc. But these words were obviously not followed with any action.

And the people's disappointment was especially strong at seeing that one of only two ministers prosecuted in the courts after the ministerial reshuffle was the minister of Higher Education, who very probably deserves the credit for having allowed the explosion of the argument on Kinshasa's university campuses, as well as among the teachers.

For it was Mungul Diaka himself who, once he had returned to Brussels, where he had formerly been ambassador, was the promoter of the coalition of the opposition to Mobutu, whose coordination he is providing today.

It is well known that it was the scandalous frauds on the part of the civil servants in charge of applying the currency change operation decreed at the end of December 1979 that put the match to the student dissension, which was to reach its culmination with the strikes of last March and April in the occupied universities. Everywhere that the changeover was accomplished (for some regions were ignored or were only involved after several months' delay),

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it was the occasion for systematic thefts and cheating on the part of the organizations concerned, which inevitably diverted its objectives. Whereas, according to the provisions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), it was supposed to result in the relative stabilization of the national economy by reducing the excessive monetary circulation to supportable limits in such a way as to fight inflation and strike at the holders of huge masses of money stored outside the banks, the currency changeover operation was used by the privileged classes and civil servants as a systematic instrument for enrichment. There followed serious disturbances in trade, especially for the rural areas that were suffering from an insufficiency or even absence of new notes.

To the point that the Zairean Bank was constrained to send--again with a delay until early May--a supplement of several million new zaires into the rural areas.

A Prudent Repression

On the occasion of the demonstrations by striking students, a movement of solidarity between the teachers and unemployed of Kinshasa had developed, which was threatening to spread to the entire population. And after the first interventions by the army which had admitted earlier that the students' position was well-founded, the students became the echo of the popular discontent. This was really too much for the government. All the more so because the regime had to devote itself to being prudent in its repressive action because of the presence in the country of a large number of foreign experts sent in the context of the Western countries' support of the "Mobutu plan," support which is known to have initially stipulated a number of conditions. Finally the campuses were closed, the students sent back to their native regions or arrested. Nineteen of them, who were taken to the Ekafera camp, have already been pointed out as being among the missing, and one of the student leaders, Nzogu, was the object of a threat of public execution as an example, according to the Zairean students of the MEPC in Belgium.

So the situation has returned to "normal," and the population of Kinshasa must confront in silence its unspeakable and innumerable difficulties, which, alas, it would take too long to report. In four years the prices of foodstuff have increased over 500 percent, while wages of courses stayed very far behind. The retailers' gain is fabulous, since it is figured at four times the cost price of the merchandise. Nor is it at all surprising that the black market is flourishing and the lack of basically essential foodstuffs has become a permanent characteristic of life in the capital.

For lack of foreign currency the maize importation program has had to be reduced. No doubt a rather positive phenomenon in the eyes of the financial experts who have placed Zaire under their guardianship, for thanks to the "forced" austerity the trade balance has become positive, which is one of the objectives set by the aid program. Actually, to look more closely at it, the "Mobutu plan," at least in Westerners' minds, is barely concerned with social questions, but is basically aimed at making all foreign investment once more and maximally profitable. And the capitalist countries have met at least four

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times with the IMF experts to examine the famous Zairean economic revival plan which they had ended up by adopting despite their initial reservations.

The Weight of Cobalt

However, the general "surveillance" visited upon Zaire, all of whose economic activities survive only by the grace of international or bilateral aid, had become necessary; in fact, until then there was no control over the exporting of riches that should normally bring back foreign currency to the state, which is the first condition for any stabilization. There also exist other economic-strategic aspects that are far from negligible. Thus, for example, the MIDA [expansion unknown], the company that holds the monopoly on diamond exporting (25 percent of the world reserves), whose principal shareholder is Mobutu, is extorting from the state by smuggling ever larger quantities of precious stones. In cobalt, which because of the rise in world prices supplanted copper in 1979 in national income from exports, clandestine sales are carried out regularly, which especially bothers the French and the Americans, the two most important groups of shareholders in the Tenke Fungurume Company which "rules" over 320,000 tons of cobalt.

However, no expert is in a position to control these irregular sales. It is the "master" of the country, the "guide" himself who personally runs these smuggling operations as well as the revenue they procure. The most recent transaction, carried out last May, without the knowledge of the partners of Zaire who are interested in the exploitation of Zairean cobalt, especially irritated the French. As for the Americans, they are no less concerned, for these "flights" are not without danger to the equilibrium of the market for this strategic product--and this situation puts the partisans of increased aid to Zaire, in the American Congress and the Senate, in an uncomfortable position. All the more so because those two American institutions, one recalls, decided several years ago on a draconian decrease in aid to Zaire, which fell from about \$40,000,000 in 1975 to \$9,000,000 in 1979, in order to demonstrate their disapproval of the misappropriations of funds on the part of the Mobutu government.

But apart from the special funds and facilities granted for the sale of American armaments, credits for which have not weakened in the same proportions, the Americans are in the process of returning little by little to their official policy of "isolation" from Zaire.

