

## SENGHOR CALLS FOR SELF-CRITICISM IN UPS

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(President Senghor's 13 May speech to the second National Council meeting of the Senegalese Progressive Union /UPS/--recorded)

(Summary) Comrades: What makes today's National Council meeting very important is that it is the first to be held after the tragic events which we witnessed in the past few months, and at Velingara during the past few days. The meeting is also important because it will discuss preparations for the 1967-68 agricultural campaign. These two events--political and economic--are linked. I shall try to show the connection between these two events in my introductory report, before dealing with the essential points contained in the three reports which will be presented to you.

This connection between politics and economics is natural. The present malaise in the party, which tragically caused the assassination of Comrade Damba Diop, shows how the differentiation is made between politics and economics, and how the priority was given to politics over the economy. When I say politics, you must understand that I do not mean the art of governing a state in the interest of the public. I mean politics by politicians to assume and maintain power.

Comrades, I am not against those who are struggling in this kind of politics, but today it seems that politics appears to have lost its real meaning. According to the Greeks, politics means the art of governing a state in the public interest. From this we can see that politics not only means the art of governing or the assumption and maintenance of power, but also the transformation of man and the amelioration of his lot. Unfortunately for us today, politics no longer means the provision of housing and employment, but the struggle for self-betterment.

We must therefore make the present malaise in the party the starting point of our analysis. The party's malaise which I foresaw and predicted during our last congress is artificial. It is not natural, because it is subjective and not objective; political and not economic. Normally in a developed country--in France, to give an example of a country which is familiar to you--the malaise in the ruling party may crop up because this party has not concretely fulfilled its promises by failing to resolve the economic and social problems which confront the majority of the people.

There must be self-criticism within any party; the object of self-criticism is to right errors which are inevitable in the daily actions of the party so that it may effectively achieve its objectives.

Within 10 years our gross national product, the result of the Senegalese national effort, rose from 100 billion CFA francs to 173 billion CFA francs. But the situation is still bad. Within this period the share which went to salary earners--particularly the Senegalese--increased quicker than production. The percentage allotted to education and training programs increases yearly; so do the percentages allotted to other services.

The government is obliged to spend several billion CFA francs on building modern houses, but the situation is still bad. Comrades, you know that the overall economic and social development of Senegal is not progressing badly. It is going rather well, because when we double the volume of production within 10 years, then comrades, it is all right, at least as far as production is concerned. (Prolonged applause)

Thanks to the action of the government, the party, and the National Assembly, both public and private investments are attaining the anticipated level. If we have difficulties and problems, this is normal in a developing country. The important thing is that we must solve those problems. As long as we continue to develop, the problems will become more difficult and complex. Look at France and Great Britain, for example: They are in great difficulties because they are more developed than we are. As long as Senegal progresses, its problems will be more difficult and numerous.

Thus we have difficulties over rice. Why? First of all, the world price has increased considerably because of the present international situation and because of the situation in Indonesia and China, which are the largest rice producers. There is also the fact that our importation of rice increased considerably in 1966--from 82,000 to 200,000 tons. The fact that the Senegalese consume more rice proves that their revenue has increased. This means an improvement in the living standard of all our people.

I have always laughed at those who use abusive language against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism. There are some Senegalese and even some party members who advocate the nationalization of foreign investments. In order to be able to nationalize, there must be abundant national capital, as well as many qualified cadres. This is not our case. Moreover, our investment code guarantees foreign investors against the risk of nationalization and insures them a reasonable profit. We would be wrong to refuse to cooperate frankly and loyally with those who agree to invest in our country.

Concerning the 1966-67 agricultural campaign, I will only point out that if it was less disastrous than forecast, it was thanks to the initiative of the government, the ministerial services concerned, and particularly our admirable peasants. All of them fought hard and won. The lesson which the party must learn from this is that one cannot win without a fight. But one must fight methodically.

It is essential that we should implement the plan for the 1967-68 agricultural campaign. The reports which will be presented here, including my own, will be of no use if they are not popularized among the masses, that is if we do not explain them in the vernaculars throughout the country.