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LETTER DATED 4 APRIL 1977 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I.  
OF BENIN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Addendum

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

Report on the imperialist armed aggression committed on Sunday,  
16 January 1977, against the People's Republic of Benin, adopted by  
the Joint Special Session of the Central Committee of the Party of  
the People's Revolution of Benin, the National Council of the  
Revolution and the Revolutionary Military Government.

Cotonou, March 1977

STATEMENT BY THE JOINT SPECIAL SESSION ON THE IMPERIALIST  
ARMED AGGRESSION OF SUNDAY, 16 JANUARY 1977

Peaceful, hard-working, imbued with a love of freedom and justice, the militant people of the People's Republic of Benin, who are rich in and proud of their age-old traditions of struggle and work and strong in their determination to remain independent, have but one desire: to build a prosperous and sovereign fatherland and maintain relations of co-operation, mutual assistance, solidarity and friendship with all peoples of the world, on the basis of respect for Benin's territorial integrity, sovereignty, and revolutionary choice and in strict observance of the inalienable principle of non-interference in internal affairs.

The People's Republic of Benin desires only peace, prosperity and happiness for its people; it is struggling for the achievement of peace, prosperity and happiness for all peoples of the world.

These noble and profound aspirations are written in letters of gold throughout the history of the revolutionary struggle constantly waged by our indomitable people to oppose colonial invasion, to combat colonial occupation and to resist neo-colonial domination.

Accordingly, the Beninese people are not about to forget the contempt and humiliation which they have suffered for several centuries at the hands of the barbarous imperialists, through the criminal pillage of their human resources represented by the ignoble and shameful slave trade; through the cynical and frantic exploitation of their economic resources during the colonial occupation and neo-colonial domination; through the violent oppression which smothered and stifled our cultural values, crushed our creative initiative and obstructed the free exercise of our genius.

As has been emphasized by our great comrade-in-arms, President KEREKOU, the Beninese people are thus not about to forget that during the last two world wars, of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945, they heroically made great human and material sacrifices in order to guarantee the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of those who are today obstinately denying our country the right to freedom, to dignity, to independence and to sovereignty - in other words, the right to develop according to the social and economic system of its choice.

Yes, as our great comrade-in-arms, President KEREKOU, has so rightly recalled, the Beninese people are not about to forget the immortal Beninese and African martyrs who bravely laid down their lives for the freedom of Europe and who found a worthy resting-place in the cemeteries of France, Germany, Italy, etc. ...

Since 26 October 1972, however, the Beninese people have broken the odious chains of foreign domination. Free at last, the revolutionary people of Benin are advancing in complete independence towards the construction of a powerful, prosperous and sovereign new society, a society free of the exploitation of man by man.

- Since this historic date of 26 October 1972, imperialism is no longer able to flout the Beninese people's inalienable and sacred rights of dignity and sovereignty.

- Since that date, imperialism is no longer able to pillage at will our natural, human and economic resources, and to thrive with impunity at the expense of the sweat and blood of the hard-working Beninese people.

- Since that date, imperialism is no longer able to impose its diktat on us through puppets which it is dangling and incautiously manipulating in order to impose on our intrepid people its sinister yoke of exploitation and oppression.

Then came the proclamation of our new policy of national independence, on 30 November 1972.

In addition, on 30 November 1974, we proclaimed to the world our choice of the socialist road to development, guided by Marxism-Leninism, and thus solemnly affirmed our fierce and unshakable determination to escape for ever from their capitalist ghetto and to advance victoriously in the direction of history.

But the major event in this connexion was the founding of the People's Republic of Benin and the establishment of our avant-garde party, the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin on 30 November 1975.

In other words, after 26 October 1972 and after the historic dates of 30 November 1972, 30 November 1974 and 30 November 1975 had been written successively in the annals of the revolution of the Beninese people, it has become increasingly clear that the revolutionary process initiated on that memorable date of 26 October 1972 by the Beninese people in their long struggle for national liberation is irreversible, and that the cause of imperialism is lost for ever and irrevocably in the free African land of BENIN.

This situation of absolute despair for the sworn enemies of the Beninese people inevitably threw the imperialists into a hysterical rage and into total disarray.

For imperialism, the People's Republic of Benin is no longer the so-called sick child of Africa, a poor country without resources, whose economy could not develop without the so-called assistance of exploiting capitalism.

This shows the reasons and the basis for the repeated frantic assaults by beleaguered imperialism on the militant people of BENIN and their Democratic People's Revolution.

This shows why, before the escalation represented by the armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, imperialism tried several times to use force against the Beninese people and their Revolution.

For example, as early as February 1973, international imperialism tried, through the intermediary of former Colonel ALLEY, who was its tool, to halt the

revolutionary process taking place in our country, with the senseless aim of bringing our people to their knees again.

Less than two years later, in January 1975, faced with the radicalization of our Revolution following the historical proclamation of Goho, international imperialism took fright and panicked. Feeling that its foundations were increasingly shaken by the increasingly mortal blows dealt to its base interests, international imperialism embarked on a desperate action, a thoughtless act of armed rebellion, to overthrow the established revolutionary régime. This new attempt was also unsuccessful. Janvier ASSOGBA, that traitorous and disloyal officer, the tool of the scheming imperialists, was completely surrounded and put out of action by the vigilant, mobilized and resolute people.

In June 1975, it was the turn of the anarcho-syndicalists to believe that the time had come to join forces with imperialism and to make a pact with its lackeys and local agents in order to foment disorder and spread panic among the masses so as to create the conditions for halting our forward advance by the overthrow of the established revolutionary régime.

In October of the same year, beleaguered international imperialism, harassed by the people and cornered after its successive failures, evolved a new plot whose execution was entrusted to the stateless traitor Emile Derlin ZINSOU and his horde of hired assassins. They were armed to bloody and decapitate the Revolution of the Beninese people by taking the lives of its leaders using telescope weapons fitted with silencers.

But once again these stateless traitors, these sworn enemies of the Beninese people and their imperialist masters, peevish and bad-tempered, failed miserably thanks to the combative determination of our People's Armed Forces and the revolutionary vigilance of our militant people, organized and mobilized for the defence of their Democratic People's Revolution.

The sole and unchanging objective sought by these successive plots since 26 October 1972 has been the overthrow of the revolutionary power and the establishment of a puppet Government, in order to confiscate the sovereignty of the people, restore foreign domination over our country and continue the pillage of our natural resources.

After these repeated bitter failures, what course remains for beleaguered international imperialism, what means can it still use to achieve its base aims of restoring at all costs its barbarous yoke of domination and exploitation of our people?

There is no other course for impenitent imperialism but armed aggression, in an attempt to destroy by the force of mercenary arms the revolutionary experiment of our indomitable people.

What is worse, the Beninese people in their march forward and in their unshakable determination are daily growing stronger by their dazzling victories

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over imperialism. Like an indestructible torch bearer, an edifying example, the Beninese people demonstrate by the actual experience and practice of their Democratic People's Revolution that the socialist way of development is the right way, the way of history, and that the principles of Marxism-Leninism which scientifically enlighten this way are invincible.

For international imperialism, the tormentor of all peoples who love peace, justice and dignity, this is a crime.

This is the crime which the People's Republic of Benin has committed.

This is the crime which led to the last outburst of infuriated imperialism against the Beninese people and their Revolution.

This is the crime which caused the imperialist armed aggression committed on Sunday, 16 January 1977, against our peaceful and hard-working people.

This truth is clearly revealed by the people themselves who instigated and organized the shameful imperialist armed aggression of 16 January 1977.

In one of the numerous informative documents found on the fleeing mercenaries, we can actually read the following:

"Principal objective of the operation:

"To eliminate the present régime and install the new team from the Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey."

The same document also states:

"If nothing is done to check this tendency, Benin like Equatorial Guinea and Sao Tome and Principe, will soon be another stronghold on the Algiers-Conakry-Brazzaville-Luanda axis, to mention just a few examples in this large area making up West Africa."

It is quite clear that the so-called "Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey" is merely a threadbare cover behind which appears the hideous face of international imperialism, with the blood-stained hands of the executioner, massacrer of peoples and its cynical ogre's fangs, the insatiable pillager of the wealth of nations.

It is quite clear that the so-called "Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey" is merely a cover behind which imperialism is hatching plots and preparing aggression against the People's Republic of Benin in order to reconquer its lost positions and to restore its hegemony and its domination on the African continent.

It is clear that, as international imperialism itself emphasizes, the People's Republic of Benin has a strategic position and geo-political importance in the heart of our vast, beautiful and rich African continent and that our country therefore constitutes an obstacle to the imperialist designs on the peoples of Africa.

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In addition, in one of the numerous documents left behind by the fleeing mercenaries, the imperialist instigator and organizer of the armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, actually wrote about our country in a geo-political analysis:

"This country has rich mineral resources and considerable possibilities".

And yet, in their lying and mystifying propaganda, the imperialists have always depicted Benin as a poor country without resources, to such an extent that they cynically baptized it "the poor child of Africa". When, on 30 November 1972, our great comrade-in-arms President Kérékou, proclaiming to the world our new policy of national independence, reaffirmed this truth by saying "There is money in your country", did not the imperialists and their lackeys snigger and try to ridicule this fact?

But despite this confession about the wealth of our country in its ultra-secret military staff document, imperialism, using the logic of the exploiter and mystifier, in the proclamation which it was proposing to broadcast so that it could be heard by the people, reaffirms that Benin is a poor country.

All this clearly demonstrates that the imperialist armed aggression against the People's Republic of Benin on Sunday, 16 January 1977, was an attempt at the colonial reconquest of our country with a view to the renewed subjugation and domination of our people. When it is known that, according to the contract concluded between Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD, who led the mercenary army and presided over the "Leadership Committee" of the so-called Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey, the cost of the aggression (more than 1 billion francs CFA) will have to be paid by our country, hence by our heroic people, it is easy to understand the impasse facing him as a result of the successive victories of our Democratic People's Revolution.

Imperialism set out to impose on our people a new type of neo-colonialism, supported by a mercenary army whose mission during the initial months was to liquidate the civilian and military cadres of the Revolution, to destroy the revolutionary structures established since 26 October 1972, and to purge and restructure the national army.

Imperialism decided to set up a special corps for the suppression and massacre of the people and of patriots, a corps consisting solely of mercenary legionnaires who would form the personal guard of the puppet President. In this dirty and sordid task, international imperialism, the sworn enemy of all peoples, has to call on traitors, puppets, pawns and marionettes.

The infamous role of traitors, pawns, tools and marionettes is sadly and shamefully assumed by those States which have betrayed Africa and have turned their backs on history by helping to stab struggling Africa in the back.

How else can one describe the role played by Gabon and its Head of State, El Hadj Omar Bongo, who placed Gabonese territory at the disposal of the mercenary army known as GEI (Foreign Intervention Group) for the colonial reconquest of Africa?

How else can one describe the role of the Gabonese Head of State, who placed at the disposal of the horde of aggressors known as Force OMEGA Gabon's ground and air facilities (airport and aircraft)?

How else can one describe the role of the Gabonese Head of State, who underwrote the financing of the imperialist army's aggression of 16 January 1977 against the People's Republic of Benin and organized the meetings at which the conspiracies against the peace-loving people of Benin were worked out?

In any event, the militant people of Benin are convinced that the fraternal people of Gabon are not underwriting and will never underwrite the criminal intrigues of imperialism conducted in collusion with the Gabonese State against our country.

How else can one describe the role played by the Kingdom of Morocco and its Head of State, Hassan II, who placed the military base of BENGUERIR, near Marrakesh, at the disposal of the army of mercenaries for training purposes?

How else can one describe the role played by King Hassan II, who supplied the aggressors with a DC-8 aircraft, military weapons and ammunition, and all the necessary logistical support (provisions, medicines, etc.)?

How else can one describe the role played by King HASSAN II of Morocco, who lent himself to the sordid matter of underwriting the financing of the imperialist army's aggression against the People's Republic of Benin?

But, what is certain is that the cause of imperialism is lost in Africa.

Gilbert BOURGEAUD, following in the footsteps of General DODDS and all the other imperialist conquerors, has violated the air space and besmirched the sacred ground of the People's Republic of Benin by bringing with him a horde of drugged and fully armed mercenaries and a powerful arsenal of sophisticated military weapons. But the indomitable people of Benin have inflicted on him a bloody and resounding defeat.

The revolutionary people of Benin, organized and led by their avant-garde Party, the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, headed by our great comrade-in-arms, the intrepid and perspicacious President KEREKOU;

The revolutionary people of Benin, conditioned by their ancient rich tradition of resistance to aggression, educated by their avant-garde party on the basis of the invincible principles of Marxism-Leninism, know that imperialism, although hard pressed, will not resign itself to defeat. Impenitent imperialism, its hands dripping with blood, will inevitably embark on new adventures in an attempt to infringe the sovereignty of the Beninese people by launching further armed attacks against our Democratic People's Revolution.

But a great revolutionary of all times has said: "Stirring up trouble, failure, stirring up trouble again, failure again, and so on until their ruin, such is the logic of the imperialists and of all reactionaries, and they will never go against that logic."

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The militant people of Benin, under the enlightened leadership of the Central Committee of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, headed by our great comrade-in-arms, President Kérékou, will always defeat the Machiavellian designs and senseless attacks of international imperialism and its flunkys.

It is a truth of our times that:

- Countries want independence
- Nations want liberation
- Peoples want Revolution.

Therefore:

- We, the people and the revolutionary State of the People's Republic of Benin,

- United and in solidarity with the peoples of Africa and the progressive States of Africa, which have demonstrated their active support and sympathy in our time of trial,

- United and in solidarity with the peoples of the world and the States of the world and the socialist States which have given proof of their full solicitude in our time of trial,

- Fortified by the militant support of the parties, movements, and national and international democratic organizations which are struggling to bring about a world of peace and justice,

- Are determined to brave all difficulties, surmount all obstacles and make every sacrifice to safeguard our independence, protect our sovereignty, uphold our dignity and build step by step a new society, a socialist society, in which every Beninese man and woman will find it good to live and will be able to make a contribution to the advent of a free, prosperous, sovereign and united Africa in a world free from imperialism, capitalism and the exploitation of man by man, and thus free from aggression, a beautiful and radiant world.

