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ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

EXTENSION OF AID(1) BY COMECON MEMBER COUNTRIES
TO AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN 1976

Note by the French Delegation

NB.

This document deals with the economic and military assistance extended by the USSR, the European COMECON countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, the GDR, Romania and Czechoslovakia) and Cuba to African countries(2) in 1976. It contains some extra information that relates to the end of 1975 which was not available when document AC/127-D/542 (16th November, 1976) was drawn up.

Data concerning the first quarter of 1977 will be found in the detailed survey of each country.

This document includes: 6 Annexes

- (1) The term "extension" refers to a commitment to provide goods and services either against payment or as grants.
(2) Including Egypt and the Malagasy Republic.

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GENERAL

The Soviet Union provides the bulk of COMECON aid to the African countries. So it would seem appropriate to start by examining that country's designs in Africa.

Whether in its capacity as the "Big Brother" of international Communism, a great power or China's rival, Moscow has steadfastly pursued its aims in Africa throughout 1976.

1. Ever since the Soviet Union assumed the rôle of guiding international Communism, it has always sought to promote the triumph of the Marxist social order throughout the world. In Africa this has resulted in the selection of three main intermediate goals of which Soviet publications have never made any secret; these are:

- "to abolish the colonial system and allow subject peoples to attain political independence";
- to free the newly-independent States from "the grip of the Western monopolies" and lead them to the "second stage of independence" - economic independence;
- "to put an end to racialism, particularly in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia".

As the first of these aims has been achieved with the withdrawal of Spain and Portugal from the Continent, efforts can now be concentrated on the other two aims and the success of the Angolan venture opens up new opportunities for tackling the third.

2. As a superpower, the Soviet Union intends to get into a position where it can limit the West's room for manoeuvre in the event of a conflict.

Africa today appears to be a particularly promising area in this respect. Its importance for controlling the major sea routes and its usefulness as a staging post for aircraft need no emphasising. In addition it has reserves of raw materials in relatively unknown quantities for which the West is its main customer. Consequently, the Russians are seeking to penetrate those areas of the Continent, which, in the event of a conflict with the West, would enable them:

- to exercise a credible permanent threat in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic South of the 40th parallel;
- to considerably restrict Western seaborne supplies, particularly of oil;
- to deprive the West of a large amount of essential raw materials.

These aims are not publicised as widely as the purely ideological ones. They tend to come to light in the course of events or are revealed by certain attitudes and, here too, everything points to the Republic of South Africa as the best target for achieving them.

3. The third main factor determining Russian strategy on the African Continent is the Chinese presence. This is both a longstanding ideological quarrel and a struggle for influence, the results of which will only become clear in the years ahead.

The Chinese are not at present in a position to counter effectively the Soviet or Western presence in Africa. But they are planning to acquire over the next 15-20 years the financial and military means commensurate with their revolutionary vocation. In the meantime they confine themselves to ensuring that they are not outflanked, making friends everywhere and standing ready to thwart Soviet activities at every turn.

The Chinese concentrate on public works projects for which they provide labour and, in the short-term at least, the funds. They live austerely and never give the impression that they are replacing the colonialists.

This attitude leaves the Russians as psychologically disarmed as it does the West. They appear to be confining themselves to watching the progress of their rivals and trying to outbid them. Their aim is quite clear; to eliminate Peking's influence in the countries which interest them for the reasons explained above. The task is all the more easy because the Chinese are not yet in a position to react effectively.

The realisation of all these intermediate goals with the long-term aim of installing Communist regimes throughout the African Continent has been carefully prepared from the start through economic and cultural and then military penetration. The escalation in this last form of penetration is all the more disturbing because the cult of brute force has by no means lost its appeal in Africa.

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1. ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL RELATIONS

Peaceful penetration has been the simplest means employed by the COMECON countries to achieve their ends in Africa. In addition to the natural support they have found in, for example, the international trade union organizations, they have entered into diplomatic relations at Ambassadorial level with most of the African countries immediately after their independence and without taking account of their political leanings. Many Africans have passed through their educational establishments and they have been generous in granting scholarships.

They have seconded teachers, doctors, paramedical personnel and other specialists, the numbers of which went up noticeably in 1976. They have offered their services in the name of solidarity among peoples for scientific "exchanges".

In spite of all this, the economic influence of the COMECON countries in Africa remains small. Their commercial and industrial penetration is still limited and the former Western colonial powers retain a privileged position, even in the most Marxist of the African countries, like Guinea, Congo or Somalia.

1.1 Economic Assistance

In 1976, total official aid from COMECON members to African countries amounted to \$447 million (see Annex I). In addition, there was an unspecified volume of unofficial aid most of which probably went to Angola.

The Soviet share in this aid shows a big rise compared with 1975, while that of the other COMECON countries shows a sharp drop.

1.1.1 The scale of Soviet participation

The credits extended by the Soviet Union amount to \$389 million(1) and constitute the most substantial aid provided by this country to Africa for about a decade.