Richard Moose, the secretary of State in charge of African Affairs, recently suggested a new 25-percent increase in the aid currently being furnished to Zaire and the granting of loans totaling approximately \$100,000,000 to complete the Inga-Shaba electric power line. Even while recognizing the faults of the Mobutu management and the fact that the loans formerly granted to Kinshasa had been used for bribes by the Zairean leaders, Richard Moose defended the thesis according to which any American aid to this country will in some way result in favoring stability in central Africa. He also emphasized that the United States needs cobalt, of which Zaire holds 75 percent of the world reserves. It was for this reason that the United States, despite the

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contrary opinions of the experts, granted Zaire the loan for development of a huge electrification project that will involve transporting energy over nearly 2,000 km, from the Inga Dam southeast of Kinshasa to the province of Shaba.

Deep-rooted Rivalries

Despite all the controversy stirred up by its deplorable management, Zaire remains, because of its strategic position and enormous resources, an especially coveted country which is the object of deep-rooted rivalries. This was to be seen during the Shaba war, when France dispatched its Foreign Legion to aid the Mobutist forces when they were being routed, without warning or at the very least without the knowledge of Belgium, which it has been trying for some time to supplant in Zaire.

But we note that France, even more than Belgium or the United States, has a growing need for Zaire's considerable cobalt reserves, for the development of its nuclear policy. The French government's capital has in fact strategically replaced that of another French company involved in the exploitation of cobalt in Shaba. The rate of participation of COGEMA [General Nuclear Materials Company], a subsidiary of the French Atomic Energy Commission, has thus reached 28 percent, while the participation of the various American firms working in the same sector totals 32 percent.

For the current year France has decided to grant Zaire 300,000,000 French francs in aid, 100,000,000 of it to be in the form of subsidies. Despite their good will, Westerners scarcely feel encouraged about their Kinshasa proteges. And at the last meeting of the advisory group in Paris to study the early effects of the application of the "Mobutu plan," they had to content themselves with noting that the rate of "slowing down" the economy had diminished in 1979. The disastrous condition of the agricultural situation is known to everyone, and it is enough to cast a glance at the export statistics to see that, while the share of copper sales went from 52 to 83 percent, that of agricultural products has continually declined, from 30 to 17 percent. Coffee, like ivory, is also the object of clandestine sales. Illegal shipments are being seized everywhere. But this is merely an exception that confirms the fact that smuggling traffic is well and truly a flourishing trade. Gold, the production of which toward the end of the Belgian occupation reached 11,000 tons, had declined in 1978 to some 2,000 tons. The government-owned Okimo Company, the principal producer in this field, seems to have encountered numerous difficulties. At the same time, in the Kivu region in the east central part of the country near Lake Tanganyika, small unsophisticated exploitations installed on old gold-bearing deposits, are prospering even though they are working under fraudulent conditions. Copper production, which was disorganized by the successive revolts produced in the region involved and by extraction difficulties, is short of its usual pace. The already modest production of petroleum exploited by Gulf on the Atlantic coasts has been reduced from 9,000,000 to 6,000,000 barrels. There are technical reasons for this reduction. Finally, it is well known that the endemic economic ills from which Zaire suffers are further aggravated by the fact that

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the country lacks deep-water ports and has only one profitable outlet: the Benguela-Beira railroad. Repeated breaks in petroleum stocks have been recorded, and supplying the populations with imported products, grains and medicines is very often compromised.

Pax Americana

Today, the "reconciliation" with Angola--on the basis of non-interference--has contributed to reintegrating Zaire further into the regional community of the African countries which since the victory of independent Zimbabwe are raising more seriously than ever the problem of economic independence with respect to South Africa. These efforts deployed by the two socialist countries in the southern part of the African continent are inarguably a contribution, not only to regional stability but also and chiefly to the isolation of the racist regime in Pretoria.

On the other hand the Westerners should, for their part, understand that their concept of Zaire's internal stability too much resembles a "pax americana."

If, up to now, the Zairean opponents--including those who took up arms against the tyrant of Kinshasa--have not waged a consistent and thoroughgoing battle among the masses exhausted by Mobutu's fascist regime and its daily harassments, a popular explosion if the present situation were to persist is not to be ruled out.

Such an eventuality, one suspects, would automatically shorten the distances between the sincere militants exiled abroad and their compatriots who have remained in the country. In the Western capitals there is definitely too much of a tendency to overestimate the patience of the Zairean people--and to forget other examples, such as Iran or Nicaragua.

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ZAIRE

BRIEFS

'SANDINISTA' INSTRUCTORS--Zaire is on the alert: "Sandinista" instructors are training opponents of Mobutu in urban guerrilla warfare, in a camp located in the Congo Brazzaville. They are being sent by the Cubans, who failed in Shaba with guerrilla bush warfare. [Text] [Paris PARIS MATCH in French 19 Sep 80 p 33] 8946

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