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5 February 1982

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

FOUO No. 760



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ANGOLA

UK CORRESPONDENT INTERVIEWS UNITA LEADER SAVIMBI

PM251729 London THE OBSERVER in English 24 Jan 82 p 10

[Exclusive report by Ian Mather]

[Text] The exchange of two Russian pilots held prisoner in Angola for two unnamed Americans could be the first step in a move towards reconciliation of the warring forces in Angola.

The exchange is to be one carried out by the International Red Cross in agreement with the Angolan Government and the main rebel force, UNITA (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). It could lead to further exchanges of prisoners and is to be seen in the context of a major American initiative in South West Africa, one of the objectives of which is the setting up of a government of national reconciliation involving Dr Jonas Savimbi, the UNITA leader.

Last week the Angolan Government officially denied that it had sent a letter to UNITA offering negotiations for reconciliation. But President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, bedeviled by a ruinous civil war in the south of his country, has made it plain that in principle he favours the 'normalization' of relations with the United States and the economic aid that would flow from this.

The Reagan administration, for its part, is seeking to bring the two factions in Angola together as part of a 'two track' initiative aimed at securing the withdrawal of the 30,000 Cuban troops from Angola and the departure of South African troops from neighbouring Namibia.

The first exchange of Angolan 'prisoners,' in which the hand of Dr Chester Crocker, President Reagan's assistant secretary for African affairs, can be detected, will take place in about 3 weeks.

The Russian pilots, whose Antonov military transport aircraft was shot down by UNITA forces in November 1980, will be flown in a Red Cross plane from a base in southern Angola, where UNITA has its stronghold, to a West African capital. At the same time, the two Americans, who were held after their private plane landed in Angolan Government territory, will be brought to the same airport in a second Red Cross plane. The American and Russian ambassadors in the chosen country will shake hands and formally accept their citizens.

The American initiative has significantly strengthened the position of Dr Savimbi, a charismatic doctor of philosophy, who has spent the past 15 years fighting in the Angolan bush, first against the Portuguese colonial rulers, then, for the past 7 years, against the Marxist government of independent Angola.

Savimbi, as a staunch anti-communist, is now the firm favourite of the Reagan administration. During a 17-day visit to Washington in December, Savimbi was given to understand that, if necessary, ways and means would be found to by-pass the Clark amendment, which forbids U.S. aid to any group in Angola by channelling money through a third country.

Last week, in an exclusive interview with the OBSERVER Savimbi told me that he was 'very interested' in the idea of a 'government of national reconciliation,' and that UNITA had established unofficial contacts with the Angolan Government party, the MPLA (Popular Liberation Movement of Angola).

He said that 10 days ago, at a meeting in Paris with Paulo Jorge, the Angolan foreign minister, Crocker had expressed on his behalf UNITA's willingness to enter into discussions with the MPLA.

The principal aim of the Reagan administration was to get the Cubans out of Angola, he said. 'The United State Government has told us they will be very firm about the Cubans. If Angola wants American economic aid, the Cubans will have to go.

'This in turn hinges on the position of the Russians. They have acquired a strategic position in the southern Atlantic without fighting for it. They may not be prepared to give it up.

'On the other hand, the whole world wants an end to the war in Angola, and the Russians will not want to be seen putting obstacles in the way. So they could try to find a way of causing delays.'

The interview took place in a suburban villa surrounded by a large garden in which roamed [as published]. Savimbi, who has the rank of general in UNITA forces, was wearing a khaki military sweater. He showed photographs of captured MPLA weapons and of himself sitting astride the wreckage of the crashed Russian aircraft.

Within the MPLA there appear to be two strands of thought about Savimbi. The hard-liners appear to be led by Lucio Lara, the MPLA's secretary for organisation. Lara travelled to Moscow for consultations at the same time as the Angolan foreign minister was meeting Crocker in Paris.

They want to fight on. But others, including a number of senior military officers, may believe the time has come for a settlement that will end the war.

A further meeting between the Americans and MPLA was taking place yesterday in Kinshasa.

Whatever the officially stated positions of the parties, events on the ground do appear to be moving in Savimbi's favour. While the Angolan Government may be forced into a corner because of its growing economic problems, Savimbi can count on adequate support, both overt and covert, among a number of black South African states, as well as from South Africa and the United States. Savimbi now claims to control about a third of the country and to be getting the supplies he needs for his troops.

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## COMORO ISLANDS

## LACK OF PROGRESS, ALLEGED SA TIES EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 21 Dec 81 p 23

[Article by Henry Reuter: "Confusion Reigns in the Comoros"]

[Text]

**MORONI (Grande Comore)** — Like the rumbling Karthala volcano, which last spewed its great gobbets of black lava over the countryside of Grande Comore four years ago, these normally sleepy islands of Grande Comore, Anjouan, Moheli and Mayotte which lie some 350 km off the northern Mozambique coast are once again becoming restive.