- Eternal glory to the People's Republic of Benin!
- Eternal glory to the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin!
- Eternal glory to the martyrs of 16 January 1977!
- Socialism is our road to development!
- Marxism-Leninism is our philosophical guide!
- Death to the mercenaries!
- Death to the traitors!
- Ready for the Revolution!
- The struggle continues.



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## INTRODUCTION

It will be recalled that in 1885, at the Berlin Conference, the great imperialist Powers divided up the world between them, creating veritable private preserves for their capitalist monopolies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Ever since then, caught up in its own contradictions, imperialism has been undergoing a global crisis and the oppressed and exploited peoples and nations have awakened and have embarked on a vast movement of national liberation which has spared no continent of this planet. The national liberation struggles of China, Viet Nam, Korea, Cambodia and Laos in Asia, of Cuba, Chile and other countries in Latin America, of Egypt, Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Angola, Tanzania, Mozambique, Madagascar and many other countries in the African continent following the Second World War are all part of this process.

Today the countries of the third world, contemptuously referred to as under-developed countries by those who have exploited and impoverished them, have realized that it was the riches of their soil and subsoil which for centuries enabled the imperialist Powers to develop and grow rich. This realization of their decisive influence on the world economy has in recent years led the third world countries which export raw materials to join together and form a united front against the "holy alliance" of international imperialism which operates against their own interests.

This explains the birth and the decisive influence of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). It also explains the current world economic crisis which is having the most severe effect on the capitalist countries.

Faced with this fundamental contradiction which sets it against the nations and peoples which it formerly exploited and dominated, international imperialism has adopted the strategem of neo-colonialism to perpetuate its rule in those countries.

Everywhere today, however, particularly in Africa, neo-colonialism is being exposed, denounced and combated, and its perfidious system of domination and exploitation has been shattered in many countries which have regained total independence, absolute sovereignty over their own wealth and national dignity as a result of major struggle.

This is why, in utter despair and cornered on all sides by the irresistible national liberation movements which are sweeping across Africa from north to south and from east to west, imperialism has conceived and developed a diabolical new plan, a new Machiavellian strategy to reconquer our mighty and prosperous continent by the force of arms.

The despicable and barbarous attack launched against the REPUBLIC OF GUINEA on 22 November 1970 by a horde of mercenaries, armed and financed by international imperialism was part of this plan, as was the massive invasion of ANGOLA by the mad dogs of SOUTH AFRICA in the pay of their imperialist masters, and the frequent attacks launched on the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE by the mercenaries of IAN SMITH.

On Sunday, 16 January 1977, the whole world learned that our country, the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN, had been attacked by a horde of mercenaries in an airborne operation. But while the progressive countries and the nations which love peace and justice spontaneously expressed their deep indignation at this cowardly act and their total solidarity with the valiant people of Benin, the reactionary press and capitalist high finance circles attempted to sow confusion in order to give credence to the view that the events of Sunday, 16 January 1977, at COTONOU were merely the manifestation of an internal conflict within the Government and the Armed Forces of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN.

It was in order to throw light on these events on the basis of the facts and to determine the responsibility for this base attack which has afflicted Africa through the free territory of BENIN that the Central Committee of the Party of the People's Revolution of BENIN and the Revolutionary Military Government, showing great cool-headedness and a sense of responsibility, refrained from taking any hasty action even though from the very first hours of the attack they had in their possession proof and genuine irrefutable evidence attesting to the guilt of the persons and States involved. It did so in order to deprive imperialism of any opportunity to create confusion over facts which were so clear and proof which was so tangible that the leaders of the Beninese Revolution preferred to appeal to all progressive democratic organizations throughout the world to send special commissions of inquiry to COTONOU to acquaint themselves with the facts relating to the aggression and to establish their nature and accuracy irrefutably.

It was thus that, in the early days following the attack, the fraternal republics of GUINEA and NIGERIA agreed to form an International Commission of Inquiry with the Government of our country.

This International Commission of Inquiry was officially established by the President of the Central Committee of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin on 28 January 1977. Its mission was to throw light on the facts relating to the imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977.

A delegation from OCAMM, led by its Secretary-General, Mr. SYDNEY MOUTIA, also came to COTONOU on 28 January 1977 to determine the facts of the attack of Sunday, 16 January 1977, against the People's Republic of Benin.

Our country also received a mission from the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), which came to COTONOU on 13 February 1977 to conduct an inquiry into the attack of Sunday, 16 January 1977.

On 14 February 1977, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) sent a commission to COTONOU, led by Comrade BANGOURA, its Vice-President, and including representatives from Viet Nam and the USSR, to inquire into the events of Sunday, 16 January 1977.

Our country, the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN, also received a mission of inquiry from the OAU Secretariat, led by its Assistant Secretary-General, Dr. ONU, on 16 February 1977.

Following the meeting of the United Nations Security Council on 7 February 1977 and the adoption of Security Council resolution 404 (1977), a Special Mission of the United Nations Security Council, comprising the representative of PANAMA to the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. ILLUECA (Head of the delegation), the representative of LIBYA to the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. KIKHIA, and the representative of INDIA, His Excellency Mr. MULYE, arrived at COTONOU on 16 February 1977 to conduct an inquiry into the facts of the armed imperialist aggression against the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN which had taken place on 16 January 1977.

Finally, the twenty-eighth session of the Regular Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting at LOME on Wednesday, 23 February 1977, sent a Special Commission of Inquiry to COTONOU composed of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the following countries: LIBYA (Chairman), NIGERIA, GUINEA, NIGER, MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA and ZAMBIA, and a representative of the General Secretariat of OAU, to throw all possible light on the events which had taken place in the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN on Sunday, 16 January 1977.

After hearing the report submitted by the President, our great comrade-in-arms, Mathieu KEREKOU, on the situation in our country since 16 January 1977 and the various reports on the armed imperialist aggression, in particular the reports of the International Commission of Inquiry, of PETER ONU, Assistant Secretary-General of OAU and of the OAU Ministerial Commission, the Joint Special Session of the Central Committee of the Party of the People's Revolution of BENIN, the National Council of the Revolution and the Revolutionary Military Government, meeting on 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 March 1977, decided to make public the following report:

#### THE FACTS

On Sunday, 16 January 1977, a little before 9 a.m., the President of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN, our great comrade-in-arms Mathieu KEREKOU, made the following appeal over the Voix de la Révolution radio station broadcasting from COTONOU:

"MEN AND WOMEN, MILITANTS OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION OF BENIN.

"At dawn this morning, a group of mercenaries in the pay of a desperate international imperialism launched an armed attack against the Beninese people and their Revolution by attacking the city of COTONOU.

"At the present moment, our combat units are at work and are defending the strategic points of our city with revolutionary fervour.

"There can be no doubt that we shall be victorious, for our cause is just and our intrepid people invincible.

"Accordingly, every militant of the revolution, man or woman, wherever he or she may be, must regard himself or herself and behave as a soldier at the front engaged in holy combat to save the threatened fatherland.

/...

"We issue a patriotic appeal to the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDR) and to all local offices of the People's Democratic Revolution to develop and reinforce the massive counter-attack against the enemies of the Beninese people.

REVOLUTION OR DEATH!  
DEATH TO THE MERCENARIES!  
DEATH TO THE TRAITORS!  
READY FOR THE REVOLUTION!  
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!  
VICTORY WILL BE OURS!"

It was through this official communiqué that the entire world learned of the cowardly and barbarous act of imperialist armed aggression recently committed against the Beninese people.

The official statements which followed this appeal indicated that, as soon as their unregistered DC-7 aircraft had landed, the mercenaries attacked the airport and several other buildings, on their way towards the Presidential Palace, which was one of their main objectives. However, they were brought to a complete halt by an energetic and lightning counter-attack launched by the first units of the People's Armed Forces of Benin; forced to beat a hasty retreat, which soon turned into a rout, the mercenaries had to effect an emergency take-off in their aircraft, abandoning their dead and those of their companions who had not managed to reach the aircraft. They were also forced to abandon at the scene of the battle considerable quantities of modern military equipment (arms, ammunition, radio transmitters, etc., etc.).

Once made known to those peoples of the world who love peace and justice, and in particular to the struggling peoples of Africa, these facts led to the establishment of an international commission of inquiry, the task of which was to cast light on the events in question and objectively inform international opinion of the true facts and the full details of the affair.

#### THE INQUIRY

##### A. BACKGROUND

The mercenaries' activities took place in an area to the south-west of the Cotonou I urban district, in the fifth commune. It is bounded:

To the south: by the ocean;

To the east: by the double-lane asphalt road between the Boulevard de France and Interstate Highway No. II (Cotonou - Ouidah), and further on by the single-lane

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non-asphalt part of the road which runs alongside the eastern perimeter of the National Hospital and University Centre;

To the north: by the unnamed road in front of the main entrance of the Père Aupiais general secondary school;

To the west: by the western extremity of the landing area of Cotonou International Airport.

Checks carried out in this area reveal considerable damage caused by the firing of heavy and light weapons at public and private buildings, the most seriously damaged of which are:

The Palace of the President of the Republic - the Congress building - the Hotel Croix du Sud - the buildings of the Conseil de l'Entente - the Ministry of the Interior - the Ministry of Security and National Planning - the residential building belonging to the Beninese Office of Social Security - the residence of the Director of the Central Bank of the West African States - the new building housing the Nigerian Embassy - the residence of the Ambassador of the United States - the Zairian Embassy - etc.

Most of the damage is to glass, woodwork, stonework and electrical equipment.

It should be noted that, in particular, the apartments intended for the President of the Republic were subjected to accurate mortar fire which destroyed the roof.

Apart from buildings, it should be pointed out that several vehicles (aircraft, cars, motor cycles) were also damaged.

The bullets and shell bursts of the mercenary criminals claimed several victims among the militants, both in and out of uniform, who were resolutely engaged in the defence of the Revolution, as well as among foreigners living in the battle area.

These stateless mercenaries were also responsible for the cowardly assassination of five militants:

- Adjudant Mathieu TOSSOU of the People's Armed Forces
- Soldier, First Class, Kassimou ALASSANE
- Gendarme, First Class, Paulin THOTO
- Soldier, Second Class, Lassissi YESSOUFOU
- Comrade BAMBOCHE;

Forty-four (44) others were seriously injured.

It should be noted that one comrade-in-arms, Sylvain COMLAN, was reported missing during the invasion.

Among the mercenaries, one white and one black were killed by the People's Armed Forces; their bodies, preserved at the morgue in the Cotonou National Hospital and University Centre, were seen by the various commissions.

One prisoner taken alive, BAH ALPHA OUMAROU, alias Mamadou Alpha DIALLO or MENDOZA, was brought before all the commissions of inquiry which came to Cotonou.

In their shameful act of aggression against the peaceful Beninese people, the mercenaries, who were on the payroll of international imperialism, had a large arsenal at their disposal, and, as they retreated in panic, they abandoned, both at the airport and on their various routes, several weapons, much ammunition, long-range weapons, including 81-mm mortars and 12/7 machine guns, and a 300-watt radio transmitter.

They also left behind several cases of supplies, including one case of valuable documents concerning the act of aggression.

#### B. HEARINGS AND INVESTIGATIONS

The corroborating evidence gathered by the various commissions of inquiry throws much light on the facts concerning the act of aggression committed against the Beninese people on Sunday, 16 January 1977.

More than 30 eyewitnesses were heard, witnesses who, in one way or another and at different places, lived through and observed some aspects of the attack.

Regarding the events which took place at Cotonou International Airport, evidence was taken from all employees of ASECNA and military personnel of the People's Armed Forces who were on duty at the time.

The most interesting testimony was given by:

1. Jean-Baptiste FAVI, Flight Sergeant, Pilot in the National Squadron of the People's Armed Forces of Benin;
2. Abou SAMARI, gendarme on duty at the Air Transport Brigade of Cotonou;
3. Emile BADOU, meteorological assistant;
4. Eugène ACCROMBESSI, Air Traffic Controller at Cotonou International Airport;
5. Simplicien KPATENON, police officer with the Special Police at Cotonou Airport.

Evidence was taken from Beninese and expatriate civilians who were present at the scene of the events for various reasons. The most informative evidence was that provided by:

1. Dohou Jossè Rock SOUDO (Beninese)
2. Oscar LALOU (Beninese)
3. Cassien AGBOTON (Beninese)
4. Claude MULLARD (French)
5. Christian LECADRE (French)
6. Xavier BUSSOT (French)
7. Jean-Jacques MISCHEL (French)
8. Guy POGNON (Beninese)
9. Ferdinand HOUEMOU (ONEPI journalist)

Adjudant Atèmènou Jean KOUTON, who, after the alarm was given, led the first units of the People's Armed Forces involved in the counter-attack on the landing field, was heard as one of the closest eyewitnesses.

On the basis of the corroborating testimony from various sources, it was possible to reconstruct the following sequence of events:

On Sunday 16 January 1977, at about 7 a.m., a pirate - and therefore unmarked - four-engine DC-7 aircraft landed at Cotonou International Airport without prior authorization from the control tower. It made a short landing on the seaward side of the runway, turned sharply at the civil aircraft taxiway and proceeded to the parking area in front of the technical buildings. There it stopped and extended metal tubes down which a horde of heavily-armed white and black mercenaries slid to the ground. As soon as they had disembarked, these mercenaries stormed the airport's technical buildings and then divided into four groups and a General Staff.

The first group was to take over the airport while the three others set off towards the town and the General Staff remained at the landing ground to direct operations by walkie-talkie.

