

Z A I R E

29/1/79 - 31/12/81

Zaire has vicious circle of debt

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KINSHASA — The crippling extent of Zaire's external debt obligations this year and into the eighties mainly due to heavy borrowing at hard commercial rates during the seventies may oblige Western creditors to accept a debt rescheduling timetable considerably longer than the nine-year period granted under 1977 Paris Club terms, say officials in Kinshasa.

The unsatisfactory alternative, they believe, is a series of year-to-year crises producing short-term ad hoc responses. An 11-member group of Western creditor nations is due to meet in Brussels in March to discuss aid and debt rescheduling, but the meeting is thought to be dependent on a successful outcome to Zaire's negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) over a stabilisation programme.

Zaire's external debt is put at R3 billion at the end of 1977 of which R2,2 billion was disbursed and outstanding, with arrears totalling R328 m. Western economists believe that arrears have now reached R520-R695m but what gives particular concern is the fact that more than half the debt outstanding is projected to fall due before 1983.

Between 1973 and 1975 Zaire contracted R2,2 billion in external loans to

finance various manufacturing, transport and power projects. A considerable proportion of the loans of this period was in the form of non-concessional private lending, including large euro-currency loans from syndicated bank groups totalling R520m.

The size and terms of these borrowings are an important factor in Zaire's plight today. An authoritative comparison between Zaire's terms and those of 30 other countries which had a GNP per capita of under R217m in 1976, is revealing. Zaire's terms (the other countries in brackets) are notably harsher: interest rate 6,9 percent (2,6 percent), maturity 14,9 years (30,7 years), grace period 4,4 years (7,8 years) and grant element 20,6 percent (57,2).

Debt service for last year, according to end of 1977 figures, was projected at R413m — the highest ever (1977 — R326m) and does not take into account arrears accumulated at the end of 1977. Of this R325m was private, including R210m to banks.

Informed sources calculate that if new disbursements are not forthcoming, and if no additional arrears are accumulated, a total net amount approaching R1,2 billion will flow out of Zaire to its creditors from 1978-82.

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a co-product rather than a by-product (of gold). For some mines uranium, rather than gold, could be the key to future prosperity".⁴⁴ Production of uranium oxides was 3 111 tons in 1976, might reach 7 700 tons early in the 1980's and peak at just over 8 000 tons by 1986. If this is the case employment in "gold-mining" will be higher than historical data would lead one to expect given the level of gold output.

- 8) Diamonds: (Plewman apparently projects an output of about 11,3 million carats by 1980 - a 45 per cent increase on 1970). The picture Etheredge suggests is a far more static one : "In the case of diamonds there is in the short term no great potential for expanding production of South Africa's mines and none of the well known producers has plans for increasing output at present".⁴⁵ The one new mine (Koinaas on the west coast of Namaqualand) will add a ½ million carats in 1978 to the current 7 million carats.

No trouble in Zaire, claims Belgium

8/2/79
RDM
(358)

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH

WESTERN CAPE

KEKE VERENIGING VAN SUID AFRIKA

DSE TAK

All members are urged to attend the AGM held on Wednesday 4th October (114), University Avenue, University of Cape Town. This business meeting will be followed at 8 p.m.

Professor Neville DUBOW

Subject:

Professor Dubow originally of the Michaelis School where he won renown as Director of the School in 1954. The School is now vibrant with new activities.

AGENDA for the AGM/SA

1. Personalia
2. Minutes of the AGM held on 7 September.
3. Chairman's report/Verslag van die Jaarvergadering
4. Matters arising from the minutes/Sake wat van die Notule voortspuit.
5. Financial statement for 1977/Notule van die Jaarvergadering
6. Motion: The Western Cape Classical Association proposes to the local branches of the Association the proposal to increase the subscription from 50 cents to R1.

7. Election of office bearers/Verkiezing van ampsdraers

Huidige lede: Voorsitter: Mr. J. Sang.
Sekretar: Miss B. Keeson

Sekretar: Miss B. Keeson

Committee: Mr. P. Coetzee

Mr. P. Coetzee

Coopted members: Mr. D.J. Blokbergen, and student representatives from U.S., U.W.C. and U.C.T., namely Messrs. M. Sahd and C. Yon and Miss J. Frater.