The bulk of these credits was allocated, as in 1975, to a few countries. Thus, more than 80% of them went to Algeria (\$250 million) and Tunisia (\$79 million).

Contrary to earlier practice, the Soviet Union does not seem to have granted blanket credits, which are more flexible than credits granted for a specific purpose and allow the receiving countries more leeway.

(1) Aid to Angola has obviously not been included in this figure

1.1.2 Limits of assistance from the other COMECON countries

Aid from the other COMECON countries, which was limited to Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and the GDR, was very small compared with that from Russia and amounted altogether to only \$58 million.

It has fallen off sharply compared with the 1975 figure (down 55%).

1.1.3 Repayments

No estimate can be given of repayments on loans to African countries in 1976.

Egypt's request for a rescheduling of its debts, thought to be about \$5 milliard(1), was turned down.

On the other hand, the Russians are reported to have cancelled part of the Somali debt. This is an unusual course since Moscow usually deals with the debt servicing problems of developing countries by extending the period for repayment. Thus, in 1975 Ghana was granted a further 10 years.

1.2 Increase in civilian technical assistance

1.2.1 A few figures

The number of civilian technicians from the COMECON countries working in Africa registered a big rise in 1976; it is now in the region of 34,000(2), and has risen 80% in the space of a year.

The most significant developments are the appearance of approximately 3,000 Cuban technicians in Africa and the departure from Egypt of some 3,000 Soviet bloc advisers.

1.2.2 Receiving countries

The bulk (75%) of the Soviet bloc technicians serve in four countries (Algeria, Libya, Guinea and Somalia). Almost all the Cubans, around 2,000, are in Angola. Contingents of various sizes (from 50 to 300 persons) do, however, operate as agricultural advisers or teachers in Mozambique, Guinea, Tanzania and the Congo.

(1) Including, in all likelihood, the military debt.
(2) Including Cuban civilian technicians.

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1.2.3 Acclimatization

Not all the technicians from COMECON countries are equally successful in adapting to an African environment.

The Russians have difficulties in this respect, due certainly to their own suspicion of foreigners and the way in which they themselves are kept under observation by their own authorities and also because of the reserved attitude towards them of the people among whom they are working.

The Romanians, on the other hand, are popular, particularly in the French-speaking countries, because they often have a good knowledge of French.

The Cuban military successes, and the fairly high level of their technicians, have done much to increase that country's reputation among many African countries.

1.3 Technical and scientific training of Africans

The number of African trainees in technical colleges or universities in the COMECON countries probably rose very little in 1976 (5%) to reach a total of around 16,000. Most of the trainees are in Russian establishments but no definite figures can be given for the year 1976 (see Annex C).

Most of these young people go home with a fairly poor grasp of science or technology and the leaders of their countries are not always satisfied with their standard of knowledge. However the Soviet Union and its allies believe that in the long run they will reap the benefits of this policy because:

- all the trainees receive, in varying degrees, a political training which can turn them into effective Marxist propagandists. Willy-nilly they are subjected to a form of brain-washing which owes little to Western humanism. Although the cultural shift is not evident with the first generation of students(1) it is likely to become so rapidly over the years;
- the number of persons having an opportunity to learn the Russian language is increasing and books and documentation published in Russian will have a wider readership.

(1) But some young Africans are put off Marxism for life by their stay in the Soviet bloc.

2. MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Almost all African countries, on achieving independence, have made a point of building up their own army. Obviously, however, these forces are only needed for prestige purposes or for maintaining law and order. Consequently, the former colonial powers have generally supplied them with rudimentary, inexpensive equipment adapted to actual needs. It has thus been easy for the Russians to offer more sophisticated equipment, often quite unsuited to the theatre of operations in question, but good for the image of those in power. Little is known about the arrangements governing these transactions and, in some cases, it is not even known whether the equipment was sold or simply given away. In the case of sales, the payment schedules seem to have been flexible enough not to cause concern to the purchasers. So at present many African countries possess tanks, armoured vehicles, artillery, modern aircraft and much other equipment far in excess of what they can possibly use.

In addition, there is the aid given to liberation movements, a constant feature of Soviet policy, the need for which was recently reaffirmed at the 25th Congress of the CPSU. This type of assistance is generally far more modest and better suited to the needs of the moment.

In both cases, the aid often commits the receiver to an undesirable extent. The supplier is able to reschedule deliveries of ammunition or spare parts at will and so keep the recipient partly at his mercy.

The Cuban involvement in Angola was a completely new departure. Soviet intervention in the name of anti-imperialist solidarity, using a Third World military force with strong Soviet logistics backing, was an original form of action.

The military assistance provided by COMECON countries to Africa in 1976 may be summarised as follows:

- sustained rate of equipment deliveries;
- a noticeable increase in the number of military advisers;
- the growing rôle of the Cuban advisers;
- stabilization of the numbers of African trainees in the Communist countries.

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2.1 Sustained rate of military equipment deliveries

The COMECON countries provided Africa with aid in many forms and of many varieties depending on the areas concerned. Egypt and the Sudan, which had received assistance during previous years, got nothing in 1976, apart from the settlement of long-standing claims.