The 300 000 people who try to scrape a living from the volcanic soil of these 1 150 sq km of mountain tops peeking out of the Indian Ocean have been politically quiescent since May 1978, when white mercenaries led by Congo veteran Bob Denard overthrew the government of Ali Solih, and reinstalled the regime of Ahmed Abdallah.

Eighteen months earlier Solih and his Maoists had overthrown the elected Abdallah government with help from the socialist world.

Because of the white mercenary involvement, the OAU was never happy with the Abdallah regime. Neither was France, which threatened to withhold aid unless Denard was kicked out of his seat in the post-coup National Directorate and deported.

In September 1978 Abdallah bowed to pressures. Denard was kicked out, the flow of French aid resumed, and the island of Mayotte, which had by a national referendum opted to stay under French rule when the other three islands declared themselves independent in 1975, continued to be a French naval base and "part of France."

Now, with this year's French election victory of Francois Mitterand and his socialist party, France has indicated that it is open to overtures to return Mayotte to the Comoro Islands Republic, as the other three islands now call themselves.

This has left the ordinary people of all four islands in a state of dismay and utter confusion about their future.

Quick to take advantage of the new

French government's new approach, the OAU sent a seven nation committee under Gabon's chairmanship to Moroni last month to discuss the matter.

Its sittings were held behind closed doors, but subsequent leakages indicated that if the OAU committee thought that the stage was all set for yet another easy victory of African unity over colonialism, it was quickly and thoroughly disillusioned.

First, "it emerged" that the 40 000 people of Mayotte still don't want their independence and would once again say "No" to it if the matter were put to a referendum in which they were the only voters on their own future.

Second, there is still some doubt whether the people of the other three islands would now vote for independence if they had another opportunity to say "yes" or "no" to it.

Third, the people of all four islands are fearful that under the guise of a new liberalism the French may

use any excuse to withdraw from Mayotte and then use the withdrawal as an excuse for a drastic cut in aid to the islands.

This is running at over R1-million a year. Take it away and the isles would have to support themselves basically from their own agricultural production — an annual 300 tons of ylang-ylang perfume oil now threatened by synthetics, some 300 tons of vanilla, the yield of 900 ha of clove trees and an annual 20 000 tons of coconuts.

Against this, the islands have to import 15 000 tons of rice a year to meet staple diet demands, their waters being poor in fish. The islands' population, with a density of 40 per sq km, is increasing at the rate of 2.5 percent per year. And, since independence, the estimated GNP per capita has fallen from R200 to R180.

Massive UN food aid has helped the isles avert mass starvation threats and sporadic handouts from Arab countries have eased

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the heavy budget deficit. But one of the islands' greatest potential income earners — tourism — has been ignored.

"If this is independence, who wants it?" is a popular question which Comorians ask each other in their local lingua franca, which leans heavily on both French and Swahili.

"Only when independence means work, enough jobs for all, will it have any meaning for us," commented a Moroni market fruit seller.

Meanwhile, the people complain that the rich elite get richer.

President Abdallah and his top aides are accused of monopolising agricultural marketing and milking the economy. Denard may be gone, but he is not forgotten. He visits frequently and is reported to have considerable Comorian business interests in conjunction with government bodies.

Denard and other ex-mercenaries are also alleged to be influential in developing the islands' trade with South Africa, now worth over R25-million a year.

Unlike those who recently botched up their coup attempt in the Seychelles, Denard's men did democracy a service by restoring an ousted elected government to power and proving that staging coups is

not a monopoly of the communists.

Now, encouraged by the OAU interest, the left underground is once again rumbling. Abdallah's 350-man private defence force trained and led by white mercenaries, is reported to be jittery.

Ordinary Comorians have found the fruits of independence bitter. They wish that all power-hungry people would go away and leave them alone.

## SA links alleged

Alleged links between South Africa and the Comoro government of President Ahmed Abdallah are being advanced by the Indian Ocean islands' clandestine opposition groups as a major reason why they should be supported, financially and otherwise, in a bid for power.

The Front National Uni des Komores (FNUK) and the Union des Komoriens (Unikom) which combined earlier this year into a united movement calling itself FNUK-Unikom has claimed in a statement despatched from here to the OAU and leaders of leftwing Arab and African countries:

- That South Africa has been given permission to build a telecommunications station on Grande Comore;

- That South Africa has agreed to build a deep water harbour at Mutsamudu on Anjouan (the second largest of the four Comoro islands);

- That South Africa has agreed to lend Abdallah's government R25-million;

- That there are plans to step up trade between South Africa and the islands; and

- That the republic is also helping the Comoran government to build a large broadcasting complex.

These allegations are understood to have been put to an OAU mission which spent three days here last month to discuss possibilities of persuading the new French socialist government of President Francois Mitterrand to restore the island of Mayotte, now a French naval base, to the Comoro Islands Republic.