The security units of the People's Armed Forces attached to the national squadron attempted a counter-attack against the aggressors, but were quickly silenced by the automatic weapon fire and rockets of the mercenaries.

The mercenaries requisitioned all the vehicles they found both in the landing area and in the airport parking lot and used them to get into the city. The



vehicles requisitioned at gun-point included those of the French expatriates Claude MULLARD and Christian LECADRE and that of the Beninese national Oscar LALOU.

In addition, in order to help them unload their war matériel, the mercenaries took some Beninese hostage, including the gendarme Abou SAMARI, Sergeant Jean-Baptiste FAVI and the meteorological assistant Emile BADOU, and forced them to work at gun-point.

The three groups which advanced towards the city proceeded as follows:

- The first group headed for the Palace of the Republic via the Boulevard Maritime and the Nigerian Embassy;
- The second group also headed for the Palace of the President of the Republic via the airport road and the Treasury Building;
- The third group headed for Camp Guezo passing through the Haie-Vive and Cadjehoun districts, then joining the road in front of the Père Aupiais Institute of General Education.

As they went their various ways, the assailants kept up a heavy fire aimed at a number of public and private buildings, killing and wounding civilians and military personnel and causing considerable damage to both buildings and vehicles.

In order to attack the Presidential Palace more effectively, the mercenaries took up positions both at the Congress building, west of the Palace, and in the building called "Quarante Logements" north-west of the Palace. From these two points, they fired automatic weapons and rockets at the building, which was caught in the cross-fire. The group of mercenaries that remained at the airport fired shells and 81-mm mortars at the camp and the Presidential Palace.

However, in view of the lightning, energetic reply and the superior fire-power of the presidential guards and the troops sent to counter-attack, after approximately three hours' fighting the mercenary General Staff ordered an immediate retreat and a hasty take off.

EXCERPTS FROM TAPE RECORDINGS

The following excerpts from statements made by Beninese nationals and expatriates who encountered the mercenaries provide vivid testimony of the imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, against the People's Republic of Benin.

LISTEN TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS

- Jean-Jacques MISCHEL (French), born 31 March 1949 at Kaltenhouse (France), to Alphonse MISCHEL and Lucien ROESCH, also French; professor at the National University of Benin, Department of Economics; single, resident in Cotonou, P.O. Box 7039; discharged from the army for reasons of health.

"Twice I saw people advancing in the garden which gives on to the street. The first time it was a white man dressed in military uniform like the Beninese, with a haversack and several objects hanging round his waist and on his back ... Crouching, he fired two machine-gun bursts in the direction of the Presidential Palace and then went back to hide below the 'Quarante Logements' building.

"The second time, I saw a white man - the same one, I believe - advancing, machine-gun in hand, and about 8 metres away from him there was a black soldier dressed like the Beninese but also with a haversack. He had a weapon which looked like a 40-centimetre pipe ... I also heard someone whom I did not see give orders in a very clear voice and in a flawless French accent ..."

- Xavier BUSSOT (French), born 9 August 1923 at Gerona (Spain), to Dumas BUSSOT and Ferrer AMPARO, also French; married, two children; chief mechanic at the Department of Public Works working for GTE; resident in Cotonou in the "Quarante Logements" building; never served in the army.

"Suddenly people were knocking on my door, saying 'Open or I fire', knocking louder and louder on the door. So I opened the door and at that moment [...] in khaki combat uniform and with a green badge on the right shoulder. They pushed me to the floor face down, threatening me with their weapons, and then covered me with a sheet and blanket; however, I could hear the noise they were making ... They left my apartment and, firing, climbed up to the fourth floor ... Then they came down again, still firing in the direction of the Presidential Palace ... The three people who burst into my apartment were white ..."

- Claude MULLARD (French), born 9 June 1939 at Calais (France), to Edouard MULLARD and Jeanne LESSAGE, also French; married, two children; foreman at the Gobillot Sobec Seta company; resident in Cotonou, opposite the villa of General SOGLO, P.O. Box 1521; former soldier (1957).

"On Sunday, 16 January 1977, around 7.05 a.m. I left my house and headed for OUIDAH-NORD to go to work. Because it is on the way I regularly take my mail to the airport. On the way I met my colleague, Mr. Christian LECADRE and we travelled together. On the way, before the airport and a little before the building now under construction, we were stopped by a group of soldiers with rifles in their hands who forced us to give them our cars ... I saw some white people and some Africans. One spoke to me in French with a French accent ..."

#### MEN AND WOMEN, MILITANTS OF THE REVOLUTION

you have just heard some of the abundant eloquent testimony gathered regarding the imperialist aggression of 16 January 1977.

The interrogation of the Guinean mercenary who was captured alive throws light on the manner in which the mercenary army was recruited and trained and on its disembarkation at Cotonou on 16 January 1977.

This deposition is fully confirmed by the documents in the hands of the Revolutionary State of Benin. Listen:

- BAH ALPHA OUMAROU, born 23 March 1948, at Kaffrine Kaolack in Senegal, to the late BAH Abdoulaye and DIALLO Mamadou Djiou, single, no children, no profession, a Peulh by race, a Muslim by religion, and of Guinean nationality.

"When Mr. DIALLO Telli was arrested, the leaders of the two Guinean opposition parties in Dakar met and sought to mobilize all Guinean nationals living abroad around an organization called RGE (Rassemblement des Guinéens à l'Etranger). This organization asked for volunteers, saying that the régime of President Ahmed Sekou Touré is one-sided which means, in other words, that Mr. Sekou Touré is against the Peulhs, that he wants to eliminate that race and that therefore steps must be taken, and an attempt must be made to fight him. Proposals were made in public in Dakar; everywhere they asked, in public, who would volunteer, whether there were really any volunteers who wished to sacrifice themselves in order to preserve our dignity. Everyone raised his hand; I was there, I attended several meetings. At first I was not moved when they kept speaking about Guinea's economic problems and the situation which everybody knows of in Africa. Then other, somewhat inflammatory, phrases were uttered to the effect that Sekou Touré wanted to eliminate the Peulhs. I don't know anything about that because I left Guinea in 1967. But I said to myself, and I compared certain facts which led me to say, that those Peulhs could not all be wrong. Therefore I joined the movement and an official gave me a card because that day I did not have enough to buy my RGE membership card. The official who was now dealing with military matters instructed a young man to see me and contact me for the training. I went to see him and he said to me: now we have waited too long, we should do something. I replied, yes, what are we going to do? He told me there was a country which could give us shelter so that we could train. He didn't say that it would train us but that we could be trained there.

"A few days later he told me go to be vaccinated. There, I was given a name, a false name. I was vaccinated without being asked any other questions and a little while later I was told, tomorrow we embark, destination unknown, don't ask questions. He told me that no one must give his real name, that others did not have any identity papers and that the papers of those who had had them had been collected, and that nothing could happen.

"When we arrived in Morocco, at Casablanca, we got into a car which picked us up. I don't know what direction we went in, whether north or south, I could not get my bearings because coming down in the aircraft had made me confused. We were driven all night and then let out in a military camp and I heard somebody whisper, 'we are not far from Marrakech'?

"The chief of the base was a colonel. When we arrived we were told that there was such strict discipline that only the Commandant and the Colonel knew our real names.

"The people there looked like Germans, others looked like Frenchmen, but in any case they were all people who had already fought in a war, you could tell by just looking at them. We stayed there for 10 days. On Friday evening, the day before yesterday, two Beninese arrived at the base. They had come from Europe. When they came, we assembled and the Commandant introduced them. The head of the delegation was called 'WAKOU' - that was the only name he mentioned that evening. The second man did not give his name but he was an influential member of the front - he said simply that Mr. 'WAKOU' was the president of a certain liberation front. He did not even specify Benin or any other country. Later that night, some people distributed maps between them and the General Staff. They were trying to find Beninese who knew the territory and who could act as guides. Those people were handed maps. They glanced at the maps and saw Cotonou and knew from then on that the country involved was Benin.

"On Friday morning, we were given camouflage uniforms. We were told to wear them and to get into the aircraft. But the fellow who had taken us to Morocco contacted us, the 12 young people who had left with him, and he said to us: see, this is the situation, those people are training us, so when they go on mission we must go with them.

"We said to him 'But we haven't even done 10 days and you tell us to go on a mission. It's suicide and particularly in Benin. What are we going to Benin for? You didn't tell us that before we came to this base. You told us that we were to be trained here so that we could return to our own country to train others, but that we would not leave here to carry out other operations at the same time.' We said this to him and he replied that it was not serious. 'You must take the ammunition.' We understood. If we tried to resist there were commandos who would shoot us without warning, because no one knows them by sight, no one knows where they come from, and no one knows where we come from either. That is why I personally am today in the People's Republic of Benin ...

"... But what surprised me was that we arrived at a military base where we found men older than us. I also heard someone say, 'Don't worry, your money will be paid as usual into your respective banks.' The Colonel who was there reassured them that they would have another contract. I and the other young men with me were tricked ...

"... We arrived here (in the People's Republic of Benin). I personally was on the roof of the airport. My instructions were to watch the shore and stand guard ...

"... We left the base at about 2.30 p.m. on Saturday, 15 January 1977. There were about 100 of us, including two Beninese on whose behalf the mission was being carried out.

"... At about 8 p.m., we touched down at an international airport called 'France-ville' in Gabon. There we changed planes. The airport sign read Aéroport international EL HADJ OMAR BONGO: 'FRANCE-VILLE' ...

"... I saw a European who looked like a French officer approaching the plane. The plane carried a number which I never saw. I think I read LXI or XYL and, on the tail, there was a sort of manioc leaf in green ...

"... We left Yoff airport at Dakar on 31 December 1976. We arrived at Casablanca airport at about 5 p.m. on the same day. A transport vehicle picked us up. We did not even pass through the airport lounge, the vehicle picked us up on the runway to take us to an unknown destination ...

"... The leader of my group was Adjudant Garnier. He was white. He must be French because he speaks French without any foreign accent. He speaks with a Breton accent or something like that ...

"... I had a FAL (light assault rifle) of Belgian manufacture. Most had FALs (light assault rifles); some had MAG machine guns ...

"... The weapons and ammunition were stored in the base there. It was there that we found them. We loaded them onto the aircraft. Some weapons and ammunition were unloaded at France-ville, the rest were taken and loaded into the plane which took us. We left France-ville at about 3 in the morning. Everyone was sleepy ...

"... The first plane had jet engines and the second had propellers. I saw propellers, four propellers. I also saw jet engines discharging gases ...

"... When the plane landed it came to a sudden stop. There were two cylindrical tubes down which you had to slide to get out. We slid down and were told to spread out ...

"... When we left Dakar, it was Royal Air Maroc that transported us ...

"... At the airport at France-ville, as everywhere else, there were never any formalities ...

"... We were 13 Guineans, 11 Beninese, plus the two leaders of the Movement who arrived afterwards, making 13 Beninese ...

"... In Gabon, I didn't see anyone get on board. We took on equipment, the equipment that I saw consisted of small metal cases and a first-aid box with a red cross on it, which led me to conclude that it contained medical supplies. I saw the doctor taking care of the loading of the box ...

"... The base, I don't know its name, we arrived at night and left by air. I wasn't able to make a tour of the base but it was vast, I think I heard someone say that it was a base which had been abandoned by the Americans and had reverted to Morocco ... No Moroccan soldiers trained us. For the security of the base, there were only gendarmes to guard the surrounding area ... Yes, Moroccan gendarmes, those people, they were there ..."

END OF QUOTATION

## C. STUDY OF THE DOCUMENTS

A detailed analysis was made of important documents left behind by the mercenaries at the scene of the crime. These authentic documents have confirmed the revelations made by the mercenary Bah Alpha OUMAROU and have given a most detailed picture of all stages of the imperialist armed aggression of 16 January 1977, from its preparation to its execution.

The various documents left behind by the mercenaries in their flight contain highly informative evidence regarding the planning, preparation, organization and execution of the imperialist armed aggression against our country.

### RESULTS OF THE INQUIRY

#### 1. OBJECTIVES OF THE OPERATION AND POSSIBILITIES

The imperialist armed aggression of 16 January 1977 against the Beninese people and their Revolution was an operation which the authentic representatives of international imperialism and their Beninese lackeys had been preparing in various European and African capitals since the initiation of the revolutionary process in the People's Republic of Benin.

Everything contained in this chapter is based essentially on the analysis made of the authentic documents left behind on the battlefield by the mercenaries in their flight.

#### MAIN OBJECTIVE OF THE OPERATION

With regard to the main objective of the operation, the organizers of the act of aggression, in one of their documents, had written:

"To eliminate the present régime, to install the new team from the Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey."

All the reports and documents which have come into our possession confirm this objective. A preliminary report on the situation in the People's Republic of Benin reads as follows:

"The situation in Benin since Kérékou took power has brought some nationals to the certain realization that the experience must be ended as soon as possible. The present régime, aware of its own excesses and some irreparable errors, has no alternative but to continue on the same course, in which it is encouraged by the more deeply committed progressive countries in, and even outside, Africa. The result is ever-increasing sympathy with the 'Club' of pro-Marxist, anti-imperialist African countries, which is strongly supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba.

"If nothing is done to check this tendency, Benin, like Equatorial Guinea and Sao Tome and Principe will soon be another stronghold on the Algiers-Conakry-Brazzaville-Luanda axis, to mention just a few examples in this large area making up West Africa.

"Intervention in Benin aimed at halting the swing to the East of the present régime would rescue the country from downfall and would have a positive, perhaps decisive, psychological effect on certain African Heads of State who are all too willing to compromise with the Marxists, whether as a precaution or from ideological conviction. If the intervention were successful, it would give the Marxists themselves occasion to reflect on the limit to their expansionist aims.