2.1.1 Southern Africa and the Horn

The troubles in these areas were used as a pretext to step up deliveries of modern military equipment. Aid to Angola, Tanzania, Mozambique and the Congo is estimated to have been worth more than \$100 million to say nothing of assistance to the Frelimo and Zimbabwe liberation movements.

At the same time, the Soviet Union strengthened the Somali army and navy, which already had equipment far in excess of their needs. A new factor is the provision of military equipment to Ethiopia in 1977.

2.1.2 North Africa

Supplies of military equipment to North African countries has been paid for in cash. The agreements signed between the Soviet Union and Algeria at end-1975, provided for the supply of military equipment worth a total of \$500 million. Morocco received part of the equipment ordered in July 1975, the total of which is thought to be worth \$60 million. Libya apparently concluded a fresh military agreement with the Soviet Union at the end of 1976, but the relevant figures are not known.

2.1.3 Other African countries

The equipment supplied in 1976 to Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Uganda and Chad was generally old or reconditioned. It was intended to replace unserviceable or worn equipment and made hardly any difference to the military capability of these countries. Other African countries also received military assistance from the Communist countries, but not nearly to the same extent.

2.2 Increase in military personnel(1)

The Soviet military advisers have no more contact with the local population than do their civilian colleagues, but their numbers rose dramatically in 1976 to a total of 7,000, or twice the 1975 figure.

(1) Excluding Cubans.

These advisers sometimes arrived following deliveries of modern equipment, as in Algeria and Libya, where their numbers tripled in 1976.

In other cases they have increased with the installation of facilities which show every sign of being military bases. These are in fact strong points from which the Russians would be able to support naval and air force units capable of controlling areas particularly vital for Western supplies in the event of a crisis. It would seem that, initially, they seek only limited facilities at fuel and spare parts depots with a few of their own managers and specialists present, as in Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and the Congo. Later, these elements are supplied with other depots and workshops, camps spring up and fencing and related defence facilities are provided. This is what has happened in Somalia.

2.3 The increasing rôle of the Cuban advisers

Most of the Cuban expeditionary force is still in Angola. Its members occupy responsible positions at all levels and it is not known just how long this situation will last. The body of Cuban advisers seems to have levelled off at about 13,000 in 1976.

Several hundred Cuban military advisers in Tanzania, Mozambique and Somalia have the job of instructing and training national military units and guerrilla groups.

There are also Cuban technical missions, with some 100 to 300 cadres, in Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Sierra Leone and at a transit base in the Congo.

2.4 Training of African military in the Communist countries

The number of African military personnel training in the COMECON countries in 1976 showed little change from the figure for the previous year (about 2,400).

Officially, the Congo and Somalia are still sending large contingents (100) of trainees to the Communist countries.

A big effort is being made to help Mozambique which sent 225 trainees to the Soviet bloc in 1976.

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On the other hand, the number of Libyan trainees showed a notable drop from 325 to 240. Similarly, the number of Nigerian military technicians training in the East is now only about 30 compared with 160 in 1975.

Most of the military who have undergone training in the East are naval and air force technicians (pilots, aircraft and helicopter mechanics).

3. COUNTRY STUDIES(1)

ALGERIA

Greatly increased co-operation between the Soviet Union and Algeria has been noted since the beginning of 1976.

Economic co-operation

Ambitious agreements have been signed for the first time in five years. The first of these agreements provides for the building of the M'Sila aluminium plant with a capacity of 140,000 tons, to be financed through a \$250 million Soviet loan. The second project, which is more uncertain, covers the exploitation of the Gara-Gebilet iron ore deposits together with the building of an iron and steel complex and a railway. Lastly, there are plans for the Russians to build occupational training centres to take 3,500 students.

At the request of the Algerian Authorities, payments will no longer be made in the form of off-set agreements but in hard currency.

Military assistance

In connection with events in the Western Sahara, Soviet military assistance to Algeria has grown sharply. Orders for military equipment placed by Algeria at the end of 1975 were worth \$500 million. In the following year the number of Russian military technicians doubled to around 2,000 and Algeria received armour and artillery together with OSA II patrol boats, 24 Mig 23s and 20 NI 8 helicopters. At the same time, Romania provided the Algerians with about 500 ARO 240 jeeps.

ANGOLA

One year after the official end of the civil war the Communist countries are contributing to reviving the economy and boosting military strength.

(1) Countries are listed in alphabetical order.

Economic aid

In March 1977 the Soviet Union ratified the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation signed between the two countries for a duration of twenty years. Agreements on mineral and oil prospection, occupational training, health, fishing and agriculture have also been signed. A loan has been granted but the amount concerned is not known.

Romania, the GDR, Bulgaria and Poland are committed under trade and economic co-operative agreements to develop the fishing industry, agriculture and the road network and to build shipyards. Details of these agreements are not known.