The rebels have also claimed that Gabon, which chaired the seven nation OAU committee meeting, has been acting as an intermediary in bringing the Comoros Islands closer to South Africa, and that an unnamed South African "Assistant Finance Minister" paid an undercover visit to the islands early this year, passing himself off as a Swede.

No official reaction to the rebels' allegations has been made by President Abdallah's Government.

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MADAGASCAR

LIBYAN ACCORDS TO ESTABLISH JOINT COMPANIES REPORTED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French No 1883, 11 Dec 81 p 3319

[Text] Agreements were signed on 4 December in Antananarivo providing for the establishment of the Libyan-Malagasy Holding Company (LIMA) and the Libyan-Malagasy Agricultural Company (SALM), as well as the proposed Libyan-Malagasy Sugar Company. The agreements were signed by a Libyan delegation headed by Mr Moussa Ahmed Abou Fria, secretary of the people's general planning committee, and a Malagasy delegation headed by the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Christian Remi Richard.

The Libyan-Malagasy Holding Company (LIMA) was first the subject of a protocol agreement signed 25 April 1981 in Tripoli. The company's headquarters will be in Antananarivo, and it will have capital assets of \$8 million (2.4 billion Malagasy francs). The president of the board of directors of the deputy general manager will be Malagasy. LIMA's mission is to invest in the fields of industry, agriculture, stockraising, fishing, maritime transport, mining and prospecting, and in all kinds of commercial and industrial activity in general.

The Libyan-Malagasy Agricultural Company (SALM) will have assets of \$20 million (6 billion Malagasy francs), with Madagascar a majority shareholder. The vice president of the board of directors and the general manager will be Malagasy citizens. The company's mandate is to invest in the field of agriculture and stock-raising in Madagascar, through the production and marketing of products by the company itself--rice, wheat, soya, sunflower, coffee, tea, bovine and ovine products, etc.

The Libyan-Malagasy Sugar Company is still only in the planning stage, and by terms of the agreement, the LIMA holding company will work out the modalities of its establishment and financing.

We would add that the agreements signed 4 December in Antananarivo also call for Libyan and Malagasy experts to meet before March 1982 to discuss the creation of a Libyan-Malagasy Company for the Production, Processing and Marketing of Uranium. Cooperation in the field of nickel will also be examined after a study of the technical data.

Finally, promotion of trade between Madagascar and Libya was one of the subjects discussed in the course of the meetings held 28 November-4 December. Steps will be taken to finalize contracts between Libyan and Malagasy importing and exporting companies.

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During his speech following the signing of the Libyan-Malagasy agreements, Mr Christian Remi Richard noted that, following President Ratsiraka's visit to Tripoli in September, Libya had provided Madagascar a \$50 million loan. A general cooperation agreement was signed on 3 September between the two countries.

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MADAGASCAR

## BRIEFS

1982 BUDGET--On 3 December the Malagasy National People's Assembly began consideration of the proposed 1982 budget of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar. That budget calls for 256.65 billion Malagasy francs in receipts and in expenditures, compared to 267 billion in 1981. There will not be any new taxes in 1982, but there will be some changes in the tax rates. In particular, the Single Transaction Tax (TUT) will go up from 10 to 15 percent. The proposed budget also calls for a modification in regard to oil royalties: oil-producing companies will have to pay a "primary duty" of 36 to 45 percent, which can be deducted from profits for the first 7 years of production. In regard to oil, it was asserted during the debate that two or three oil companies including Mobil Oil, are already prepared to begin oil prospecting, on condition that the laws governing such operations be quite clear. According to OMNIS [National Military Office for Strategic Industries], research has already begun, even though final operational agreements have not yet been signed. [Text] /Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French No 1883, 11 Dec 81 p 3319/ COPYRIGHT: Rene Moreux et Cie Paris 1981/ 9516

TOAMASINA REFINERY--According to officials of SOLIMA, the state-owned Malagasy Petroleum Company, progress is being made on the second phase of expansion of the Toamasina oil refinery. Investment pledges now total 5 billion Malagasy francs, and the expanded facility can be turned over to the company in May 1982 by the company carrying out the work, Litwin-France. We would note that the expansion at Toamasina will make it possible for SOLIMA to produce, over and above its normal production and without increasing the amount of imported crude, 70,000 tons per year of diesel oil, 5,000 tons per year of gasoline, and 20,000 tons per year of asphalt for roadwork. The Toamasina refinery, which went into operation in 1965, was first expanded in 1971 by an addition which increased its productive capacity by 25 percent. SOLIMA--a state-owned company established in 1975--decided upon the second expansion, which is now under way, as part of the government's investment policy. Work began in March (Cf. MTM of 24 April 1981, p 1204). [Text] /Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French No 1883, 11 Dec 81 p 3319/ COPYRIGHT: Rene Moreux et Cie Paris 1981/ 9516