"For all these reasons, the principle of intervention having been decided upon, there follows a definition of what such intervention would consist of and the means (in the broadest sense of the term) to be employed."  
END OF QUOTATION

Another document reads:

"It appears that:

- The popular support for the régime is only superficial and limited;
- The loyalty of the armed forces as a whole is uncertain and the PAPA element on OSCAR (First Company) and GOLFE on PAPA-NOVEMBRE (First Squadron) are ready for an uprising;
- The elements a priori faithful to the present régime do not seem very strong, either in men or in equipment.

"To sum up the various studies made, the opposition leaders conclude that there are all necessary and adequate prerequisites for the defeat of the present régime, with maximum chances of success; the means at their disposal have been thoroughly studied and only a little 'push' is needed to ensure victory. This will be accomplished by the TANGO-ECHO element, which will be described further on."

The coded names in the above quotation have been deciphered as follows:

"PAPA on OSCAR" - parachute units in OUIDAH

"GOLFE on PAPA-NOVEMBRE elements" - gendarme units in PORTO-NOVO

"TANGO-ECHO elements" - foreign military units.

The document continues as follows:

MISSION:

The mission of the invading forces will be as follows:

/...



By means of combined action by all our forces (internal and external), which will be begun cautiously and conducted boldly as events develop, to attack with a view to reducing as quickly as possible to zero the area over which the present Head of State 'reigns', seeking control over the conventional levers of power, and the neutralization of leaders, by destruction if necessary. Simultaneously, to authorize and assist the establishment of the new team, seek to establish its authority as quickly as possible, taking action of all kinds covering the entire national territory.

At the same time it will be necessary to prepare to meet a counter-action from outside (for information)."

Another document reads as follows:

"MISSION OF THE INTERVENTION GROUP

(a) It must seek the following objectives in order of priority:

The person of K. - <u>imperative</u> His friends - if possible	Seize or destroy " " "
The Presidential Palace	Occupy
Military Camp	Surround Deactivate it with a view to preventing any possibility of immediate or future intervention Negotiate later
National radio station	Occupy. Leave intact. Exploit.
Gendarmes and police	Neutralize. Try, during a second stage, to obtain their co-operation.
Port	Control. Prohibit access from outside and inside the country.
Airport	Control. Exploit if necessary.

- (b) The mission of the second intervention group is to support the establishment of the new team.

Through exploitation of the national radio - broadcasting of recordings.

The group should eventually receive the first expressions of support.

The definition of the intention of the mission will depend on the means adopted by the intervention group. Depending on the nature of the means of approach, the establishment of the different elements will vary. The time at which the operation takes place will also have a decisive influence on the mission itself. Obviously, we are assuming that K. and his friends will be present in the capital."

The document containing the preparatory order of the colonel commanding GEI, dated 13 January 1977, continues as follows, still referring to the mission of the mercenary army in the People's Republic of Benin:

"MISSION: TO ELIMINATE THE PRESENT REGIME - INSTALL THE NEW TEAM FROM FLERD.

"INTENTION OF THE COMMANDANT OF 'FORCE OMEGA': concentrate all its means on the capital COTONOU in order to neutralize the present authorities. Seize the traditional levels of command and enhance the installation of the new team.

"IN ORDER TO DO THIS, DECIDES:

"Firstly, to make a surprise landing of the entire OMEGA force at the COTONOU International Airport and to control the installations there.

"Secondly, to proceed as rapidly as possible eastward to attack and occupy predetermined objectives (PR. SMR. MILITARY CAMP. RADIO. K HOUSE) while guarding the northwest (the OUIDAH/CALAVI/COTONOU railway axis).

"Thirdly, to control the entire western part of the city as far east as the lagoon, while maintaining coverage towards the west.

"Fourthly, according to developments, to take measures aimed at establishing control over the whole territory of the country."

In order to overthrow the present régime of the People's Republic of Benin and put an end to the revolutionary process, international imperialism, as should have been expected, chose a violent form of action, reactionary violence. The following passage taken from one of the documents makes this clear.

"B. DEFINITION OF THIS 'ACTION'

"After studying the traditional decision-making elements, it appears that an action launched inside the country would be extremely dangerous, because of the possibility of information leaks and lack of enthusiasm on the part of opponents of the régime inside the country to be the first to become involved. This is understandable, bearing in mind the climate of suspicion and the spying inside the country.

"The action itself will necessarily be violent. The reasons are sufficiently obvious to be able to dispense with an explanation.

"It therefore follows that only an operation launched from the outside by an armed force could bring about a radical political change. All the information received indicates that the passive resistance of the majority of the DAHOMEAN people vis-à-vis the present régime would give way to active and dynamic support for any element likely to bring about such change."

BY WHAT MEANS COULD THE INTERVENTION OF A FOREIGN ARMED FORCE  
SUCCEED IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN

The planners of the imperialist aggression against the People's Republic of Benin carefully studied and analysed the conditions and means required to perpetrate their crime with the greatest chances of success. This is shown by the following passages from a report contained in a study document dealing with the execution of the aggression which was left behind by the mercenaries in their disorderly flight:

"There remains the possibility of intervention from a more distant State, which is less risky:

- by sea                                either harbour or fishing port  
    deep-water port
- from the open sea - Zodiac (for example)
- by aircraft with parachutists: impossible. Means of withdrawal difficult  
    and possible jump zones too far from the  
    objective
- by aircraft with landing at  
COTONOU Airport.

"Moreover, is this operation preferable by day, by night or through the traditional attack at dawn?

"The solution chosen among the available means of transport should take into account the question of secrecy and the variable quality of the objectives, depending on the time of the operation. Remember that the surprise effect must be the maximum in any case and that the action should be rapid, effective and decisive."

## Different possibilities

	DAY	NIGHT
<u>By sea</u>		
(a) Deep-water harbour impossible - Port crowded with shipping		impossible
(b) Fishing port ... impossible by day		possible by night, if there is a means of access to the quays (the entry of the harbour would be closed).

## DAY

## NIGHT

- (c) Landing in the open sea, with disembarkation from Zodiac.

Dangerous sandbar - breakers on the beach - is this phenomenon constant or are there periods during the seasons or during certain phases of the tides which diminish these difficulties?

by day, impossible. The sea approach is guarded.

by night, it should be possible, if the above difficulties disappear - certain advantages of being landed at the desired place, the main objectives being close to the coast (including the house of K. which then becomes an objective if he is actually in residence).

By airAircraft landing

advantages: Airport not heavily guarded  
An aircraft should be able to land there by surprise

same advantages and same disadvantages. Moreover, the runway should be illuminated.  
Among the advantages ... the airport may be absolutely deserted.

## disadvantages:

- 2,500 m. from the Presidential Palace and the Military Camp
- telephone links with the airport and the town
- at quiet periods, few vehicles available apart from those belonging to firemen and maintenance personnel

Apart from the choice of the means of transport, it should be pointed out that a night operation diminishes the chances of seizing K and AZ at ZERO.

By day, on the other hand, it is known:

- (1) that K. is at home in the morning between 6.30 and 7.30;
- (2) that on Tuesdays there is a meeting of the political bureau attended by the five or six main leaders at the Presidential Palace;

/...

- (3) that on Wednesdays there is a meeting of the Council of Ministers at the Presidential Palace between 10.30 a.m. and noon, with considerable defence reinforcements (each minister brings two or three guards with him).

It is now clearly understood that the elimination of K. and AZ (at least) will depend on the attitude of the population and the spontaneity of support for the new régime.

After the above study, we may already exclude operations by sea during daylight and operations by air at night.

Other possible solutions

(1) By sea, at night

- (a) either at the fishing port, if access is possible under good conditions and in secrecy;
- (b) or by disembarkation on the beach, with the help of "ZODIAC", with the possibility of a dry landing very near to the different objectives, particularly the house of K. The disembarkation could take place shortly before sunrise (0100 hours for example) and the troops could await the signal of the team responsible for liquidating K.

Disadvantages of this solution: difficulties of re-embarking in case of a setback and impossibility of embarking heavy equipment (mortars ...)

In case of any delay, intervention from OUIDAH should become possible.

(2) By air, at dawn (0800 hours)

(Illumination of the runway unnecessary); the airport is practically deserted (select the day when no regular traffic is expected); possibility of using the airport vehicles. Speed is the most important factor necessary for success. With a little luck, we could control the airport telephones. We shall need about five minutes to reach the gates of the Presidential Palace or the Military Camp and two minutes at best to reach the house of K. The three objectives could be dealt with simultaneously.

At 6.30 a.m. when the broadcasts from the national radio normally begin, we could initiate the political exploitation of the initial success. Moreover, from the airport or its surroundings, mortar support would be possible in case of resistance by the Military Camp - still operating from the airport, a team could be given the task of controlling the road and railway axes from OUIDAH.

After the elimination of K (and the seizure of AZ) and the control of the Palace, camps and radio stations, the Action Group should consolidate by controlling the bridge over the lake, preventing access from the port and keeping a watch on the town towards the north, thus guarding against the possibilities of unrest.

At this level, the support team or at least several of its members, should be present so that as many Dahomeans as possible take part in the intervention.

(3) By air, in daylight (Wednesday morning, 1130 hours for example)

A bold and dynamic solution but dangerous. The effect of surprise would soon be lost and the origin of the commando would be hard to camouflage. The advantage would be to limit the objectives with maximum chances of neutralizing K, AZ and the others ...

In the case of an air operation (at dawn or during daylight), the Action Group could be divided into two teams:

I. TEAM A (10 to 15 men)

with the task of:

- (a) guarding the Airport, prohibiting air traffic (5 men);
- (b) providing, if necessary, mortar support for team B (3 men) and guarding the priority objectives (Military Camp and Presidential Palace);
- (c) occupying the road and railway axes leading to OUIDAH so as to prevent their use and later to arrest political leaders trying to escape from the town, at its north-west border.

II. TEAM B (45 to 55 men)

with the task of:

- (1) Simultaneously
  - (1) Eliminating K. (10 men)
  - (2) Attacking and occupying the Presidential Palace (20 men)
  - (3) Neutralizing the Military Camp and deactivating it (20 men)
- (2) Team responsible for eliminating K:
  - seizing the national radio studios and exploiting them;

As soon as the Presidential Palace is surrounded, a small group will be left to guard it and the other forces will go to the Military Camp if necessary or to the port and the bridge over the lake, so as to prevent any traffic in both directions.

The weapons used by these teams should allow them to destroy personnel and vehicles (armoured or not) and fortifications (walls).

These teams should be equipped with radio sets for co-ordination, reports and any new missions or changes of plan.

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The Carrier could be:

One DC-8 - or DC-7 - 70 passengers each weighing 100 kg. = 7 tons.

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#### PRETEXTS AND SCENARIO USED TO LAUNCH A VIOLENT ATTACK AGAINST THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN

In order to justify their armed intervention in the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN, the imperialists and their African lackeys will find the most blatantly deceitful pretexts such as warlike, expansionist and annexationist designs on the part of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN on a neighbouring and adjacent State, TOGO. Starting with that premise, a first plan of attack was masterminded by the aggressors; it called for an attack on the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN on 5 January 1977 at 6.45 a.m. by airborne troops flown in from GABON and, simultaneously, the penetration of the national territory of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN by foreign troops arriving from TOGO.

All these facts are corroborated by the following passages taken from one of the documents left behind by the mercenaries.

#### "GEOGRAPHY AND GEOPOLITICS

"Two countries on the African continent, the Democratic People's Republic of BANALIA (DPRB) (i.e. the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN) and the Republic of ZANGARO (i.e. the TOGOLESE REPUBLIC).

"The Democratic People's Republic of BANALIA, claiming to be pursuing scientific socialism, has the strong support of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Its leader, an ardent fighter and great visionary, seems to believe that his mission is to socialize the African continent. Any stick will do to beat the West with ... imperialist, colonialist and racist ... meetings, international forums, OAU, United Nations, third world conferences ... etc.

"This country has abundant mineral resources and plenty of funds. In the interior of the country propaganda efforts evoke very little response from the peasant masses; a number of local revolts have occurred in connexion with the confiscation of land or crops. The action of the leader is supported



whole-heartedly by only one segment of the intelligentsia. This segment has cunningly taken over the levers of power in the State ... the armed forces find it difficult to follow the movement and the dismissal of a number of 'traditionalist' army leaders has given rise to deep unrest.

"The armed forces, totalling 6,000 men, are split up into small units (first company) throughout the territory. The capital, BANGALA, has 600 men, however - one infantry battalion reinforced by a squadron of type AM 8 guns.

"The Republic of ZANGARO, a neighbour of DPRB, is a small, poor territory, having a temperate, even austere, population and few resources. Its army comprises four combat companies, one engineering company and one reconnaissance squadron (half-track and jeep), making a total of 1,000 men.

"The Republic of ZANGARO (i.e. the REPUBLIC OF TOGO) has traditionally been an ally of the West. It is an unpretentious, free-enterprise country which does not receive the assistance it needs from Western countries. On the other hand, it is traditionally a friend of the Republic of MOANA (i.e. the Gabonese Republic). The latter country, it should be remembered, has no common frontier with the two States in question."

#### "Situation since the month of June 1976

"There have been a number of frontier clashes between ZANGARO (i.e., the Togolese Republic) and DPRB (i.e., the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN). The latter rejects the frontier lines inherited from the colonial system, and is causing many incidents and trying to provoke ZANGARO (i.e., the Togolese Republic). About the desire of DPRB for territorial expansion there can be no doubt. Many infiltrations have occurred in a section of the frontier which is difficult to supervise and on either side of which a tribe divided in two by the frontier lines lives. In frontier crossings from DPRB to ZANGARO there is obviously complicity among the minority ZANGARO members of that tribe.

"The Republic of ZANGARO has asked the Republic of MOANA for aid to cope with a possible aggression from its neighbour, DPRB.

"Since 15 October, the second combat company of GEI has been stationed in ZANGARO territory and has received instructions to improve the combat-readiness of the Zangarian armed forces and, if necessary, to participate in the Defence of the territory of ZANGARO.