The GDR seems to be concentrating on the public health area. More than 2,000 civilian and military health service specialists are at present in Angola.

Military assistance

In May 1976, the Soviet Union and Angola signed a military assistance agreement, the provisions of which have not been disclosed.

Deliveries of Soviet equipment in 1976 and early 1977 included:

- 18 Mig 21s and 17s;
- 2 AN 26 aircraft;
- 20 helicopters (including 7 MI 8s);
- 1 ZHUK class patrol boat;
- 300 tanks (type unknown);
- 200 armoured vehicles (type unknown);
- artillery (including type-122 guns and type-122 medium missile launchers).

In addition, the Soviet Union is helping to build an air base at Enrique de Carvalho, a naval base at São Antonio do Zaire and an army base at Luanda. The army and militia, which have about 50,000 men, are officered by Cuban technicians of whom there are some 13,000.

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BENIN

Benin first received aid from the Soviet Union in November 1976 in the form of \$5 million to cover geological prospection. In January 1977 a fishery agreement was concluded. And early in 1977, some light military equipment was delivered by the Soviet Union.

Romania is the most active of the People's Democracies; it is to help in the building of an oil refinery.

BOTSWANA

This country has for the first time taken up Soviet military aid offers; some equipment was furnished at the beginning of 1977.

THE CONGO

Apart from an increase in the number of Congolese students accepted by the Soviet Union and in the number of Russian technicians serving in the Congo, there has been little change in trade and economic relations between the two countries.

In the military sphere the Soviet Union presented the Congo in 1976 with 9 Mig 17s; in addition it sold Mig 21s and a score of old tanks. At the end of the same year a new military co-operative agreement was signed with the GDR.

In conjunction with the Soviet Union, Poland has completed the Pointe Noire oil refinery. The GDR has extended aid worth \$4.5 million for the setting up of a communications network. An undisclosed number of Cuban advisers are contributing to the establishment of sugar cane plantations.

EGYPT

The deterioration in the relations between the Soviet Union and Egypt, which started in 1975, led to the unilateral abrogation in March 1976 of the Egyptian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship. Moscow has still not provided new equipment to offset the war losses and refuses to grant Egypt a moratorium on its military debts.

Trade and Economic Relations

Trade dropped by 25% in 1975 and 1976 and is below the 1973 level. Egypt's export surplus of \$180 million will enable it, under the terms of the trade protocol, to reimburse part of the debt. The new agreement signed at the end of 1976 provides for an annual trade surplus of \$180 million in the Soviet Union's favour between now and 1980.

Economic assistance is limited to the construction of the Helwan steel works, which absorbs half the technical assistance personnel, i.e. some 300 persons.

Military relations

Egypt has cancelled the facilities it granted the Soviet navy in its ports. However the Russians continue to supply small quantities of arms and spare parts. In February 1977 they returned about 50 Mig 21s which had been sent from Egypt to the Soviet Union in 1975 for overhaul.

With the last Soviet military advisers responsible for servicing Mig 23s due to leave Egypt in May 1977, only about 50 technicians will remain in the country.

In 1976 Romania provided Egypt with about 200 model TV 4 and TV 12 military vans.

ETHIOPIA

The Ethiopian Government believes that strong links with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are the best guarantee of their country's independence and unity.

Soviet aid so far appears to have been fairly insignificant; only an agreement providing for an air link between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia was concluded in March 1977.

Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria signed cultural, scientific and technical agreements, the details of which are not known, between November 1976 and February 1977. Bulgaria extended a credit of \$2.5 million.

At the beginning of 1977 the Russians sent Ethiopia military equipment including about 50 T 34 tanks, armoured vehicles and artillery. Addis Ababa has also ordered 3 AN 26 transport aircraft.

About fifteen Cuban advisers are reported to be with the Ethiopian army. They may be substantially reinforced in the years to come.

GABON

Romania is the only East European country which has economic relations with this country. However, no agreements have yet been signed between them. Early in 1976 Romania sent some light military vehicles.

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GHANA

With the aim of achieving closer relations with Ghana, the Russians have signed a trade agreement to replace the one concluded in 1961. But the Soviet Union has shown caution in committing itself and economic assistance is limited to the assembly of an experimental nuclear reactor at Kwabena, work on which was interrupted in 1966. In 1975 the Russians also granted the Ghanians ten years' grace to settle their \$40 million debt. No further credit seems to have been extended.

GUINEA

There has been little change: the few deliveries of military equipment (which included 28 BRDM 2s) at the end of 1976 and in 1977 were intended to replace unserviceable or worn equipment. The number of Soviet and Cuban advisers has grown appreciably since the beginning of the year. The latter, who number about 300, are responsible for the military and ideological training of the Guinean army.

The GDR which is runner-up to the Soviet Union when it comes to economic co-operation, has more than 100 technicians serving in Guinea.

GUINEA-BISSAU

In September 1976 the Soviet Union and Guinea-Bissau signed an agreement on bauxite prospection. An interest-free loan of \$11 million was granted.