ACCORDS WITH MOBIL, OCCIDENTAL--Agreements to facilitate a resumption of oil prospecting in the Malagasy West Central region were signed 4 December at Antananarivo by OMNIS [National Military Office for Strategic Industries] and the Mobil Oil company. These accords with one of the world's largest oil companies should facilitate an intensified search for oil in Madagascar. They allow Mobil to prospect an area covering 30,000 square kilometers off the shore of Morondava. Mobil will begin seismic exploration early in 1982 and continue for 2 years, an activity

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which will require an investment on the order of \$3 million. Four wells will then be drilled within a period no longer than 6 years, at a cost of some \$10 million per well. On 9 October OMNIS was to sign another oil prospecting agreement with the American company Occidental Petroleum. [Text] /Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French No 1883, 11 Dec 81 p 3319/ /COPYRIGHT: Rene Moreux et Cie Paris 1981/ 9516

DELIVERY OF 'BEMOLANGA'--The oil tanker "Bemolanga," SOLIMA's [Malagasy Petroleum Company] second international-class vessel, moored at the port of Toamasina on 22 November, 3 years to the day after the state-owned company delivered its first tanker, the "Tsimororo." The "Bemolanga" came from Japan, where it had been built at the Usuki Iron Works shipyard; 100 meters long, 14 meters wide, it can carry 4,500 cubic meters of hydrocarbons. Its home port will be Mahajanga. [Text] /Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French No 1883, 11 Dec 81 p 3319/ /COPYRIGHT: Rene Moreux et Cie Paris 1981/ 9516

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MALAWI

## SPECULATION ON BANDA'S SUCCESSOR NOTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 6 Jan 82 p 19

[Article by Howard Barrell]

[Text]

"The old man," said a diplomat of Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda, "is still as sharp as a tack. And nothing happens here without his ordination."

In that observation there is much, though not unlimited, comfort for South Africa and other conservative governments.

His Excellency the Life President, Ngwaze Dr H Kamuzu Banda — that's his full appellation, and don't forget a bit of it — remains firmly in control of all his faculties and his country.

The adulation he receives from his people frequently verges on sycophancy. The Press and the country's only legal party, the Malawi Congress Party (MCP), report his exploits and successes in Herculean fashion.

His Nbumbe — thousands of Malawian women in dresses bearing his portrait — turn out to bid him welcome or farewell

wherever he goes. And his motorcade, comprising up to 11 vehicles, usually includes an ambulance and fire engine.

The ambulance is what worries his supporters. But the old "Ngwaze" (or hero) told his people at the opening of the Kamuzu Academy recently he was not afraid to die.

It gives rise to the most intriguing question in Malawi: What happens when Dr Banda goes?

What opposition has emerged in the 17 years of independence has not survived in any meaningful form. Dr Henry Chipembere, who led Malawi to in-

dependence with Dr Banda in 1964, died in exile in America in 1975 and much of his People's Democratic Party with him.

In June this year, Malawi's three other major dissident groups met in the south western Tanzanian town of Mbeya, but failed in their unity bid. They are the Malawi Freedom Movement (Mafrema), led by Mr Orton Chirwa, former Minister of Justice who split

from Dr Banda in 1964; the Congress for the Second Republic (CSR), headed by a former External Affairs Minister, Mr Kanyama Chiume; and the Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma), led by Dr Attati Mphakati who lost his hands a few years ago when he opened a parcel bomb.

Lesoma claims the development of an armed wing and a number of pamphlets furthering its cause have reportedly been distributed in the country.

But Lesoma, said to be the most effective of the groups, has experienced its own internal ructions. Pamphlets purporting to come from the internal wing announced its decision to break with the Lesoma's external wing and form the Malawi Democratic Union (MDU).

Once Malawi's young star, former Cabinet Minister Mr Aleke Banda, tipped as Dr Banda's successor, now lives the life of a political recluse under security restriction.

And Mr Gwanda Phiri, another contender for the throne, who was Minister of Youth

and headed a parastatal company that went bankrupt, is now sitting out 22 years for sedition. One rather cynical diplomat referred to Mr Phiri's crime as "advanced flywhisk-waving, the Ngwaze's prerogative."

There is no reliable measure of support for these groups and personalities. And what support there may be does not stick its neck out. Theirs must be a waiting game: for Dr Banda's death, and for a situation in which there is dissatisfaction because Malawi's substantial economic growth has not benefited the great mass of people.

Pro-government Malawian sources maintain the succession will be constitutional.

In the event of the President dying, the MCP's secretary general together with two senior Cabinet Ministers should, in terms of the constitution, form a presidential council which would run the country until elections are held.

Given the MCP's complete dominance of legal politics in Malawi,

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he who controls the party stands the best chance of gaining the presidency. Here the possibilities begin to narrow down.

Presently, Malawi's Minister without Portfolio, Mr Bakili Muluzi, doubles up as party secretary general and administrative secretary. That must make him favourite to succeed at this stage.

Some see advantage, others disadvantage in Mr Muluzi's Muslim faith. But observers are agreed that religious differences — apart from membership of the Jehovah's Witnesses — do not play a major role in Malawian politics.