"Since 15 December, the number of frontier provocations and incidents has been rising; an internal policy campaign in DPRB is aimed at conditioning the population to expect a clash, military manoeuvres are becoming more frequent, discreet diplomatic action has been started with a view to offsetting possible protests. Coercive measures have been taken against Zangarian citizens who have emigrated to the DPR of BANALIA.

"On 31 December, an AI news report revealed that preliminary steps had been taken in DPRB to attack ZANGARO in the morning hours of 10 January. The same report mentioned a working meeting, presided over by the Head of State of DPRB, with all of his EM, to make final decisions on the form of such action and the resources required for it. This meeting is to take place at the summer resort of KOUMEA (i.e. COTONOU) on the Atlantic. It will be held on 4 and 5 January 1977.

"On 2 January 1977, an unpublicized meeting between the Heads of State of MOANA and ZANGARO. The principle of preventive action is adopted. The commander of GEI is called in by the two Presidents and proposes a two-phase action, the two phases to start simultaneously: 1. to attack and destroy the General Staff of DPRB at KOUMEA, operating from the territory of MOANA; 2. to enter the territory of DPRB suddenly from ZANGARO in order to tie down a maximum of enemy forces and bring back the KOUMEA action unit.

"The first mission is entrusted to the Commando (ourselves). The second mission is entrusted to the second combat company, reinforced by the Zangarian battalion reorganized by it."

Below is the decoded text of what you have just heard.

"Situation since the month of June 1976

"There have been a number of frontier clashes between TOGO and the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN. The latter rejects the frontier lines inherited from the colonial system, and is causing many incidents and trying to provoke TOGO.

"About the desire of DPRB for territorial expansion there can be no doubt. Many infiltrations have occurred in a section of the frontier which is difficult to supervise and on either side of which a tribe divided in two by the frontier lines lives. In frontier crossings from the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN to TOGO there is obviously complicity among the minority Togolese members of that tribe.

"The Togolese Republic has asked the Gabonese Republic for aid to cope with a possible aggression from its neighbour, the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN.

"Since 15 October, the second combat company of the Foreign Action Group has been stationed in Togolese territory and has received instructions to improve the combat-readiness of the Togolese armed forces and, if necessary, to participate in the Defence of the territory of Togo.

"Since 15 December, the number of frontier provocations and incidents has been rising; an internal policy campaign in the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN is aimed at conditioning the population to expect a clash, military manoeuvres are becoming more frequent, discreet diplomatic action has been

started with a view to offsetting possible protests. Coercive measures have been taken against Togolese citizens who have emigrated to the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN.

"On 31 December, an AI news report revealed that preliminary steps had been taken in the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN to attack TOGO in the morning hours of 10 January. The same report mentioned a working meeting, presided over by the Head of State of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN, with all of his General Staff to make final decisions on the form of such action and the resources required for it. This meeting is to take place at the summer resort of COTONOU on the Atlantic. It will be held on 4 and 5 January 1977.

"On 2 January 1977, an unpublicized meeting between the Heads of State of GABON and TOGO. The principle of preventive action is adopted. The commander of the Foreign Action Group is called in by the two Presidents and proposes a two-phase action, the two phases to start simultaneously: 1. to attack and destroy the General Staff of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN at COTONOU, operating from the territory of GABON; 2. to enter the territory of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN suddenly from TOGO in order to tie down a maximum of enemy forces and bring back the COTONOU action unit.

"The first mission is entrusted to the Commando (ourselves). The second mission is entrusted to the second combat company, reinforced by the Togolese battalion reorganized by it."

#### MISSION OF GEI, BANALIA

explained by the Colonel commanding GEI

"To intervene in the Republic of Banalia (i.e., the People's Republic of Benin) with a view to dismantling its offensive system:

"By depriving the EM (i.e. the General Staff) of the Banalian armed forces of its leadership;

"By destroying a maximum of forces in order to diminish the morale of the country and its army;

"To create conditions favourable to the establishment of a Government not hostile to ZANGARO (i.e., the Togolese Republic) and, if possible, having a similar ideology.

#### INTENTION

"In order to do this I intend to carry out the following two sudden movements simultaneously:

/...

(1) To launch an attack from MOANA (i.e., the Gabonese Republic), with the help of an 'airborne' unit, on 4 and 5 January in the evening, on location KOUMEA (i.e., COTONOU) with a view to destroying the EM (i.e., the General Staff) of the Banalian armed forces there;

(2) To enter the territory of BANALIA (PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN) from the Republic of ZANGARO (Togolese Republic) with a view to disrupting enemy communications there, destroying a maximum of its forces and bringing back the KOUMEA attack force.

"As soon as the raid has been carried out and unless orders to the contrary are issued because of the situation, we will fall back across the frontier of ZANGARO (Togolese Republic) and regroup there, prepared to face enemy counteraction.

#### ARRANGEMENTS AND MISSION

"The GEI Commando is assigned the KOUMEA (COTONOU) mission and will operate from BENEDICTE (GABON).

"The second combat company stationed in ZANGARO is in charge of the second movement, reinforced by the Zangarian Battalion.

ZERO HOUR

"The Commando units are to attack the KOUMEA base on 5 January at 6.45 a.m. (dawn).

"The second company will cross the frontier in force at the same hour.

LINE OF ACTION

"For the Commando: in the event of failure or impossibility of carrying out the mission, to retreat by every means possible into ZANGARO territory (Togolese Republic), not to expect any help. During its mission: to do its utmost to destroy EM (no prisoners).

"For the second company: in the event of its being impossible to use the highway, to do its utmost to prevent the enemy forces from pursuing the Commando." (End of quotation)

In the above quotations, the coded names should be understood as follows:

GEI - FOREIGN INTERVENTION GROUP

REPUBLIC OF BANALIA - PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN

ZANGARO - TOGO

MOANA - GABON

KOUMEA - COTONOU

Once the Beninese revolutionary régime had been overthrown by the aggressors, the leader of FLERD appointed to head the so-called new team known as the Leadership Committee was to read out a proclamation, the full text of which follows, in order to commence the political exploitation of the success.

Below is the text of the proclamation which the aggressors were to transmit over our national broadcasting network if their coup had succeeded:

"Children of Dahomey  
Arise!  
The tyrant is no more!

"Swept away by the violence which it has itself engendered and maintained to an intolerable degree, the dictatorship, in its inevitable fall, is dragging down with it the accursed remains of the absurd 'PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN'.

"Dahomean patriots from inside and outside the country, unified under the banner of the Front for Liberation and Rehabilitation, have today launched a vast and totally successful offensive against all bastions of dictatorship and fascism.

"At the present hour, the forces of the Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey have completely destroyed or taken control of the large arsenal of violence and death which KEREKOU, his accomplices and their foreign masters had built up at various points of the national territory. This is true, in particular, at COTONOU, in the case of the Palace of the Republic, of Camp GUEZO and of the fortified residences in which the tyrant and his chief lieutenants had entrenched themselves.

"Taken by surprise and put to flight, KEREKOU and his chief officers, civilian cadres and henchmen at all levels, who shared with him an unspeakable fury against the security and liberty, the dignity and well-being of Dahomeans, have now been neutralized once and for all. Those who were not prudent enough to surrender to the Liberation Forces are, in any event, no longer in a position to do further harm to the Free People of Dahomey.

"Debased for too long by the betrayal of the noble ideals which their uniform stands for, humiliated for too long by the misdeeds and crimes of a handful of officers and soldiers who had gone astray, the regular units of the Army, the Gendarmerie and the Police are also now freed from the terror and paralysis in which KEREKOU and his private militia had held them. Returning to the path of the military virtues of order, discipline, courage and honour, the vast majority of these units have joined the action of the Liberation Forces; they have thus helped to consolidate the effective and definitive control held by the Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey over the entire national territory.

"As for the few misguided soldiers, officers or former dignitaries of the KEREKOU régime who are still led astray by fear and tempted by the suicidal illusion that they can flee or resist, the Front, determined above all to use the crushing superiority of its forces not as a means of destruction and death but as an instrument of concord, peace and reconstruction, promises them understanding and forgiveness. To that end, let them immediately give up any attempt at confrontation; let them unconditionally lay down all their arms; and let them raise everywhere, in confidence and sincerity, the white flag that shows they are rallying to the common struggle for the rehabilitation of one country!

"IN ANY CASE, FROM THIS MOMENT ON, THE FRONT FOR LIBERATION AND REHABILITATION IS TAKING SOLE AND COMPLETE POSSESSION OF ALL POWERS THAT GUARANTEE THE CONTINUITY OF THE STATE AND OF THE REPUBLIC OF DAHOMEY.

"CHILDREN OF DAHOMEY ARISE!

"We are inheriting a difficult situation; snatched from the talons of an especially cruel and devastating tyranny, Dahomey is today more torn apart, more discredited and more impoverished than it has ever been.

"The total failure of the ill-conceived and indiscriminate economic reforms has brought all Dahomeans, for the first time, face to face with scarcity and famine.

"At the same time, the structures for planning and administration, production and distribution, totally disorganized and deliberately deprived of the skills of their most experienced cadres, are entirely incapable of helping to halt the economic and social crisis.

"At the political level, the divisions that existed earlier between the particular needs of different regions and the ambitions of politicians have been succeeded by other divisions which are far more dangerous. A growing opposition, and even a risk of violent confrontation, created and maintained in the name of the class struggle, are smouldering between military personnel and civilians, between northern and southern Dahomeans, between the people and its leaders, between the popular masses and the élites.

"Too many men and women have been subjected, in their dignity and in their flesh, in their freedom and in their affections, to the blind and unjust rigour of a system of justice transformed by the power-holding minority into an instrument for hatred and the settling of accounts. Today the victims demand reparation and look for vengeance.

"In a world of interdependence, positions too often marked by vain demagoguery and gratuitous aggressiveness have contributed to the isolation of Dahomey from the most positive currents of international co-operation and, increasingly, from African solidarity.

"In the face of the grave dangers to the Nation that are involved in this situation, the Leadership Committee of the Front for Liberation and Rehabilitation proposes, first of all, to restore order and preserve social peace. Only a climate of calm and serenity can help to restore justice and liberty and to bring about, in real independence, the many advances required by the urgent task of rehabilitation.

"For that reason, on behalf of the Front for Liberation and Rehabilitation, I urge all Dahomeans to display patriotism and a sense of responsibility and to remain calm wherever they may be. I call upon them, in the higher interests of the Nation, to refrain from any intemperate reaction dictated by fear, by resentment, and even by the most justified outbursts of joy.

"To all States, particularly the neighbouring States to which we are linked by a natural complementarity and the needs of our common development, I reaffirm our determination to respect scrupulously all agreements and treaties concluded by Dahomey with a view to promoting and strengthening healthy co-operation between sovereign nations.

"Thus I invite all Dahomean men and women, but also all peoples and Governments friendly to our eternal Dahomey, to contribute to the success of the lofty mission of the Liberation Front, so that THE DAHOMEAN NATION, UNIFIED, FRATERNAL, DIGNIFIED AND PROSPEROUS, may at last be born again.

"CHILDREN OF DAHOMEY, resolutely faithful to the Manifesto of the Front for Liberation and Rehabilitation, let us reject 'not only the prejudices and exclaves of yesterday but also hatred and the spirit of revenge' for today and tomorrow!

"With our unified energy and will, let us create the instruments for the rapid strengthening and triumph of the noble cause of the Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey!

"Let us act together so that in the first light of this new dawn, the freedom and hope we have found again may no longer be called into question!

"FOR THE REHABILITATION OF DAHOMEY, CHILDREN OF DAHOMEY, ARISE!"

It should be remembered that this document is one of the pieces of evidence found among the personal effects of the French Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD, alias Colonel MAURIN.

This same document continues:

"1. PROCLAMATION (which you have just read)

"2. COMMUNIQUE FROM THE LEADERSHIP COMMITTEE

"At its meeting today, the Leadership Committee of the Front for Liberation and Rehabilitation took the following decisions:

"(1) Firstly:

"The following are immediately dissolved and prohibited throughout the national territory:

- The Party of the People's Revolution of Benin;
- The National Council of the Revolution, its Central Committee and its Political Bureau;
- The Revolutionary Military Government;
- The CDRs and the institutions of all kinds which, in the provinces, districts, communes, villages, town quarters and public and private enterprises, represented the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin.

"All attempts to pursue the activities of the above institutions in any form will be suppressed firmly and vigorously.

"(2) Secondly:

"The Front for Liberation and Rehabilitation reaffirms the determination of Dahomey to respect scrupulously all agreements and treaties which bind it



to any State and any international organization devoted to promoting and strengthening healthy co-operation between sovereign nations.

"More specifically, the Front for Liberation and Rehabilitation confirms the adherence of Dahomey to the Charter of the United Nations and to the charter of the Organization of African Unity."

The document continues:

"INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE FIRST BROADCAST OF THE PROCLAMATION

- "1. Sudden interruption (if possible) of the broadcasts of the Voice of the Revolution.

30-SECOND PAUSE

- "2. Presentation of the national anthem 'The New Dawn'.
- "3. ANNOUNCEMENT: You are now listening to the Voice of Dahomey broadcasting from COTONOU. In a few moments you will hear an important statement from the Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey.
- "4. Presentation of two or three different interpretations of 'The New Dawn'
- Sung by the Gendarmerie
  - Sung by a chorus of schoolchildren
  - etc.
- "5. ANNOUNCEMENT: And now here is an important statement from Mr. Gratien Pognon, Chairman of the Leadership Committee of the Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey.

THE TEXT OF THE PROCLAMATION IS READ OUT

- "6. Presentation of the national anthem.
- "7. Rebroadcast of the announcement and the proclamation in the following languages:
- FON
  - DENDI
  - YORUBA
  - MINA
  - BARIBA
  - ADJA
  - PILA-PILA."