Early in 1977 military supplies including 2 Mig 15s or 17s were delivered.

The Cuban advisers, who number more than a hundred, are responsible for training the navy and maintaining the airfields.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

In this country, 300 Cuban advisers are responsible for training NCOs and officers.

UPPER VOLTA

No change in the Soviet Union's relations with this country has been noted, but the credit of \$3 million extended by the Russians in 1967 has still not been drawn.

KENYA

There has been no improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and Kenya. The Kenyans have scarcely drawn \$24 million of the \$50 million credit extended by the Russians.

LIBYA

Large-scale deliveries of Soviet equipment

Soviet efforts to obtain political advantages in Libya come up against President Gadafy's religious philosophy which forbids any wholehearted co-operation with a Communist country.

Economic and trade exchanges are extremely limited. No Russian purchases of Libyan oil were recorded in 1976 in spite of the wish expressed on several occasions by Libya to sell some of its output to the Soviet Union.

The Russians only succeed in maintaining their advantage because of the lack of Western enthusiasm to supply Libya with arms. Sales of military equipment are a valuable source of foreign currency for Moscow. It is reported that a new agreement was signed in Moscow during Gadafy's visit there in December 1976.

Libya sees this vast arsenal as a reserve for African and Arab combattant countries, particularly those engaged in the struggle with the white r gimes in South Africa and Rhodesia.

The Soviet military technicians, whose numbers doubled in 1976, are responsible mainly for highly technical tasks such as the maintenance of aircraft, tanks, missiles and radar installations.

In 1976 the Soviet Union delivered the last hundred of the Mig 21s ordered in 1975 as well as:

- 36 Mig 23s;
- 7 TU 22s;
- 6 SCUD B ramps;
- SA2s and SA3s (number unknown)
- 100 T 55s and T 62s;
- 25 BMP troop transports;
- 40 BRDM 2s;

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- 25 BTR 60s;
- PT 76s (numbers unknown);
- transport vehicles (numbers unknown);
- 1 F class submarine;
- 1 OSA II class patrol boat.

The Mig 23s have still not been formed into operational units because of the lack of qualified personnel.

Of the People's Democracies, Poland has the closest links with Libya. In 1976 the number of civilian technicians helping in Libya was round 4,000 while 200 Libyan military personnel were undergoing training in Poland.

MALAGASY REPUBLIC

No development of trade relations between the Soviet Union and Madagascar has been reported. The co-operative agreement signed in July 1976 covers Soviet participation in the building of a cement works and the despatch of advisers to the Malagasy merchant navy academy.

The first supplies of Soviet weapons arrived in 1976. They were light weapons and an MI 8 helicopter. A few advisers have been provided and Malagasy cadres are at present training in Russia.

Romania has delivered \$500,000 worth of military equipment (60 jeeps, ambulances and coaches).

MALI

Because of the size of the Malian debt (between \$100 million and \$140 million) the Russians have not sought to expand their trade with this country.

However, since they wish to retain transit rights at Malian airfields they have continued virtually to monopolise the supply of military equipment. In December 1975 \$2 million worth of mainly old equipment was supplied. During 1976 the Russians delivered 3 Mig 21s, 1 MI 8 helicopter, 20 T 34s, 4 ZU 23 anti-aircraft guns and 10 miscellaneous vehicles. Lastly, early in 1977, equipment for airfields was sent to Mali.

Pursuant to the protocol of December 1975, providing for overall aid of \$25 million, a draft agreement at present under study apparently covers the delivery of military equipment in 1977 to a value of \$10 million, including Mig 21s and one AN 26.

MOROCCO

The visit by the Moroccan Prime Minister to the Soviet Union in February 1976 and the moderate attitude of the Soviet Government to the Saharan conflict reflect Moscow's desire to improve its relations with Rabat.

Economic relations

There has been no change in Soviet and Moroccan economic relations. Although the Russians have shown interest in the working of the Meskala phosphate deposits and in the construction of the dam on the Kukkos, no agreements appear to have been signed as yet.

Trade has improved slightly with the Soviet Union remaining Morocco's first oil supplier and first customer for citrus fruits.

The economic co-operative agreement and the renewal of the trade agreement signed in October 1976 by Morocco and Poland should enable this country to reduce its trade deficit without this involving, however, any significant increase in trade.

Military assistance

The six OSA II class patrol boats ordered from the Soviet Union in July 1975 under a \$60 million contract for the supply of military equipment have not yet arrived. Part of the army equipment (12 130-millimetre pieces) covered by the same contract reached Morocco late in 1976.

Lastly, the Russians have apparently offered a new contract for the sale of about 100 T.62 tanks.

MAURITANIA

In 1976 the Soviet Union inaugurated a new air link between Moscow and Nuadhibu (formerly Port Etienne).

Romania has supplied Mauritania with about 100 AR-240 type jeeps.