Between 1972 and 1975, thousands of Jehovah's Witnesses fled Malawi to Mozambique and Zambia after their refusal to recognise secular government led to persecution by the country's Young Pioneers.

Another candidate for the succession is Mr Timon Mangwazo, once Malawi's representative to the European Economic Community (EEC), who is also said to be keeping his head down.

A common subject of speculation when it comes to real power in Malawi is Mrs Cecilia Kadzamira, Dr Banda's personal aide, and official government hostess. She and her family are said by Lilongwe sources to have gained themselves a significant measure of power likely to survive Dr Banda. And some see her as the figure who will make the queen or decide the new king.

The tension the Banda succession causes in Malawi is apparent. And one diplomat suggested it may be one reason for the proliferation of headache pill advertisements in every Malawi town.

"Nobody knows if they will be out of favour tomorrow," he added.

What is clear, however, is that Malawi's black bureaucratic elite is, itself, unlikely to be the cause of any major re-orientation in Malawi's policies. For one, the present system serves their interests too well for that. And secondly, whatever the cost to civil liberties, President Banda's formula has achieved a rate of growth in Malawi that is the envy of any African state.

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**NIGER**

**BRIEFS**

**THREATENED LIBYAN ACTION--Imminent Libyan action against Niger is threatened. Some 1,500 Nigeriens, members of the Islamic Legion, are being trained at present on Libyan soil by the son of the former President of the Republic of Niger, Hamani Diori. [Text] [Paris PARIS MATCH in French 18 Dec 81 p 44]**

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SENEGAL

SENEGAL PRESIDENT ABDOU DIOUF INTERVIEWED

PM121141 Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 30 Dec 81 pp 24-27

[Interview with Senegalese President Abdou Diouf by Sennen Andriamirado: "'When Senghor Went There Were Rumors of Disaster'"; date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] A year ago, on 1 January 1981, in your first message to the nation as President of the Republic, you declared: "I will undertake changes while maintaining what has been achieved." Was that a subtle way of announcing "de-Senghorization"?

[Answer] I disapprove of the word "de-Senghorization" and, as far as the issue itself is concerned, I think that it is a false problem. To bring in changes does not mean to "de-Senghorize". No one is more attached than myself--if I may say so--to President Senghor as a person and to everything he achieved. I may say so--to President Senghor as a person and to everything he achieved.

[Question] Nevertheless you have announced changes....

[Answer] We have to confront new challenges. And for a man who has neither the temperament nor the character of President Senghor, it is question of taking up the reins of power, exercising it in his own style and using special tactics adapted to the problems of Senegal.

[Question] Could you be more precise, Mr President? What do you mean by special tactics? The states general of education which people were calling for in Senghor's time and which you have convoked, the multiparty system rejected by President Senghor which you have established, are these "special tactics" or a "desire to break with the past?"

[Answer] (Denying this energetically): No! No, not at all. These are things which I thought of quite naturally. I have not done these things in order to take a stand against my predecessor but because I considered that the time had come to do them.

[Question] Senghor thought your decision to authorize a multiparty system with no restrictions somewhat premature.



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[Answer] I thought that the Senegalese people were mature enough to tackle this new stage in their political destiny. It had to be done. And had my predecessor remained I would have advised him to do it.

[Question] Does not the current burgeoning of parties (11 registered as of 7 December) present a danger of destabilization?

[Answer] No, provided that the party leaders show a sense of responsibility, put the interests of the nation before their personal ambitions and do not use every trick in the book to get into power. Having said that, I am not in favor of a ballooning of parties. That would be ridiculous. Moreover, we have specified clearly in the constitution that no party must cite as its authority elements that would split the nation.

[Question] A report from the World Bank says that African states have mis-managed their economies and that not only did Africa get off to a bad start, it never even started at all! It recommends integral liberalism.

[Answer] Integral liberalism? Impossible. There are sectors which can be left to private initiative but in certain others, if the state does not intervene, no progress is made.

[Question] The IMF also reproaches you for a certain amount of unhealthy management and recommends you to take some draconian economic measures if you want the IMF to help you.

[Answer] We are agreed upon the need to balance our economy. But we will not take any measures which will be too difficult for our people from the social viewpoint. That is the position as regards our negotiations with the IMF. A compromise will have to be sought.

[Question] At present, rice costs only 80 Central African Community Francs [CFAF] a kilogram thanks to a state subsidy of 20 francs. If you were to sell things at their true price, as the IMF recommends you do, rice would cost 100 CFAF. The people could not take that. But you need the IMF. How are Senegal's political and social interests to be reconciled with its economic and financial interests?

[Answer] We are anxious to redress the imbalance in our country's economic situation and to reach agreement with the IMF on the main objectives because we need its help. But we are equally anxious to defend our people's purchasing power and we are not keen advocates of unsubsidized prices. That is why we are negotiating.

[Question] The IMF suggests you also scale down your bureaucracy a little. There seems to be a superabundance of public servants. Would you be willing to make some tangible cuts in the budget and reduce the number of staff?