8. Any other business/Algemeen.

BRUSSELS. — Belgium yesterday denied there were any disturbances in Zaire and played down the dispatch of 250 paratroopers on a training mission to its former colony.

"To the best of our knowledge, there are at present no disturbances in Zaire. I can confirm that everything is normal in Kinshasa," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

But senior Belgian officials had told newsmen the government was concerned for the safety of whites in Zaire, where 1700 Belgian soldiers helped repulse an invasion of Shaba Province by Zairean exiles last May.

There are about 25 000 foreigners in Kinshasa and southern Zaire, 8 000 of them Belgians.

The officials said there was a Franco-Belgian contingency plan to collect the whites in camps if there were serious troubles and possibly to evacuate them to a neighbouring former French colony.

About 250 crack Belgian paracommandos will be flown out, probably next week. They will spend two to three weeks at Kitona, a training base on the mouth of the Zaire River, some 300 km from Kinshasa, the capital.

The official explanation for sending them is that Belgium, like France, has military co-operation agreements with Zaire to reorganise Zairean forces after their poor showing during last year's Shaba invasion.

About 80 Belgian officers and other ranks have been training an infantry brigade in southern Zaire and it was thought that joint exercises with Belgian troops would help gauge the result.

Sapa-Reuter.

AL MEETING which will be held in Beattie Building (Room 114). This business meeting

Michaelis School of Fine Art, U.C.T. JERUSALEM (illustrated by slides)

but moved to the Michaelis School of Fine Art, U.C.T. The history of art, and became a partnership the School has been

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Atkinson

ry/Treasurer: Mr. J. Sang (Vice: Miss P. le Roux)

chools' Secretary: Miss B. Keeson (not available for reelection)

uwer, Mrs. M. Mezzabotta, Mr. Thom, Mr. P. Coetzee, Dr. R. van Stekelenberg.

J. Sang.

Department of Classics, U.C.T.

Phone: 698531 Extn. 213.

Mobutu denies

unrest

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Pres Mobutu Sese Seko denied Zaire had called for the troops to restore order.

About 250 crack Belgian

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Belgium's shock move in Zaire

10/2/79
N.M.
(358)

KINSHASA — Belgium's decision to send 250 paratroopers to the coastal base, Kitona, 500km west of here, has once again focused world attention on one of Black Africa's largest, wealthiest and

most unstable nations.

The official explanation from Brussels is that the troops were being sent to augment 28 officers and to train a brigade of 4 000 Zairean soldiers.

Unofficially, the

Belgians suggested that Kinshasa, the overcrowded capital where more than 3 000 000 hungry Zaireans live back-to-back with 30 000 well fed Europeans and a handful of Zairean rich, was a tinderbox of discontent.

To Europeans and foreign diplomats here, this explanation came as somewhat of a surprise, since the city has shown no signs of trouble and the Belgians gave their allies only scant advance notice of the plans.

According to Western diplomats and Zairean sources, several factors may have combined to bring the Belgians in.

Informed Zairean sources said there was un-

rest last week among the 4 000 Zairean soldiers being trained at Kitona.

They said the soldiers rebelled against lack of food and pay — a common problem in the 22 000-man Zairean army.

What apparently alarmed the Belgians, however, was that the Kitona brigade was being trained by Belgium to replace the 300 Moroccan and 150 Senegalese troops who have been patrolling copper-rich Shaba Province.

Officials here said that only the presence of what is officially known as the "Inter-African" force has kept Europeans from fleeing en masse from the southern mining area.

(Sapa-AP.)

Belgian *R.D.M.* paratroops for Zaire (358)

BRUSSELS. *13/2/79* — The first contingent of Belgian paratroopers left yesterday for the Zaire.

Prime Minister Paul Vanden Boeynants said on Friday that 250 paratroopers were to help train Zairean troops. But he admitted that their presence would reassure Kinshasa's 30 000 whites.