MOZAMBIQUE

The visit of the President of the Mozambique Republic to Moscow in May 1976 and that of Mr. Podgorny in March 1977 to Sofala confirmed the continuation of the close co-operation which has existed between the two countries since Mozambique became independent. It was given formal status on 31st March, 1977 with the signing of a treaty of co-operation and friendship between the two countries.

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Strengthening of economic aid

A trade agreement containing the most favoured nation clause was signed in June 1976, and in March 1977 Moscow granted a loan of \$13 million.

The main form of technical assistance from the People's Democracies has been the despatch of Bulgarian doctors and agronomists. A draft agreement on technical and scientific co-operation has been signed with the GDR which has sent some technicians to operate and administer the ports of Maputo and Sofala. In 1976 the same country also made a grant of equipment valued at \$500,000.

Military assistance

In May 1976, the Soviet Union and Mozambique signed a military assistance agreement, the provisions of which have not been revealed. But Moscow has so far set up no bases in this country. Late in 1976 and early in 1977 it supplied:

- 20 T.34 (at least);
- 40 tanks (type unknown);
- 20 122-type artillery pieces;
- anti-aircraft guns (number unknown);
- LRMs (number unknown);
- SA.3s and SA.7s (number unknown);
- 10 Mig-17s;
- 4 Mig-21s.

The Russians are building an electronic monitoring system South of Maputo and at the mouth of the River Save.

Moreover, the Russians are giving the Zimbabwe and Frelimo guerrillas increased military assistance, although it is difficult to know on what scale.

The GDR is building a monitoring station opposite the island of Bazaruto and training security personnel. The Romanians have supplied some quantities of equipment and 300 civilian and military technicians arrived in Mozambique early in 1977.

Cuban advisers, 600 in all, are instructing and training Zimbabwe guerrillas, but there is no proof that they themselves have taken part in operations against Rhodesia.

NIGERIA

In January 1977, the Nigerians agreed to the Soviet offer to build a pipeline between Warri and Lagos for the sum of \$136 million.

The Soviet Union has apparently provided Nigeria with the Mig-21 aircraft which still remained to be delivered under the \$50 million contract concluded in 1974. This brings the total of such aircraft to around 28. Several scores of Soviet technicians are training the pilots and mechanics.

UGANDA

In 1976 the Russians provided General Amin with six Mig-21s which were paid for by Libya.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

No development of economic relations between the Soviet Union and this country has been reported. Of the \$7 million credit offered by Moscow, only \$3 million have so far been drawn.

In May 1976, Romania and the Central African Republic signed a draft agreement for technical and economic co-operation which provides for the working of mines and an increase in the number of Romanian technicians in the country and of Central African students accepted by Romania.

SAO TOME and PRINCIPE

In October 1976 an agreement on economic, technical, cultural and scientific co-operation was signed with the Soviet Union, together with a commercial agreement incorporating the most favoured nation clause.

SIERRA LEONE

A credit of \$500,000 has apparently been extended by the Soviet Union as part of the fisheries agreement signed in May 1976; some 100 Cuban advisers are officering the militia.

SOMALIA

Economic relations

Soviet-Somalian relations were strengthened by the signing of two agreements in March and June 1976.

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The first of these agreements, a trade agreement, covers the supply to the Soviet Union of tinned fish for a period of five years. The second (economic) agreement spells out the arrangements for the setting up of agricultural and fishery centres and the building of hydraulic installations at Giuba.

A further credit of \$31 million to help the nomads hit by the drought has been granted. Moreover, part of Somalia's debt has been cancelled. For their part, the Bulgarians have extended a credit of \$5 million to promote prospecting for non-ferrous ores.

Military assistance

Much military equipment has been delivered; the largest deliveries were 130 T.55 tanks, supplied in March and August 1976, 4 OSA II class patrol boats, some Styx missiles and 2 MOL class patrol boats delivered at the end of 1976 and the beginning of 1977, together with helicopters, Mig 21s, SA.2s, armoured vehicles and artillery in unspecified amounts.

The number of Communist military advisers from the Soviet bloc has doubled to about 2,000. To these should be added several hundred Cuban advisers training the members of the "Somali Coast Liberation Front".

SUDAN

Before the coup d'état in July 1976 the Soviet Union had offered Sudan 12 Mig 17s and had delivered a field hospital and various items of equipment intended to revive co-operation which had reached an all-time low.

Since then, relations have been frozen and the Sudan has still not drawn the \$33 million loan which Moscow offered in 1975.

In 1976, Czechoslovakia and the GDR extended loans of \$10 million and \$4 million respectively.

TANZANIA

In this country the Russians are up against Chinese competition but since 1976 they have strengthened their presence by increasing their military assistance.

Low level of economic assistance

Trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and Tanzania still do not amount to much. At the end of 1975 and in 1976 Soviet aid came to \$12.5 million in the form of various grants. In 1976 the Russians signed a contract to provide a 14 MW hydro-electric station at Kwira. They are also considering a plan to build a cement works at Mbeya.

Early in 1976 Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia extended loans of \$1,000,000 and \$500,000 respectively.

The GDR has had no programme for co-operation with Tanzania since 1976.