## 2. PREPARATIONS

The act of armed aggression of 16 January 1977 committed against the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN was thoroughly prepared from both the material and the financial standpoint, as is eloquently borne out by the documents retrieved.

### (a) ORGANIZATION OF THE AGGRESSION FROM THE MATERIAL STANDPOINT

This act of armed aggression was organized on the basis of the contract concluded on 5 November 1976 between the so-called "Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey" (FLERD) and the French Colonel Gilbert BOURGHAUD, Technical Adviser to the Head of State of the Gabonese Republic and Officer-in-Charge of the Presidential Guard.

The full text of that contract is as follows:

#### "CONTRACT

"I the undersigned, Gilbert BOURGHAUD, undertake by this contract to recruit for FLERD (Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey) 90 technicians (that is to say, 90 mercenaries) - 60 Europeans and 30 Africans - who will serve as the basic element for overthrowing the present régime in an operation defined by the annexed OPS plan.

"I also undertake, in consideration of the payment of a first pre-operational budget amounting to FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE THOUSAND UNITED STATES DOLLARS (\$475,000), to assume all the expenses of recruitment, routing, transport, contacts and wages for the group of 90 technicians, covering a period of three (3) months.

"I agree that this first budget should be paid in two instalments of TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SEVEN THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED UNITED STATES DOLLARS (\$237,500) as follows: the first instalment at the beginning of the recruitment operation, the second instalment after the establishment of a first contingent of 45 technicians with friendly authorities which will ensure the payment, equipment, arming and maintenance of this personnel.

"The said budget shall be paid from bank account No. 521 X 1013 SOCIETE INTERCONTINENTALE DE BANQUE, 24 Boulevard Royal, LUXEMBOURG, for the first instalment, and from account No. 4882 BANQUE BORDIER, 16 RUE DE HOLLANDE, GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, for the second instalment.

"At the end of the said first three months, the expenses of the 90 technicians, including four months' post-operation leave, will be FIVE HUNDRED AND THIRTY THOUSAND UNITED STATES DOLLARS (\$530,000), which will be paid by the newly established régime created from FLERD and guaranteed by friendly authorities (H2/OB).

/...

"During the said period, subsistence and general and material maintenance will be arranged by the employer.

"I hereby declare that it should be taken into account that FLERD has paid to me in three instalments a study budget, as follows:

1. FIVE THOUSAND UNITED STATES DOLLARS: Expenses of an observation mission
2. ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND UNITED STATES DOLLARS
3. FOUR THOUSAND UNITED STATES DOLLARS

These amounts are recorded on vouchers for the purchase of means of transportation, travel expenses for various contacts during the pre-operational phase, payment of the air crew and transport of technicians from the training point to the OPS transit point, as well as miscellaneous future expenses for the co-ordination and preparation of the final phase.

"For reasons of security and in order to protect the secrecy of the mission, when the group of technicians has been assembled at the training point, none of them will be allowed to leave.

"The European technicians will be selected on the basis of their military skills.

"The instruction and training of the African technicians will be conducted by European technicians for a maximum period of 45 days, which may be reduced to 30 days.

"The readjustment of the European technicians will be carried out at the same time; at the end of this organizing period, homogeneous teams will be formed.

"The present contract will take final effect upon payment of the first instalment.

"Upon expiry of this contract, renewal in appropriate form may be negotiated individually within the framework of technical assistance co-operation.

Done on THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER,  
ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX,  
IN DUPLICATE.

SIGNATURE, followed by the words  
'read and approved'

G. BOURGEAUD"

/...

The friendly authorities referred to as H2/OB are:

HASSAN II, King of Morocco

OMAR BONGO, President of the Gabonese Republic

#### FINANCING

The arrangements for the financing of the attack are set out in the contract signed on 5 November 1976 between the French Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD and the organizers of the attack. Three types of budget are envisaged for the preparation and execution of the operation:

Study budget: \$US 145,000 (CFAF 3,625,000)

Pre-operational budget: \$US 475,000 (CFAF 11,875,000)

Post-operational budget: \$US 530,000 (CFAF 13,250,000)

Total: \$US 1,150,000 (CFAF 287,500,000).

This total does not include the cost of weapons, ammunition and means of transportation, which was paid by the friendly authorities, namely, FRANCE, MOROCCO and GABON.

#### RECRUITMENT

According to the contract signed on 5 November 1976, Mr. Gilbert BOURGEAUD, Colonel in the French Army, Technical Adviser to the Office of the President of the Gabonese Republic, was instructed by the organizers of the attack to recruit, under cover of the so-called Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey, 90 mercenaries - 60 Europeans and 30 Africans - referred to as "technicians", who were to provide the basis for the overthrow of the Beninese régime (see contract).

Thus, in accordance with the contract signed by Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD, 61 white mercenaries and 30 Africans, plus the aircraft crew and the two leaders of FLERD, landed in COTONOU on Sunday, 16 January 1977.

The mercenaries of European origin were recruited in various countries such as FRANCE, BELGIUM, SWEDEN, the FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY and so on.

The African mercenaries, consisting essentially of Guineans and Beninese, were recruited:

In Senegal, by the leaders of the Association of Guineans Abroad (RGE), including SY SAWANDE and SIRADIOU DIALLO.

In the Ivory Coast by the Beninese political exile AMADOU Tchinnin, living in Abidjan as the President-Director-General of COREIMEX (BP 11426) and by the former Regimental Sergeant-Major SOGLO Marc.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE MERCENARY ARMY

The mercenary army, known as OMEGA Force, as noted above, was composed of Europeans and Africans.

These mercenaries, coming from various countries, landed at CASABLANCA and were sent to the BENGUERIR base in MOROCCO for training.

The army was divided into:

1 General Staff consisting of six persons, including two civilians (POGNON and AMADO Fousséni Tchinnin);

4 combat groups, known as:

Supporting covering group: 25 mercenaries

Covering group - west: 9 mercenaries

Group Bleu: 29 mercenaries

Group Noir: 24 mercenaries

This makes a total of 91 mercenaries and two leaders of the Anti-Beninese Front.

#### TRAINING OF THE MERCENARIES

The mercenary army, based at BENGUERIR (MOROCCO), took the name Foreign Intervention Group.

The European mercenaries were recruited among former soldiers experienced in the use of weapons. Consequently, in their case the contract of 5 November 1976 merely provided for a short period of readjustment.

The instruction and training of the African mercenaries was conducted by Europeans for a maximum period of 45 days which could be reduced to 30 days.

The European mercenaries, who were the first to arrive at the BENGUERIR base, carried out target practice on the following dates at the following times, as shown by a notebook found among the abandoned documents:

- The first target practice, at 100 metre range took place on 11 December 1976;

- The first target practice at 200 metre range took place on 13 December 1976;
- On 14 and 17 December 1976, the persons concerned carried out target practice at 200 metre range with a weapon known as FAL (light assault rifle).

On 18 December 1976, the same mercenaries carried out target practice with a FAL weapon and with a weapon known as MAG.

On 23 December 1976, exercises were carried out with respect to the combatants' course and anti-tank rocket launcher (RAC). Training was also given in the use of signals.

On 30 December 1976, training was given in the use of automatic pistols (PA).

It should be pointed out that most of the African mercenaries arrived at the BENGUERIR base that day from DAKAR or from FRANCE.

Their military training began on 3 January 1977.

### 3. EXECUTION OF THE OPERATION

As can be seen from the statements of the mercenary BAH ALPHA OUMAROU and from the documents used by the Commission, the aggression of 16 January 1977 was carried out in two main stages.

#### I. MOVEMENT OF FORCE OMEGA (mercenary army)

##### First stage

Departure of the mercenary army known as Force OMEGA from BENGUERIR (MOROCCO) for FRANCE-VILLE (GABON) by DC-8 aircraft on 15 January 1977 with a cargo of war matériel used for the attack.

Landing of the DC-8 at FRANCE-VILLE airport at 7 p.m. and transfer of personnel and matériel to a DC-7 cargo transport.

##### Second stage

Take-off of the DC-7 from FRANCE-VILLE international airport with the mercenary army, including war matériel which was supplemented at that airport.

The flight between FRANCE-VILLE and COTONOU was direct, as indicated by the pilot's navigational chart, and the aircraft landed at COTONOU at 7.03 a.m., three minutes later than the time anticipated in the flight plan.

The landing made by the pilot and the use of the parking area built in 1969 during the "Pont Aérien" operation for flights to BIAFRA by the Red Cross demonstrate that navigational personnel familiar with the COTONOU runway were involved. This assertion is confirmed by the discovery in the documents left behind by the mercenaries of various items belonging to Mr. Léo ISBERG BJORN, a member of the Red Cross team which participated in the 1969 air activities at COTONOU.

#### II. ATTACK ON THE AIRPORT AND ON THE CITY OF COTONOU

As soon as the landing was made and the aircraft came to a standstill, mercenaries armed to the teeth disembarked while firing bursts from automatic weapons in various directions in order to prevent any approach.

Once the entire force was on the ground, they split up into a General Staff and four tactical groups, three of which had the mission of advancing towards the city in order to attack predetermined objectives. The fourth formed a support and covering group and the General Staff installed itself at the airport in order to shell the camp and the Presidential Palace and to co-ordinate the activities of the advancing groups.

The following text, an extract from one of the documents left behind by the mercenaries, describes the operational details of the attack in terms of space and time, as defined by the mastermind of the operation.

"(e) Force OMEGA sets out towards its objective:

preferably, by aircraft	)	to be determined in
if necessary, by boat	)	accordance with changes
or by aircraft and boat	)	in the enemy situation

## "II. Operational phase

"This plan is liable to change in the light of the enemy situation (i.e. to be brought up to date).

### (a) First stage

#### 30 to 60 minutes after the landing of the force

The force will divide up into three active groups plus a reserve group, which will remain close to the place of landing, guarding the means of transport.

The three active groups will advance simultaneously on:

The Presidential Palace: to be attacked and occupied

The Military Camp: to be attacked, occupied and manned

K's house: to be attacked, K to be neutralized

### (b) Second stage

#### 60 to 90 minutes

Search the western part of the town (eastern limit: Lagoon) with a view to neutralizing political persons who may man post, telephone and telegraph services, police stations, the radio station.

### (c) Third stage

#### 120 to 180 minutes

Establish control over the entire western part of the town (checkpoint on bridge on the lagoon);

Broadcast on national radio (psychological action), announce curfew;

/...



Train and use for operation 'maintenance of order' elements that come over to the side of the Force.

At this juncture, the team designated by the Front de Libération et de Réhabilitation du Dahomey should be brought forward (H + 5 to 6 hours). The reserve group will be responsible for its security.

(d) Fourth stage

The purpose of this stage is to establish control by every means possible over the towns of COTONOU, PORTO-NOVO and OUIDAH.

This goal will be more easily attained if the new Power can make a favourable impression. Broadcasting by national radio and manning of the postal, telephone and telegraph services will be of prime importance.

(e) Fifth stage

(several days)

This stage will consist of gaining effective control of the entire territory, including setting up the new authorities authorized by the Power."

Here, two observations should be made:

- The first concerns the duration of the military operations;
- The second relates to the mission of the mercenary army.

With respect to the duration of operations, the mastermind of the diabolical plan for imperialist armed aggression against our country, the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN, made the following calculations:

1. Thirty minutes to one hour to take up positions ready for the attack.
2. One hour to one hour and a half to invade COTONOU. In other words, a total of less than three hours to carry out the attack against, and occupy, COTONOU.
3. Four to five days to control the entire territory of Benin.

(No comment!!)

The mission of the mercenary army was:

1. To occupy the entire national territory;

/...

2. To ensure the personal security of the puppet President;

3. To purge and restructure the national army with a view to installing a puppet colonial-type army, staffed and led by white mercenaries and destined to serve as a docile instrument to perpetrate the ignoble task of installing and protecting the new type of colonial order through terror and the massacre of the people.

On this function of the mercenary army the General Staff document of the master plan of the attack, is particularly clear.

It states:

(a) that the essential task of guarding the puppet President should fall exclusively to Europeans, as many as possible from Force OMEGA, in other words, the first company of para-commandos of the mercenary army;

(b) the role of the mercenary army would be that of an army of occupation, in other words, it would be deployed throughout the entire territory and a puppet colonial-type army of intervention would be established, staffed and led by white mercenaries: "highly selective recruitment, training programme well adapted to the new purpose, suitable regulations to be drawn up".

If the cap fits, wear it!

Men and women, militant comrades of the Beninese Revolution, when our great comrade-in-arms, President KEREKOU untiringly affirms whenever he speaks of the imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, that it was an attempt at colonial reconquest you will understand what he means!

Today you grasp the full significance and scope of that affirmation, which brands the imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, as an attempt at colonial reconquest!

### "III. Post-operational phase

"This phase will, by definition, begin as soon as control of the entire territory is acquired, i.e., probably four or five days after the operation began.

"Two stages are to be distinguished:

#### "(A) First stage

This stage will last for between 10 and 12 weeks. It will require the support of all the European elements in Force OMEGA.

There will be a redeployment of all the armed forces in the territory following:

The redefinition of their functions (in constitutional terms), their inevitable restructuring (purging, new appointments, new order of battle, redistribution of major equipment, logistic arrangements, communications, etc.). This applies to all the armed forces of the country: air, land, sea, gendarmerie, police, ...

The partial constitution of a force exclusively responsible for Presidential security, an essential task to which as many Europeans as possible from Force OMEGA will be assigned. The aim is to constitute an imposing force as rapidly as possible. This will require highly selective and rapid recruitment and a training programme well adapted to the purpose. Suitable regulations are to be drawn up.

"(B) Second stage

Some of the European elements may be dispensed with during this stage. Some 30 Europeans (i.e. half) should be retained as officers in the Presidential Guard, so as to provide quantitative 'muscle'; at the same time European control over and influence on the armed forces will be progressively phased out. The aim is to give back to each of the armed forces its autonomy. This can be risked only if the Presidential Guard has the means of mounting a superior response.