[Answer] There can be no question of such a thing! We shall make sure that the number of people employed in the public services does not swell unreasonably in the future. We shall pursue a more rational recruitment policy. But it cannot be said that we are going to undertake a draconian reduction in staff.

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[Question] You do not, however, have enormous means at your disposal. As things stand, Senegal does not carry too much economic weight. Will your influence there--fore be a political or moral.... not to mention military?

[Answer] (Laughing) Do you have the impression that our present policies are so very different from those we pursued before?

[Question] Abdou Diouf's first year has also been the first year of Senegambia. Senegal intervened militarily in Gambia in August--your soldiers are still there--and, in November, the confederation was created. You were quick!

[Answer] The alert was serious, really serious. But I must add that it was the Gambian President who uttered the two key words: Confederation and integrated security forces.

[Question] The fact remains that Senegambia is an old idea of Senegals.

[Answer] Quite so. I think it corresponds to the two countries' interests. Gambia cannot live without Senegal, and Senegal cannot live unaware of the existence of Gambia, without establishing powerful economic ties with it.

[Question] For the time being Senegambia is a reality. Could this sort of union be extended to include other West African countries? Does this mean that the federalist dream is not dead?

[Answer] This old dream could become a reality if we Africans show prudence, realism and patience.

[Question] The political systems of the countries involved must also be reconcilable. Gambia and Senegal both have multi-party systems. That is not the case elsewhere.

[Answer] The main problem is the economy. If we manage to achieve economic integration within the West African Economic Community or the West African States Economic Community, vital sectors of our nations will be grouped together and it will be easier to envisage political groupings.

[Question] Do you now have the impression that West Africa is looking for new leaders to create these groupings? President Senghor has retired. President Houphouet-Boigny belongs to the generation of founding fathers. Even President Sekou Toure belongs to the generation of historical leaders.

[Answer] I think that the time of historical leaders is over. After this generation we shall see the emergence--at least in West Africa--of leaders who are more like the man in the street. And it is fraternal cooperation that is the key to the prosperity of West Africa, without any attempts--on the part of anyone--at hegemonism, any seeking of personal prestige or undue influence.

[Question] No one suspects you yourself then of seeking undue influence?

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[Answer] I am very much against that sort of thing. In the past rivalries have distorted the real problems.

[Question] Are you thinking of the old rivalry between Houphouet-Boigny and Senghor?

[Answer] A great deal has been said about this friction. I personally never saw any evidence of it. I was always hearing one of the two heads of state praising the other. Attempts have been made to cultivate some kind of antagonism between Houphouet and Senghor or between the Ivory Coast and Senegal. That is an unhealthy state of mind and it must be combatted. I am doing so with President Houphouet, for whom I have a great deal of respect and esteem. I regard myself as his junior, as his son. And I am pleased that he regards me as such.

[Question] You are too young to have taken part in the battle between the two historical chiefs shortly before independence.

[Answer] (Suddenly excited) I have never had any quarrel with anyone. Anyone. Neither on the national plane nor the foreign plane. If certain people have opposed me I have never opposed them. Some people have regarded me as their rival. Not me. I have never had occasion to vie with anyone. I might add that I have always practiced forgiveness.

[Question] Do you fear that someone might be tempted by hegemony in Africa.

[Answer] The only hegemony I deplore--and I hope it will be no more than an unpleasant memory--is that of Libya. But in West Africa I cannot see who might be tempted by hegemony.

[Question] Nigeria?

[Answer] I don't think so. Some Africans fear it. Not I.

[Question] Do you believe it is possible to reason with al-Qadhafi?

[Answer] I don't think so. So far no one has succeeded in doing so. I do not think he can change fundamentally. (A silence, then raising his voice) I would like him to change, but he will not change.

[Question] Will you take part in the OAU summit in Tripoli in 1982?

[Answer] In my opinion Tripoli will break no records in terms of participation in an OAU summit by heads of state!

[Question] Are you afraid that conflicts in Africa may proliferate?

[Answer] Yes. Conflicts, particularly border conflicts, should not be underestimated. All uninvolved states must be vigilant and seek to extinguish the slightest spark before it becomes a conflagration.

[Question] Do you believe, like Senghor, that World War III has begun in Angola?

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[Answer] In Angola? What do you call a world war?

[Question] In this case it would mean a confrontation of ideologies.

[Answer] It is not only in Angola that there is a confrontation of ideologies.

[Question] Are you afraid of communism?

[Answer] I am not an out-and-out anticommunist, But I do not believe communism to be the solution to Africa's development problems.

[Question] Do you not believe that communism is necessarily subversive?

[Answer] Hmm!...at any rate, it has been!

[Question] You are improving your relations with Angola.