Boosting of military assistance

The Soviet Union has increased Tanzania's military capability by delivering, in 1975 and 1976, weapons worth an estimated \$75 million. The 1976 supplies included some twenty Mig 21 aircraft.

On 26th March, 1977, during Mr. Podgorny's official visit, the Soviet Union granted a credit of \$19 million probably to help the liberation movements installed on Tanzanian territory.

The Cuban advisers, who number between two and three hundred, are responsible for instructing and training the Zimbabwe guerrillas.

Tanzania also received an unspecified number of T 34/85 tanks from Romania made surplus by the modernization of that country's tank corps.

CHAD

There seems to have been no development in economic relations between the Soviet Union and Chad in 1976. The \$3 million credit offered in 1968 for the establishment of a medical school has still not been drawn.

Taking advantage of the cultural agreements signed in March 1976, Moscow has doubled the number of its co-operation assistants (doctors and teachers) and has just increased the number of students accepted for training in Russia.

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In the military sphere, on the other hand, relations have been renewed. The military co-operative agreement signed in April 1976 has been followed up by the delivery of equipment, including twenty BTR 52s, twenty BM 13s, twenty LRMs, six BRDM 2s, thirty or so mortars, a score of cannon (model unknown) and the arrival of the first Soviet instructors. Moreover, Chadian pilots and mechanics (approximately 45) are undergoing training in the Soviet Union.

TOGO

Only a few East European countries have trade relations with Togo. Well nigh 40% of this country's phosphate output is purchased by Poland and Czechoslovakia. In addition, Poland is committed to building a phosphate fertilizer plant and, in December 1975, it signed an economic co-operative agreement and a trade agreement, the provisions of which are not known.

TUNISIA

Despite a loan of \$79 million extended in August 1976, co-operation between the Soviet Union and Tunisia remains limited. It concerns two main sectors: the construction of a hydro-electric complex on the Djumin and the training of Tunisian engineers and technicians.

Czechoslovakia has extended a loan of approximately \$13 million to finance a series of industrial projects.

In March 1977, Tunisia signed a co-operative agricultural agreement and another similar agreement for the mining of zinc, copper and lead(1) with Bulgaria.

ZAIRE

Relations between Moscow and Kinshasa were apparently in the process of being normalized. With the signing in December 1976 of three agreements on cultural and scientific co-operation, trade and maritime and air navigation, details of which have not been revealed, they would certainly have rapidly lead to concrete results. But the recent outbreak of trouble in the South of the country is likely to jeopardise this co-operation.

A trade agreement was signed with the GDR in 1976.

(1) Bulgarian technical assistance is very strong in this area.

ZAMBIA

The Russians are reported to have delivered six Mig 21s to Zambia in 1976; the Romanians supplied an unspecified number of T 34/85 tanks.

NATO,
1110 Brussels.

- A N N E X E S -

- Annexe A : Crédits accordés en 1976 par les pays de l'Est à l'Afrique.
- Annexe B : Techniciens civils des pays de l'Est et de Cuba opérant en Afrique en 1976 (estimation).
- Annexe C : Etudiants des pays d'Afrique recevant une formation dans les pays de l'Est.
- Annexe D : Techniciens militaires des pays de l'Est et de Cuba opérant en Afrique en 1976.
- Annexe E : Personnels militaires des pays africains formés dans les pays de l'Est.

CREDITS ACCORDES EN 1976
PAR LES PAYS DE L'EST A L'AFRIQUE

(en millions de dollars)

Pays	URSS	Bulgarie	RDA	Tchécoslova- quie	Total
Algérie	250				250
Angola	inconnu				inconnu
Bénin	5				5
Congo			4,5		4,5
Ethiopie		2,5			2,5
Guinée-Bissau	11				11
Mozambique (2)			0,5		0,5
Sierra Leone	0,5				0,5
Somalie	31	5			36
Soudan (1)			4	10	14
Tanzanie (2)	12,5	1		0,5	14
Tunisie	79			30	109
TOTAL	389	8,5	9	40,5	447

(1) En 1975, le Soudan a obtenu de l'U.R.S.S. un crédit de 33 millions de dollars. Cette information n'était pas connue lors de l'élaboration du document AC/127-D/542 du 16 novembre 1976.

(2) En mars 1977, l'U.R.S.S. a accordé un crédit de 13 millions de dollars au Mozambique et un crédit de 19 millions de dollars à la Tanzanie.