Foreign Minister Henri Simonet told Belgian newspaper editors at a confidential briefing last week there had been alarming reports that the starving black population might endanger the whites' safety. — UPI.

Zaire holds mercenaries

KINSHASA — A group of 12 European mercenaries were arrested by Rwanda authorities at the Zaire border on Wednesday, Zaire Presse reported yesterday.

It said a total of 48 mercenaries were reported in Rwanda. Most of them were Belgians but the group also included Frenchmen, Germans and Dutchmen.

The group arrested in Gizenyi stayed at Hotel Regina.

Their names would be released later authorities said.

Their aim was to create trouble in Zaire, official sources quoted by Zaire Presse said.

Their luggage was searched and arms and ammunition were seized, the sources added.

The news agency said the men were recruited in Liege, Belgium and their rooms at the hotel allegedly booked by a Belgian bank.

Infiltrators

Zaire paratroopers were sent to Goma, on the other side of the border from Gizenyi, to stop the possible infiltrators.

Zaire Presse added a member of the Zaire opposition, identified as Mr. Pierre Mbemba, left for the United States, supposedly to press the United States Government to side with the opposition against President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Last Monday 250 Belgian paratroops were flown to Zaire on what was officially described as a training mission lasting up to six weeks.

They went to Kitona base, on the mouth of the Zaire River, about 300km west of Kinshasa and over 2 000km from the Rwanda border. — (Sapa-Reuter.)

FAMINE IN ZAIRE

NM 28/2/79

Disastrous results of 18-month drought



President Joseph Mobutu

IN the sprawling and dangerously ill-equipped Mama Yemo hospital here, long lines of expressionless women sit clutching children with distended bellies, hollow eyes and protruding ribs. A third of all children admitted will die — half of those admitted for malnutrition will die.

Plagued by drought, disease, rampant corruption and the rapid disintegration of government services, people here in the capital and in the countryside of Zaire, one of Africa's wealthiest countries, are starving.

In Kinshasa, the level of malnutrition in children has been rated "chronic" by a team of American doctors.

In the country's normally most productive and most populous rural province, lower Zaire, the doctors have diagnosed a famine comparable to that caused by the terrible Sahel drought of 1973-74.

Plant diseases have ravaged crops, bad roads and soaring fuel prices have made land transport prohibitive, and bands of ill-paid and ill-fed soldiers prey on farmers and their dwindling stores. "They're simply not planting any

more," said missionary recently returned from the area east of Kinshasa. "It's just not worth it any more."

Government statistics, even where available, are considered hopelessly inaccurate. It costs money to register a death, for example, so few people bother.

But a group of American public health experts led by Dr. Robert Franklin of Tulane University were recently sent by the U.S. Government to help the Zairean National Nutrition Planning Centre assess the scope of the crisis. They found.

● In the sprawling "Cite," the collective name for Kinshasa's Black quarters crammed with 3 000 000 people, the level of malnutrition had risen from 35 percent in September to 39 percent in November.

● At Mama Yemo Hospital admissions for malnutrition have quadrupled since 1971, and the mortality rate among children admitted for malnutrition has gone from 23 percent in 1971 to more than 50 percent. At the same time the hospital has deteriorated to the edge of collapse — there are few medicines, no scalpels, no anaesthesia, no bandages, no X-ray film.

● Lower Zaire, the country's most populous and usually most productive rural province with a population of 1 700 000, is in the throes of a "veritable famine."

The doctors found a percentage of children under the "acute under-nutrition threshold" ranging from 16,3 to 26,1 percent.

In the Sahel region during the 1973-74 drought, by comparison, the rates ranged from 9,1 percent in Upper Volta to 22,5 percent in Chad. The widespread suffering there prompted a massive international relief campaign.

No accurate death records are available for lower Zaire, but returning relief officials said at least

military police have been robbing and killing people in the 'cite', said Joseph, a driver with a family of seven. "Nobody goes out after 8 o'clock."

An average income of 80-100 Zaires a month — about R53-66 at the official rate and about R14-17 at the more realistic black market rate — is less than half the amount needed to feed a family of four.