[Answer] I have met with President Dos Santos. We had a discussion. Senegal, as you know, has recognized the state of Angola, but we have never formed diplomatic relations with its government. We are studying this problem today in the light of the inadmissible behavior of the Republic of South Africa, which is daily attacking Angola and rejecting the slightest progress in the case of Namibia. Even if at the beginning we did not agree with the way in which the MPLA took power in Angola, we cannot do nothing in the face of South Africa. (A silence, then) I can tell you that between apartheid and communism I would choose communism.

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UPPER VOLTA

BULLETIN ON RECENT ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French No 1886, 1 Jan 82 p 27

[Article: "Recent Economic Events"]

[Text] A recent bulletin of economic and monetary statistics from the Central Bank of the West African States (BCEAO) is devoted to Upper Volta.

The main agricultural production sold in the 1979-80 season came to 77,520 metric tons [mt] of seed cotton (up 17,560 mt over the previous season). After spinning, this yielded 28,716 mt of cotton fiber (up 8,615 mt), 40,060 mt of karite (up 33,070 mt), 4,236 mt of sesame (up 200 mt), and 1,165 mt of shelled peanuts (up 165 mt).

The value of the seed cotton harvest came to 4.3 billion francs CFA [African Financial Community] (up 1 billion francs CFA over the previous season), and the production of karite was estimated at 1 billion CFA (up 0.8 billion CFA).

At the beginning of the 1980-81 season, the producers purchase price was raised in francs CFA a kilo from 24.5 to 27 for karite, from 54.3 to 81.93 for shelled peanuts and lowered from 90 to 75 for sesame. The buying price of seed cotton remained unchanged at 55.

In the first 4 months of 1980, rail traffic of the Abidjan-Niger Company brought in 197,300 mt from the Ivory Coast, of which 56,700 mt was in combustibles and 28,600 mt in cement. Of 85,400 mt going to the Ivory Coast, 15,100 mt was in cotton fiber and there were 9,900 head of cattle.

The Ougadougou international airport had traffic of 355 commercial planes and 7,800 passengers in transit in January 1980.

As of 31 March 1981, the merchandise index of the main commercial firms was at 371.9 as opposed to 329.3 for the previous year (1970 = 100).

At the end of the first 4 months of 1981, the general consumer price index for African families was at 271.5 as opposed to 249.6 on 30 June 1980 (1970 = 100). Since 1 January 1979, no change has been made in the guaranteed interprofessional minimum hourly wage.

The budget for fiscal year 1981 (January-December) has been officially calculated in debits and credits at 40.5 billion francs CFA (as opposed to 40.2 billion CFA for 1980). Equipment credits came to 3.9 billion CFA (as opposed to 5 billion CFA), debt service on the national debt came to 4 billion CFA (up 1.1 billion CFA). At the end of July 1981, customs receipts came to 12.3 billion CFA, more than 95 percent of which was in import duties.

In 1980, the commercial deficit was 56.6 billion CFA, greater than in 1979 (47.7 billion CFA). Imports totaled 75.6 billion CFA as opposed to 19 billion CFA in exports (of which 8.4 billion CFA was in cotton fiber and 4.5 billion CFA in cattle).

At the end of December 1980, the national debt came to 69.4 billion CFA (up 17.3 billion CFA during the year); the margin available on credit obtained was 33.4 billion CFA (up 3.5 billion).

On 30 June 1981, bills and coins in circulation totaled 23.3 billion CFA, as opposed to 18.6 billion a year before. The amount of demand and time deposits in banks was 36.5 billion CFA on 30 April 1981 (up 6.9 billion over the end of June 1980).

On the other hand, credits to the economy came to 62.3 billion CFA (up 3.9 billion over June 1980), of which public corporations accounted for 55 percent of the total and the private sector, for 45 percent.

Also at the end of April 1981, the Treasury's net balance for domestic accounts showed a net surplus of 3.9 billion CFA, an increase of 1.2 billion over April 1980.

Net foreign holdings also improved at the same time, going from an excess commitment of -3.8 billion CFA to a surplus of 2.9 billion CFA at the end of April 1981.

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UPPER VOLTA

MINING BUREAU ACTIVITIES INCLUDE ESTABLISHING TWO NEW COMPANIES

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French No 1886, 1 Jan 82 p 27

[Article: "BUVOGMI Administrative Council Creates Two New Mining Companies"]

[Text] The administrative council of the Upper Voltan Bureau of Geology and Mines (BUVOGMI) met on 19 December. It was chaired by the minister for Commerce, Industrial Development and Mines, Mr Djibrina Barry, and adopted the proposed 1982 budget, which totals 942.37 million francs CFA [African Financial Community].

The Council also authorized the establishment in 1982 of two mining companies, the Sahel Mines Company (SOMISA) for prospecting and mining in the Baïldjaga and Djouga mines, and COMIKI (Kiere Mining Company), which will also be formed in 1982 for manganese mining in the Hounde region.