"In conclusion, as soon as the operation is deemed desirable, the political will exists and the necessary means are available, it is thought that there will be every chance of success." /END OF QUOTATION/

Details concerning the great damage and the many victims resulting from the actions of the aggressors are set forth in paragraph 3 of this report.

STATES WHICH INSTIGATED AND ORGANIZED THE IMPERIALIST  
ARMED AGGRESSION OF 16 JANUARY 1977

Various documents left behind on the battlefield by the mercenaries in their hasty retreat and the revealing testimony of a captured mercenary, have proved categorically that the cowardly and base imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, against our country, the People's Republic of Benin, by a horde of drugged mercenaries in the pay of international imperialism, was fully planned and prepared long before by a coalition of reactionary States fiercely opposed to the revolutionary cause of the people of Benin and to the complete emancipation of Africa. In order to achieve its objective, this reactionary coalition employed Beninese and African lackeys and traitors as well as European mercenaries.

What States belonged to the reactionary coalition which was involved in this large-scale, criminal, cowardly attack on our country, our militant people and their Democratic People's Revolution?

Who were the Beninese and African traitors used as a smoke-screen for the attack on the People's Republic of Benin on Sunday, 16 January 1977, in the early hours of the morning?

Who were the real instigators of the imperialist armed action against the Beninese people and their Revolution?

Part one: The STATES IMPLICATED

I. MOROCCO

1. From 3 December to 15 January 1977, the Kingdom of Morocco deliberately placed the military base of BENGUERIR, near Marrakesh, at the disposal of the mercenary army in order to provide shelter for, prepare and train the criminal aggressors.

2. The Kingdom of Morocco organized the reception of the mercenaries by the Gendarmerie Royale as they arrived at the international airport of CASABLANCA (cf. the statement of the captured mercenary, BAH ALPHA OUMAROU).

3. The Kingdom of Morocco used units of the Gendarmerie Royale to guard and protect the base at BENGUERIR during the stay of the international outlaws, the mercenary criminal aggressors.

4. The Kingdom of Morocco provided high-level military personnel from the Royal Armed Forces, including Colonel DLINI, to draw up the plan of attack against the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN.

5. The Kingdom of Morocco provided the mercenary army with modern weapons and ammunition, as well as rations (M-type processed food ration), before they embarked for their base of operations at COTONOU. Those weapons and ammunition form part of one of the large stocks of military equipment left behind by the mercenaries in their retreat and therefore constitute permanent evidence of guilt.

6. The Kingdom of Morocco provided one DC-8 jet aircraft to transport the mercenary army from the military base of BENGUERIR to the EL HADJ OMAR BONGO international airport at FRANCE-VILLE in GABON on 15 January 1977 (cf. the statement of the captured mercenary and the flight plan).

7. The King of Morocco, HASSAN II, underwrote the contract for the financing of the attack for a four-month post-operational period, including leave, in the amount of \$US 530,000, or 132,500,000 CFA francs.

## II. GABON

1. The base bearing the code name "BENEDICTE", where units of the Foreign Intervention Group (GEI) were trained, is in the Gabonese Republic. GEI is one of the main nuclei of the international mercenary force whose main aim is to destabilize progressive régimes - in other words, to eliminate by armed force - the progressive régimes of Africa. It was from that base that the Second Combat Company of the Foreign Intervention Group (GEI) set out in October 1976 to take up positions in Togolese territory with a view to invading the territory of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN, on the pretext of alleged frontier disputes.

2. The Gabonese Republic offered the mercenary army its airport facilities at FRANCE-VILLE for the landing of the DC-8 arriving from the Moroccan base at BENGUERIR.

3. The Gabonese Republic provided the pirate DC-7 which transported the mercenaries from the airport at FRANCE-VILLE to its objective at COTONOU (see the flight plan and other captured documents, as well as the statements of the captured mercenary).

4. The Gabonese Republic provided the mercenary army with military supplies to supplement the equipment shipped from MOROCCO, as well as with cases of medicines and drugs (cf. the statement of the captured mercenary).

5. The Gabonese Head of State, EL HADJ OMAR BONGO, had a secret meeting with the Togolese Head of State, General GNASSINGBE Eyadéma, on 2 January 1977 in Gabon; the Commander of the mercenary army, Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD, was present (cf. the captured documents). The operation details of the criminal armed attack on the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN were worked out at that secret meeting.

6. After the meeting of 2 January 1977, the Commander of the Gabonese Gendarmerie was called upon to carry out the preliminary order of 4 January 1977, prepared by Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD, Commander of the Foreign Intervention Group and head of the mercenary army, i.e., the order for the armed attack on the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN (cf. documents).

7. The President of the Gabonese Republic, EL HADJ OMAR BONGO, underwrote the contract for the financing of the armed attack on the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN for a four-month post-operational period, including leave, in the amount of \$US 530,000 or 132,500,000 CFA francs.

8. The Gabonese State authorized and assisted the stay in Gabonese territory of stateless citizens of Beninese origin, most of whom had been sentenced to death following the failure of plots which they had hatched against the Beninese people and their Revolution.

This handful of stateless persons, with strong support from international imperialism, freely organized political meetings in Gabon for the purpose of hatching plots the outcome of which was the barbarous attack on the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN on Sunday, 16 January 1977.

The leaders of the stateless Beninese residing in Gabon are:

René ZINSOU, known as "BOBO",

Urbain NICOUÉ,

Gratien POGNON (travels between LIBREVILLE-FRANCEVILLE-MOROCCO-BRUSSELS-GENEVA-PARIS and ABIDJAN).

### III. TOGO

1. On the false pretext of an alleged imminent invasion from the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN because of frontier disputes between the two countries, the Togolese President, General GNASSINGBE EYADEMA, despite the normalization of relations between Togo and Benin since February 1976 following the CONAKRY agreements, nevertheless authorized the establishment on Togolese territory on 15 October 1976 of a foreign army, namely, the Second Combat Company of the Foreign Intervention Group from GABON. The principal mission of this foreign mercenary army was to cross into and deliver a surprise attack on the territory of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN and to neutralize some of the defence units of the People's Armed Forces of BENIN on Sunday, 16 January 1977.

2. The Togolese Head of State, General GNASSINGBE EYADEMA, visited Gabon on 2 January 1977 in order to work out with President El Hadj OMAR BONGO and Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD, head of the mercenary army, the operational details of the attack on the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN on Sunday, 16 January 1977. The analysis of the operation written by Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD categorically proves that such a meeting took place.

### IV. IVORY COAST

The Republic of the Ivory Coast also authorized and assisted the stay on Ivory Coast territory of stateless persons of Beninese origin, most of whom had been sentenced to death following the failure of plots which they had hatched against the Beninese people and their Revolution. Those sentenced to death and stateless persons freely organized political meetings in ABIDJAN in the Ivory Coast for the purpose of hatching criminal plots the outcome of which was the treacherous attack on the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN on Sunday, 16 January 1977.

The leaders of these stateless persons and Beninese traitors, strongly supported by imperialism and African reaction, are:

Emile Derlin ZINSOU (travels between PARIS-ABIDJAN-LOME-LIBREVILLE and MOROCCO)

Paul DARBOUX

Idelphonse LEMON

AMADOU Fousséni, known as "TCHINNIN".

It should be pointed out that the mastermind behind the Beninese traitors in the Ivory Coast is Paul DARBOUX, known for his personal relations with Jacques FOCCART, and for his unquestioning loyalty to the French Intelligence Service (SDECE), i.e., the French Documentation and Counterespionage Service.

The task of recruiting 12 mercenaries of Beninese nationality was carried out by the traitor AMADOU Fousséni, known as "TCHINNIN", a resident of ABIDJAN and self-styled Director-General of the CORIEMEX Corporation, BP 11426.

We also know that the Second Combat Company of the mercenary army known as the Foreign Intervention Group, which was supposed to attack the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN from Togolese territory on Sunday, 16 January 1977, withdrew to the Ivory Coast a few days after the failure of the airborne operation.

Finally, it should be noted that on Sunday, 16 January 1977, at about noon, the presidential FOKKER aircraft (F.28), bearing the registration TUVAA, of the REPUBLIC OF THE IVORY COAST, violated Beninese air space.

## V. SENEGAL

With respect to SENEGAL, 13 mercenaries of Guinean origin were recruited by a certain Joseph, whose real name is SY SAWANE OUMAR, a lawyer in his own country, one of the officials of the self-styled Regroupement des Guinéens à l'étranger (RGE) and political commissar in the army of the horde of mercenaries which launched the cowardly attack on our country, the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN, on Sunday, 16 January 1977 (cf. the captured documents and the statement of the captured mercenary).

It has also been proved that the Senegalese immigration services issued false identity cards - i.e., safe conducts - and assisted the embarkation of 15 mercenaries (13 Guineans and 2 Beninese) without the prescribed formalities, on board an aircraft of ROYAL AIR MAROC.

The individual in charge of the stateless persons and Beninese traitors in DAKAR (Senegal) is Bertin BORNA BABLIBA.

Part two: The Beninese and African traitors used as a smoke-screen for the armed attack on the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN on Sunday, 16 January 1977

In this vast plot to try to destroy the Beninese Revolution and the African Democratic Revolution, international imperialism used as a smoke-screen and a cover:

1. The so-called "Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey" (FLERD), a small political puppet group including stateless persons and Beninese traitors, the offspring of the former reactionary policy of our country, as well as other opportunists from the reactionary intelligentsia, petty bourgeois upstarts of colonial manufacture, originally entrenched in our cities, where they had always fomented speculation and counter-revolutionary conspiracy.

These degenerate elements of colonialism and neo-colonialism who sold themselves body and soul to imperialism are:

Emile Derlin ZINSOU: double agent of SDECE since 1950 and of CIA since 1954;

Paul DARBOUX: acknowledged agent of SDECE since the 1950s, and  
Jacques FOCCART's hired thug;

Bertin BORNA BABLIBA: SDECE agent and protégé of Mr. FOCCART;

Gratien POGNON: recruited by SDECE through his wife in 1960, and manipulated by SDECE, which used him against the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN in international affairs and called upon him to resign as Ambassador of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN in Brussels in August 1975. Since then, he has become one of the travelling salesmen of SDECE and its organization, "FLERD", travelling to various African and European capitals in search of financing, weapons, a military training base for mercenaries and the presidential portfolio at any price. In that capacity he was in the aircraft with the mercenaries on Sunday, 16 January 1977, was a member of Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD's General Staff and called himself "WAKOU", leader of FLERD. He was waiting for Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD to deprive the revolutionary régime of its leadership and ultimately to give him the order to proclaim fascism on Beninese soil;

Idelphonse LEMON, HOUNGBEDJI Adrien, AMADOU Fousséni, known as "TCHINNIN", and their other stooges in voluntary exile.

2. The so-called "Regroupement des Guinéens à l'étranger" (RGE) is a bogus puppet organization created by international imperialism with the primary mission of serving as a smoke-screen for an attempt to eliminate the Guinean Revolution through infiltration, sabotage and armed attack, as was the case on 22 November 1970.

Assuming the mantle and the language of "patriots" these exiles and stateless Guineans of RGE constitute a puppet organization, an active African nucleus of

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SDECE, whose mission now is to set itself up as an African mercenary army and to join European mercenaries in armed attacks on progressive African countries.

That is why the leaders of the so-called "RGE" have undertaken the large-scale recruitment of young Guineans deluded by the leaders of RGE both in France and in Senegal, young people whom they send for preparation and training to various military bases, including BENGUERIR in Morocco. RGE has thus become the main breeding-ground of African political mercenaries. Alone, in fact, its leaders, the lackeys of imperialism, are financially supported by the intelligence services of the powers of money and African reaction.

That is so in the case of:

SY SAWANE OUMAR, lawyer, Political Commissar for the attack of Sunday, 16 January 1977, on the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN. In that capacity he was in the aircraft with the mercenaries and was a member of Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD's General Staff under his mercenary name, JOSEPH.

DIALLO Siradiou, President of RGE in Dakar, Bachelor of Law, the moving spirit of SDECE in Dakar. That is why SDECE found him employment as a journalist with Jeune Afrique. It was in that capacity that he was ordered by his masters to create and maintain doubt and confusion among the editorial staff and management of Jeune Afrique regarding the Beninese Revolution and especially the armed imperialist aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, against the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN.

3. The so-called Union of Communists of Dahomey (UCD), comprising a handful of alienated intellectuals in France posing as "genuine Dahomean revolutionaries" faithfully follows in the footsteps of RGE and FLERD. In fact, although the leaders of UCD were not themselves on the aircraft with the mercenaries on Sunday, 16 January 1977, they were none the less behind the mercenaries with reactionary ideological support and propaganda hostile to the Beninese people and their Revolution.

These spurious Dahomean communists, supported and echoed in a chorus by the reactionary propaganda apparatus of imperialism and its African agents, have written that the armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, was nothing but "a deliberately staged sham operation". What intellectual perfidy!

In the last analysis, FLERD, RGE, UCD - all puppet organizations - are nothing but the objective appendages of that great counter-revolutionary and reactionary alliance between the white flag of imperialism and fascism in Africa known as the Organization of Free Africa (OAL).

Part three: The commander of the mercenary army and chief instigator of the imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977

It is obvious that this ignoble, barbarous, criminal armed aggression committed against our beloved country, the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN, and against our people and their Democratic People's Revolution, would never have taken place if the stateless Beninese and other African traitors had not found in the person of a certain French Colonel MAURIN - who is actually Gilbert BOURGEAUD, a French officer on active duty - a man fully prepared to lend himself to anti-Beninese and anti-African activities and to provide powerful logistical and staffing support from the French SDECE.

Who is this French mercenary with the rank of colonel known as Gilbert BOURGEAUD and for whom is he working?