"The food problem in Kinshasa is getting desperate," Dr. Franklin said. "We rate it as a chronic malnutrition, but it's not at famine proportions. But it wouldn't take much to push it into famine."

Belgian diplomats have expressed fears that the

vast flood of refugees from Angola were all there before.

About 500 000 Angolans have crossed into Zaire to escape the civil wars in their own country since the MPLA takeover in 1975, and of these more than a quarter have crowded into lower Zaire — already the country's most heavily populated rural area.

International aid organisations rushed to feed and inoculate the refugees, but not the Zaireans: "For whom a solution is yet to be found," the doctors said.

The team recommended an immediate aid and inoculation programme, but they said: "The Government does not seem to have an efficient infrastructure available for this kind of situation."

State dispensaries in the region, relief officials said, "exist in name only," and the only health care is provided by over-worked missionaries or foreign aid organisations.

Medicines, imported food and even some relief shipments are reportedly siphoned off at ports of entry and reappear at high-priced pharmacies and shops catering to rich Europeans and Zaireans.

What food does reach the afflicted areas, doctors said, is usually manioc flour, which is almost devoid of protein and therefore little help to the children suffering from kwashiorkor. Under the traditional tribal system, men eat first, then women, and lastly the children.

Hunger and corruption, education Zaireans point out, are not limited to Zaire, but what embitters and demoralises the Blacks is that they are starving in a land of plenty, a country, which before independence from Belgium in 1960, exported food. — (Sapa-AP.)

SERGE SCHMEMANN Kinshasa

150 people were dying each day and freshly dug graves were in evidence in many villages.

The bloated bellies, red-dish hair and protruding ribs of kwashiorkor, a protein-deficiency disease, were common in the crowded villages among the children.

Unless protein-rich food comes soon, the doctors said, the children are threatened at the least with retardation of body and brain growth. At worst — and increasingly commonly — their starved bodies succumb to common diseases like parasites, measles, cholera, pneumonia, malaria and others.

In Kinshasa, the shortfall of food from lower Zaire has been aggravated by the quadrupling of fuel prices, a 100 percent devaluation of the Zaire currency and soaring food prices. Inevitably the strong prey on the weak.

"Since December (when the Zaire was devalued)

hunger in the capital could touch off food riots potentially aimed at the 30 000 relatively well-fed Whites. But in lower Zaire, a relief official said: "They're just quietly dying."

In that province Franklin's team diagnosed a "veritable famine." Ironically, lower Zaire in normal times is one of Zaire's most prosperous farming areas and a key supplier of food to the capital.

The immediate cause of the famine was a drought of 18 months ending last November. When the rains finally come, they struck with such fury that new plantings were washed away. Food production plummeted by 60 percent.

But the conditions for famine existed years before the drought. Rapid population explosion, the collapse of Government services and economic crisis under President Mobutu Sese Seko's corrupt regime, widespread pillaging by soldiers and a



en épluchant des pommes de terre.
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Il est fait et celui-ci est placé avant

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Nous l'avons (recommander) à nos
commander) à leurs amis. Tous sont

Simmering Zaire may erupt in violence any day

By David Jackson
The Star's Africa News Service

KINSHASA — Zaire today is a tinder box of human frustration that could flare up at any time in violent civil disturbances.

Alarming stories reaching Kinshasa of starvation in outlying areas are adding fuel to an already explosive situation that Western diplomats say has been at flashpoint for nearly three weeks.

The diplomats say International Monetary Fund

experts who have virtually taken over the running of the economy are racing against time to stabilise it before the public dissatisfied faction erupts into violence.

Iranian-style upheaval. Zaire is nearly bankrupt and is reeling from three years of drought and from widespread corruption. There are signs of wholesale dissatisfaction with the regime of President Mobutu Sese Seko.

are puzzled why it has not yet happened, one Western diplomat told me. "The city has been simmering for weeks, but maybe there will just be a gradual grinding to a halt if there is no upheaval," he said.

seeking to circumvent the IMF financial strictures through various subterfuges. One of these is a reported under-the-table deal involving cobalt, one of Zaire's main foreign exchange earners.