On the same day, in Bobo-Dioulasso, the DIREGMI (BUVOGMI Regional Administration) buildings were dedicated by Mr Djibrina Barry in the presence of the ministers of Social Affairs and the Status of Women, Mrs Marie-Madeleine Kone, Justice, the State Secretary, Mr Bema Ouattara, Public Functions and Works, Mr Alexandre Zoungrana, and Post Office and Telecommunications, Lt-Col Charles Hounsouho Bambara.

Work was performed by the SEG (General Contracting Company), especially in the construction of the buildings and the courtyard; the Bernard Coulibaly Company, for the enclosure and the rooms for mechanical rock-processing; and the OPT (Post Office and Telecommunications) for telephone installations. The main building houses 9 offices, a library, a reading room, a museum, and a designing room, for about 350 square meters of usable space. The second building houses a garage, stores, a laboratory, and two connecting rooms for about 660 square meters of usable area.

The Bobo-Dioulasso regional administration will be the site of the project evaluating the gold-bearing copper deposits of the Gaoua region, in the context of cooperation between Upper Volta and the Netherlands. The total cost of building DIREGMI has come to 116.6 million CFA, 20 million of which has been financed by a subsidy from the French Aid and Cooperation Fund (FAC) and the difference by BUVOGMI's own funds.

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BRIEFS

BUDGET FOR 1982--The Upper Voltan minister of Finance, Mr Edmond Ky, presented the 1982 draft budget for Upper Volta to the members of the Military Committee of Recovery for National Progress (CMPRM) on 29 December. The 1982 draft budget for Upper Volta balances at 48.9494 billion francs CFA [African Financial Community], an increase of 20.8 percent over 1981. The budget receipts come from taxation (40.2562 billion CFA), ordinary funds (5.8037 billion CFA), and extraordinary funds (1.7894 billion CFA) as well as loans (1.1 billion CFA). Expenditures: 34.0021 billion CFA will go to services, 5.525 billion CFA to public works, and 5.3928 billion CFA to equipment and investment. As concerns expenditures, the Finance minister said, "the desire to apply the principle of a balanced budget has led the government to make difficult and often painful choices." Mr Ky added that proposals for services came to 135.4 billion francs CFA, "which is out of line with the resources available." Contributions to international organizations, inter-African and others, are not spelled out in this draft budget. Mr Edmond Ky said that the Upper Voltan minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, in conjunction with the other ministers, will take the initiative in making choices that will reduce Upper Volta's contributions to organizations that "do not have any real interest for Upper Volta." [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French No 1886, 1 Jan 82 p 26] 8782

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ZIMBABWE

**NKOMO DISMISSES PARTY MERGER CLAIMS**

PM191633 London THE TIMES in English 19 Jan 82 p 5

[Dispatch by Stephen Taylor: "Nkomo Denies Party Merger Proposals"]

[Text] Salisbury, 18 Jan--Mr Joshua Nkomo, leader of the second largest party in Zimbabwe's coalition government, today condemned trends with the ruling ZANU (PF) party and dismissed claims by Mr Robert Mugabe, the prime minister, that talks would start in two weeks on merging their parties.

In his most outspoken statement since his followers clashed with Mr Mugabe's supporters last February leaving more than 200 dead, Mr Nkomo indicated that prospects of a merger had, if anything, receded.

Mr Nkomo, President of the Patriotic Front, told THE TIMES he was worried that ZANU (PF) was departing increasingly from the constitution agreed at Lancaster House and was holding itself above parliament.

Mr Mugabe told rallies around Salisbury yesterday that talks would start between ZANU (PF) and the Patriotic Front shortly to discuss making Zimbabwe a one-party state. No party other than ZANU (PF) would rule in Zimbabwe and it would be in power forever.

Mr Nkomo, veteran of nationalist politics and known by his supporters as "Father of Zimbabwe," said the prime minister's statement had raised serious misgivings in the Patriotic Front and had deeply concerned him personally. ZANU (PF) was assuming that the Patriotic Front would acquiesce.

The Patriotic Front holds 20 of the 80 black seats in parliament and as the main alternative to ZANU (PF) would have to be involved in any peaceful transition to a one-party system. Mr Nkomo indicated that there would be no talk on unification in the foreseeable future and that although the possibility of a merger had been raised "you never heard it from me."

It was on the constitution that he was most critical, noting that speeches by Mr Mugabe which set ZANU (PF) up as the main political force were a contradiction of the document which the two leaders signed at Lancaster House "which states clearly that parliament is supreme and not any political party."

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As a result ZANU (PF) members were setting themselves above the organs of state such as the police and army while party men had been given a disproportionate number of appointments in the civil service.

Mr Nkomo, who has been a virtual recluse from public life in recent months, said he had been shaken by the prime minister's weekend speech: "I believed we were working together for peace and unity... but you can't force unity."

Speeches by Mr Mugabe on the one-party theme upset Mr Nkomo's supporters who traditionally have different regional and tribal affiliations but in recent months they have drawn back from public criticism. The fact Mr Nkomo has responded in so forthright a manner does not bode well.

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