Using the mercenary alias "Colonel MAURIN", Gilbert BOURGEAUD, born on 20 January 1929 at Caen (Calvados), France, is a senior officer in the French Army who since 1969 has been on assignment by the French Government to the Gabonese Republic as a military technical assistant. His residence is at 14 Rue Marx Dormoy, Paris 18ème; his address in Gabon is BP 4725 Libreville.

In the Gabonese Republic, this French senior officer served as training officer of the Presidential Guard and was responsible in particular for reorganizing the Gabonese security services, including the personal guard of the Gabonese Head of State. He subsequently became Commander of the Presidential Guard of the Gabonese Republic, a post which enabled him to bring the Gabonese State completely under his control. Finally, Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD, who is known to have personal and professional ties with Jacques FOCCART, currently a personal adviser to the President of the Gabonese Republic, was given the chief responsibility for reorganizing the French intelligence service in the part of Africa formerly under French rule in order to deal with the upsurge of the African national liberation movements. That is the reason for his most recent appointment as Technical Adviser to the Office of the President of the Gabonese Republic (by decision No. 02327/MFP/RA of 3 August 1976, signed by El Hadj OMAR BONGO) at a monthly salary of 500,000 CFA francs. His recruitment took place barely six months before the armed aggression against the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN and was merely a cover designed to enable him to carry on his criminal activities as an agent of SDECE in the African countries formerly colonized by France.

It is thus clear from the foregoing that Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD is not simply a senior officer in the French Army but the diabolical mastermind of the French intelligence service in Africa. The selection of a French senior officer of Colonel BOURGEAUD's rank and qualifications to take personal charge in the field of the armed aggression against the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN attests to the military and political importance which the instigators and organizers attached to the complete success of this vile operation aimed at the colonial reconquest of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN.

The large batch of documents of the aggressors' general staff abandoned by the mercenary leader Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD after his forces were routed was found to include the following documents belonging to Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD himself:

1. Laissez-passer No. 318/71, issued at Libreville by the Office of the President of the Gabonese Republic;
2. Laissez-passer identification card No. 253/69, issued at Libreville by the Commanding Colonel of the Presidential Guard;
3. Driver's licence No. 14896, issued on 14 February 1955 by the Director of Traffic and Transport in Paris;
4. Cheque-book cover No. 35-025-020T. of the Banque du Gabon et du Luxembourg;
5. French identification card No. 2048716, issued on 8 July 1968 by the Commissioner of Police.

In the light of what we know and of what we have stated regarding this criminal, Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD, alias MAURIN, he is still a senior officer on active duty in the French armed forces and an agent of the French Documentation and Counterespionage Service (SDECE) in the countries formerly under French colonial rule.

In order to assume his various duties, the French mercenary criminal Colonel Gilbert BOURGEAUD, who had spent some time in Morocco in 1952 before being assigned to Gabon (see certificate of loss No. 2634/BCA of 2 September 1970, issued by the Commissioner of Police of the city of Abidjan, Mr. ATTOKPA K. Edmond, certifying the loss of a driver's licence issued in Morocco in 1952), made a number of trips to various African countries, including:

- The People's Republic of Benin;
- The Ivory Coast;
- Morocco.
- 12 November 1976, flight No. 783 to Marrakech;
- 15 December 1976, flight No. 2019 RF to Casablanca;
- 8 January 1977, flight No. 085 RK to Libreville;
- 10 January 1977, flight No. 084 RK to Paris;
- 11 January 1977, flight No. 741 AT from Paris to Casablanca.

Colonel BOURGEAUD also made numerous trips to France for the purpose of recruiting mercenaries. During his last visit to France on 10 and 11 January 1977, when he stayed at the Paris Sheraton Hotel, room 2042, he held an important briefing session with the leaders of the mercenary army.

The contract concerning the organization and execution of the imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, against the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN was concluded between this French senior officer, Gilbert BOURGEAUD, and the so-called Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey, which actually served as a cover for those who engineered the aggression. The contract specifies, inter alia, the arrangements for financing the operation, whose cost amounts to 287,500,000 CFA francs, not including the cost of purchasing arms, ammunition, aircraft and other war matériel. The contract, it should be remembered, was guaranteed by King HASSAN II of Morocco and by EL HADJ OMAR BONGO, the President of the Gabonese Republic. The contract concluded with the French mercenary Gilbert BOURGEAUD also shows that the total cost of this criminal undertaking, estimated at more than 1 billion CFA francs, was to be reimbursed in full by the puppet régime that would have been installed if the operation had been successful. The country would thus have been sold to the French mercenary Gilbert BOURGEAUD and his imperialist masters for the trifling sum of 1 billion CFA francs, the amount of the debt contracted in order to pay the cost of this heinous crime. That was the crushing mortgage which the stateless individuals would have imposed on our hard-working people, cynically forcing them to their knees before international imperialism and shamelessly permitting them to be bled white by fascism, after which, as a last resort, they would have attributed their external debt of more than 1 billion francs to alleged mismanagement by the present revolutionary régime.

The question arises whether this French senior officer, occupying such a responsible State position, could have personally prepared, organized and directed a large-scale criminal operation like the armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, without the prior approval and support of all the political, military and administrative authorities which he was serving - in this instance, the French Government.

The question arises whether this French senior officer on active duty could have absented himself from his post to make numerous trips to the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN, Morocco and France without prior official permission from the political, military and administrative authorities which he was serving - in this instance, the French Government.

The question arises whether this French senior officer on active duty could have undertaken the recruitment in France of 68 European mercenaries, including more than 50 Frenchmen, and made contact in Paris with such puppet organizations as FLERD and RGE and in Morocco with King HASSAN II without the approval of the authorities which he was serving, particularly the political, military and administrative authorities - in this instance, the French Government.

The question arises whether this French senior officer on active duty could have left his duty station and taken up residence at a foreign military base, namely the Benguerir base in Morocco, without the approval of the authorities which he was serving, particularly the political, military and administrative authorities - in this instance, the French Government.

Finally, the question arises whether this French senior officer on active duty could have taken it upon himself to recruit Guinean mercenaries in France and elsewhere despite the resumption of diplomatic relations between France and Guinea without the approval of the authorities which he was serving, particularly the political, military and administrative authorities - in this instance, the French Government.

In any event, the people of Benin and their Revolutionary Government are firmly convinced that the chief instigator of the imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, against the People's Republic of Benin was French imperialism.

#### C. THE INTERNAL NETWORK

Certain elements of this internal counter-revolutionary network created by international imperialism are already known in Benin. The Special Joint Session of the Central Committee of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, of the National Council of the Revolution and of the Revolutionary Military Government directed the Revolutionary Military Government to continue its investigation with a view to uncovering all those implicated in this affair and completely smashing all the units of the internal network.

## CONCLUSIONS

Thus,

1. On 16 January 1977, the People's Republic of Benin was subjected to outright aggression by a horde of mercenaries armed with the most sophisticated weapons and including:
  - Europeans and
  - Africans.
2. This barbarous and savage imperialist aggression was carefully prepared, financed and perpetrated by French imperialism in collaboration with the Governments of the Kingdom of Morocco, the Gabonese Republic and the Togolese Republic and with the complicity of the Governments of the Ivory Coast and the Republic of Senegal.
3. The real perpetrators of this act of aggression aimed at colonial reconquest used as their instrument and their cover for carrying out their crime the stateless persons and traitors led by Emile Derlin ZINSOU, Gratien POGNON, Idelphonse LEMON, Paul DARBOUX and Bertin Borna BABLIBA and organized in a group called the "Front for the Liberation and the Rehabilitation of Dahomey".
4. The aim of the aggressors was to overthrow the present régime of the People's Republic of Benin, to halt its revolutionary process by force and by the physical liquidation of the country's present political leaders, to set up a puppet government in the pay of French imperialism and to establish a military occupation of the principal strategic points in the People's Republic of Benin by foreign (French) intervention troops.
5. The aggressors of 16 January 1977 caused significant human and material damage to the People's Republic of Benin, to the Beninese people and to their Revolution.
6. This armed imperialist aggression could not have been perpetrated without the active participation of an internal network, which will necessarily have to be detected in all its ramifications and neutralized and dismantled as soon as possible.

This aggression of 16 January 1977 against the People's Republic of Benin was not an isolated event but simply one phase of the execution of a vast imperialist conspiracy for the colonial reconquest of our rich and great African continent, beginning with the progressive countries, namely: Algeria, Guinea, Nigeria, the Congo, Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe, Mozambique, Somalia, Tanzania, Madagascar, etc.

What crime have these African countries committed that they should thus become the main targets of international imperialism?

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They have committed no crime except that of affirming and defending their right to independence, freedom, dignity, sovereignty and progress and their right to dispose freely of the wealth of their soil and their subsoil.

In the face of the imperialist coalition for the reconquest of our continent, the African peoples should unite, strengthen their bonds of active solidarity and form a broad front of anti-imperialist struggle to bar the way to imperialist aggression and colonial reconquest, in order to speed the process of decolonization, the establishment of democracy and the building of a new progressive African society free from any exploitation of man by man, from racism and from apartheid.

Victory belongs to the struggling African peoples, for their cause is just!

- ETERNAL GLORY TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN!
- ETERNAL GLORY TO THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION OF BENIN!
- ETERNAL GLORY TO THE MARTYRS OF 16 JANUARY 1977!
- SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, OUR ROAD TO DEVELOPMENT!
- MARXISM-LENINISM, OUR PHILOSOPHICAL GUIDE!
- DEATH TO THE MERCENARIES!
- DEATH TO THE TRAITORS!
- LONG LIVE THE ACTIVE SOLIDARITY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES OF AFRICA AND THE WORLD!
- READY FOR THE REVOLUTION!
- THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES.

COTONOU, 11 MARCH 1977

RESOLUTION OF THE JOINT SPECIAL SESSION OF THE CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION OF  
BENIN, THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE  
REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN CONNEXION WITH THE  
ARMED IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION OF SUNDAY, 16 JANUARY 1977

The Central Committee of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, the National Council of the Revolution and the Revolutionary Military Government, meeting in special session on 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 March 1977, in the Hall of the People of the Palace of the Republic at Cotonou, have taken cognizance of the report presented by our great comrade-in-arms, President Mathieu KEREKOU, on the situation our people have lived through from 16 January 1977 until today and have heard various reports relating to the armed imperialist aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, against our country, the People's Republic of Benin.

The Joint Special Session of the Central Committee of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, the National Council of the Revolution and the Revolutionary Military Government pays a sorrowful tribute to the memory of the martyrs fallen on the field of honour in order that the Revolution of the Beninese people might live.

The Joint Special Session unreservedly approves the conclusions of this record and of the various reports.

- It congratulates the countries which have participated in the various commissions of inquiry on the quality of the work they have done.
- It thanks all countries which love peace, freedom and justice and all the democratic organizations, national and international, which have, throughout the world, manifested their active solidarity with the Beninese people and their Revolution in connexion with the events of 16 January 1977.
- It congratulates the People's Armed Forces of Benin on their patriotism and the revolutionary fervour with which they crushed the aggression and ejected those international outlaws, those vampires, those hideous monsters specializing in mass crimes: the stateless mercenaries in the pay of bloody-handed imperialism.
- It congratulates the heroic Beninese people on their courage and the promptness with which they organized to oppose the armed imperialist aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977.
- It congratulates the leadership of the Party and the Revolutionary State of Benin on the determination with which it led and directed the resistance to the armed imperialist aggression.
- It recommends that the Revolutionary Government, under the state of emergency, take all measures necessary to defend the Revolution, its institutions and the integrity of the national territory.



- It calls upon the High Authority responsible for the national defence, the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, to take all steps to develop the application of the principle of "the people in arms" by consolidating the new structures of the People's Armed Forces of Benin, broadening the bases of the People's Militia and strengthening the means of national defence.

- It makes a patriotic and militant appeal to all the local offices of the National Council of the Revolution, to the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution, to the mass democratic organizations (trade unions, women, young people) and to all uniformed and other militants to redouble their vigilance, deepen their ideological training, close ranks around the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin and organize themselves so as to strengthen their defensive power and develop their productive strength in order that they may be able to stand up to any aggression from any source.

- Lastly, the Joint Special Session of the Central Committee of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, the National Council of the Revolution and the Revolutionary Military Government declares to the world that the armed imperialist aggression to which the People's Republic of Benin was subjected on Sunday, 16 January 1977, was not an isolated event but rather one phase of the execution of a vast plan for the reconquest of our beautiful, great and rich continent, Africa, beginning with the progressive countries. International imperialism wants to "break the Algiers-Conakry-Cotonou-Equatorial Guinea-Sao Tome and Principe-Brazzaville-Luanda axis".

- The Joint Special Session indignantly condemns all States and all persons that, in one way or another, instigated, organized and executed the armed imperialist aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, against our country, the People's Republic of Benin.

- The Joint Special Session invites all States which love justice and peace, States members of the Organization of African Unity and States Members of the United Nations to take all necessary measures and sanctions against the States and persons implicated in this criminal aggression.

In the face of this new strategy for colonial reconquest formulated by desperate international imperialism, in the face of this permanent danger which threatens international peace and security, the People's Republic of Benin makes a patriotic and militant appeal to all the progressive countries of Africa, to all peoples devoted to peace, justice, progress and national dignity, to unite and form a broad front of anti-imperialist struggle to crush any attempt at colonial reconquest by imperialism.

We shall triumph, for our cause is just.

- ETERNAL GLORY TO THE MARTYRS OF 16 JANUARY 1977!
  - ETERNAL GLORY TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN!
  - ETERNAL GLORY TO THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION OF BENIN!
  - DEATH TO THE MERCENARIES!
  - DEATH TO THE TRAITORS!
  - LONG LIVE THE ACTIVE SOLIDARITY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES OF AFRICA AND THE WORLD!
  - READY FOR THE REVOLUTION!
  - THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES.
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