Unofficial reports filtering through from field workers in the Bas-Zaïre region in western Zaire tell of scores of deaths from malnutrition. One source said it was worse than in most of the Sahel region countries when they were devastated by the great drought of 1973-74.

In addition, cholera is reported to have killed hundreds of people in the north-east regions bordering Uganda. International efforts to relieve starvation are being hampered by the near breakdown of the country's infrastructure and by official theft of allotted food before it reaches the needy.

A Western source estimated that well over 500 000 starving people from rural areas had flocked into the capital to seek food. More were still pouring in. Students at Kinshasa University rebelled on February 20 in protest against the lack of food.

A planned march into the city was called off only after President Mobutu intervened.

But some students reportedly sacked a city market, urging bystanders to join in, and set up barricades on the road leading to the President's residence. Three students are reported to have been shot and wounded in the disturbances. Kinshasa is outwardly

calm, and going about its business. The 40 000 expatriates, including 12 000 Belgians and numbers of Asians, do not appear to have made contingency plans to leave the city in the event of an uprising.

The arrival of 250 Belgian paratroopers last month in Kitona, about two hours' flying time from the capital, as part of a military training scheme has had a reassuring effect on the white community in Kinshasa.

Background

By David Jackson of
Argus Africa News
Service

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The diplomats say International Monetary Fund experts who have virtually taken over the running of the economy are racing against time to stabilise it before the public dissatisfaction explodes into violence.

Some observers believe only the IMF efforts together with other Western and United Nations aid are staving off an Iranian-style upheaval.

Zaire is nearly bankrupt and reeling from three years of drought and from massive corruption.

There are signs of widespread dissatisfaction with the regime of President Mobutu Sese Seko.

'All the classical symptoms for civil disturbance are here and frankly we are puzzled why it has not yet happened,' one Western diplomat told me.

'The city has been simmering for weeks but maybe there will just be a gradual grinding to a halt if there is no upheaval,' he said.

Western sources said there was evidence that President Mobutu was seeking to circumvent the IMF financial strictures through various subterfuges. One of these reportedly is a massive under-the-table deal involving

Zaire on the edge of disaster

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The arrival of 250 Belgian paratroopers last month in Kitona, about two hours flying time from the capital, as part of a military training scheme has had a reassuring effect on the white community here.

In spite of the widespread malnutrition, food — including substantial quantities of South African goods — appears to be readily available in unguarded supermarkets. But most can be afforded only by Zaire's affluent elite. A can of South African baked beans cost the equivalent of R2.

Within a few kilometres of the starving townships, wealthy blacks and whites dine daily at smart restaurants where they pay R25 and more for a T-bone steak and a beer.

Chairman, Samst

Welcome : Marius Barnard

Monday Evening (8.00 - 10.00 p.m.)

PLENARY SESSIONS

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COBALT Fallout

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The flow of cobalt to Western industry remains a cause of continuing concern. It now seems likely that Zaire's plans to add a further 6 000 t to its annual capacity by the early Eighties could be delayed by up to three years, key observers told the *FM* in Brussels, the main European marketing base for Société Zairoise de Commercialisation Des Minerais, Zaire's official marketing body.

Meanwhile, in recent days there have been indications that the west could be hardening its attitude towards president Mobutu's copper and cobalt rich state in an attempt to force the government to take a much tighter hold on the countries ailing, indebted economy.

Midweek, Belgian paratroopers flown to the country some six or so weeks ago were withdrawn. Although initially billed as part of a training mission for a short period, many observers in Brussels had expected a prolonged stay in order to shore up Mobutu's position against mounting internal dissent and the possibility of renewed Katangan incursions from across the Angolan border. Additionally, the International Monetary Fund is now thought to be holding back credits following reports that Zaire has "iced away" hard currency revenue abroad including \$8m dollars from circuitous cobalt sales through Switzerland.

According to independent metals consultant Peter Robbins, "the west could be cutting its nose off to spite its face," especially given the delicate cobalt supply position.