TECHNICIENS CIVILS DES PAYS DE L'EST ET DE CUBA

OPERANT EN AFRIQUE EN 1976

P A Y S	U.R.S.S.	Europe de l'Est	Cuba	Total
Algérie	6 000	3 100 *	-	9 100
Angola	380	2 300	## 2 000	## 4 680
Burundi	20	-	-	20
Cameroun	70	-	-	70
Congo	200	390	nombre inconnu, mais pré- sence certaine	590
Egypte	600	500	-	1 100
Ethiopie	80	20 *	-	100
Gabon	-	5	-	5
Ghana	50	10	-	60
Guinée	1 400	250 *	## 350	## 2 000
Guinée-Bissau	100	## 50	## 15	## 165
Guinée équatoriale	250	-	-	250
Haute-Volta	10	-	-	10
Kenya	10	45 *	-	55
Libye	5 000	5 000 *	-	10 000
Madagascar	20	10	-	30
Mali	200	25 *	-	225
Maroc	500	700	-	1 200
Maurice (île)	5	-	-	5
Mauritanie	5	-	-	5
Mozambique	100	50	## 300	450
Nigéria	350	90 *	-	440
Ouganda	320	-	-	320
République Centre africaine	130	20	-	150
Ruanda	10	-	-	10
Sénégal	15	-	-	15
Sierra Léone	10	-	## 50	## 60
Somalie	1 500	150 *	## 20	## 1 670
Soudan	100	25 *	-	125
Tanzanie	60	## 40	## 50	## 150
Tchad	105	-	-	105
Togo	5	-	-	5
Tunisie	300	300	-	600
Zambie	80	45 *	-	125
TOTAL	17 985	13 125	2 785	33 895

* données de 1975, non confirmées en 1976, mais vraisemblables.

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ETUDIANTS DES PAYS D'AFRIQUE RECEVANT UNE FORMATION
DANS LES PAYS DE L'EST

Pays	Départ pour les pays communistes en 1976		En stage en décembre 1976	
	URSS	Europe Orientale	URSS	Europe Orientale
Algérie			900	
Angola	30			35 (RDA)
Bénin	25		100	
Botswana				
Burundi	125			
Cameroun	45			10 (RDA)
Comores				
Congo		35 (Rou)	1 000	
Côte d'Ivoire				
Egypte	165			
Ethiopie	75		40	5 (RDA)
Gabon				
Gambie				20
Ghana	100	50	300	200
Guinée				
Guinée-Bissau	15			30 (RDA)
Guinée Equatoriale				
Kenya	25		60	
Lesotho				
Libéria				
Libye				
Madagascar	45		220	
Malawi				
Mali	50		245	
Maroc				
Maurice (île)	20		150	
Mauritanie	100		105	
Mozambique				25 (RDA)
Niger			60	
Nigéria	150		800	
Ouganda	60			
RCA	150			
Rhodésie			300	
Ruanda	25			
Sénégal	20		200	

.../...

ANNEXE C au
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- C.2 -

Pays	Départ pour les pays communistes en 1976		En stage en décembre 1976	
	URSS	Europe Orientale	URSS	Europe Orientale
Sierra Leone	45		100	
Somalie	100	50 (Tchéco)		
Soudan	125			30
Tanzanie	100		750	
Tchad			155	
Togo	25			
Tunisie	50		200	20
Zaire				
Zambie	45		180	
Haute Volta			200	

TECHNICIENS MILITAIRES DES PAYS DE L'EST ET DE CUBA

OPERANT EN AFRIQUE EN 1976

Pays	URSS et Europe de l'Est	Cuba	Total
Algérie	2 000	50	2 050
Angola	400	# 13 000	# 13 400
Bénin	10	-	10
Cameroun	10	-	10
Congo	50	100	150
Egypte	80	-	80
Ethiopie	-	15	15
Guinée	300	300	600
Guinée-Bissau	150	140	290
Guinée Equatoriale	150	300	450
Libye	500	-	500
Madagascar	10	-	10
Mali	70	-	70
Maroc	10	-	10
Mozambique	200	600	800
Nigéria	50	-	50
Ouganda	# 100	-	# 100
République Centre-africaine	20	-	20
Sierra Leone	-	100	100
Somalie	2 000	350	2 350
Soudan	30	-	30
Tanzanie	1 000	# 250	# 1 250
Tchad	20	-	20
TOTAL	7 160	# 15 205	# 22 365

PERSONNELS MILITAIRES DES PAYS AFRICAINS

FORMES DANS LES PAYS DE L'EST

Pays	Départs dans les pays de l'Est en 1976	En stage en décembre 1976
Algérie		au moins 10
Angola		nombre inconnu mais stagiaires certains
Burundi	30	60 (1)
Congo	100 (2)	100
Guinée		100
Guinée-Bissau		nombre inconnu mais stagiaires certains
Guinée Equatoriale		nombre inconnu mais stagiaires certains
Libye		440 (3)
Madagascar	5	5
Mali		60
Maroc	20	20
Mozambique	225 (4)	nombre inconnu mais stagiaires certains
Nigéria	25 (5)	# 30
Ouganda		nombre inconnu mais stagiaires certains
Somalie	100	400
Tanzanie		nombre inconnu mais stagiaires certains
Tchad	néant	45

- (1) Dont 30 en U.R.S.S.
 (2) Dont 60 en U.R.S.S.
 (3) Dont 200 en Pologne
 (4) Dont 200 en U.R.S.S.
 (5) L'ensemble des stagiaires du Nigéria séjournent en Europe de l'Est.

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