Strategic considerations

However, the international banking and business community generally believes that Zaire should tighten up its financial affairs, though many accept there are inherent dangers in putting too much pressure on the country.

Cobalt is one of the most strategic metals emanating from Africa today and over 60% of the world's supplies are produced in Zaire, largely in Shaba province, the scene of two rebel incursions in the last two years. It is not a mineral produced in any substantial quantity — western world production in recent years has been around 20 000 t — but it is of immense importance in the production of heat resistant super alloys, especially those employed in the production of jet engines. It is also used in the production of magnets, especially for the consumer electronics industry and as a drying and colouring agent in various chemical applications.

Though there are various moves to substitute cobalt in, for example, the magnet sector with ferrites, there is no



President Mobutu . . . a hog of war

immediate possibility of substituting the metal in the production of aero engines. Experts believe it would take several years to prove that any re-worked alloy containing a small amount of cobalt or none of the metal at all could similarly stand up to the pressures of high temperature creep. Consequently the US, which does not produce any cobalt and imports around 60% of the world's production, is particularly vulnerable, especially given that the country's foreign policy is often geared to sales of aircraft.

At the moment Zaire's theoretical annual capacity for cobalt production is 17 000 t. Despite rebel incursions last May, Brussels observers believe the country produced some 13 000 t of material, 3 000 t higher than the previous year. Though some find this difficult to believe due to the exodus of expatriate miners during the fighting, one Brussels source says that many of those who left were not employed on current cobalt production but with a project called P2 in Kolwezi aimed at increasing production capacity to 23 000 t by the early Eighties. Many of those expatriates have not returned and some feel this expansion programme could now be delayed by up to three years.

Additionally, Zaire is thought to have boosted production in recent months by, according to Robbins, "sacrificing plant and machinery." Further, a large number of lorries carrying spare parts have been stranded in Kenya due to fighting between Uganda and Tanzania.

In recent weeks free market cobalt prices have hardened some 25% to over \$40/lb, though in relatively thin trading. Meanwhile Zaire's producer price remains officially posted at \$25.

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P3336/e

With near disaster facing him on a number of fronts, Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko has cause for yet further unease with the return of at least 90 000 of Shaba province's former inhabitants, DAVID JACKSON, of The Star's Africa News Service, reports from Kinshasa.

Thousands of Zaireans who fled the southern Shaba province into Angola after last May's abortive rebel invasion are now returning as refugees into their own country — adding to the number of problems piling up on President Mobutu Sese Seko's back.

Western sources here confirmed recently that at least 90 000 of Shaba's former inhabitants have returned — and the figure is shortly expected to exceed 100 000.

Many people in Shaba — formerly Katanga — covertly sided with the invading FNLC (Front for the Liberation of the Congo) guerillas in last year's invasion, which was ended only by Western intervention spearheaded by the French Foreign Legion.

The Shaba sympathisers — along with thousands of others — fled the province fearing retribution by the undisciplined Zaire army.

Now, following the amnesty granted by President Mobutu, they are trickling back again.

Their influx, coupled with the famine in the Bas-Zaïre region and the near breakdown of the country's transportation system, has led to food shortages.

Roads in Zaïre have been steadily deteriorating as funds for repair work have dried up. Only about 20 000 km of roads are usable in Zaïre now, compared with 140 000 km at the time the Belgians pulled out after independence in 1960.

Another former com-

Mobutu has new worry



President Mobutu . . . harassed and uneasy.

munications lifeline used to be the Zaïre (Congo) river, which is navigable for some 2 000 km as far as Kisangani (formerly Stanleyville).

This was a vital link between the towns and farmers, who sent their crops back to urban markets by boat. But waterborne robbers and the fact that many farmers are now selling direct to entrepreneurs flying out from Kinshasa have all but ended the river boat trade.

The Government's hopes of using the Benguela railway line to export its mineral wealth are being dashed by the continuing attacks on the Angolan section by Unita guerillas, who ironically are being given tacit support by the Zaïrean leader.

Officials of Zaïre's state-owned Gecamines mining company are now less optimistic about the chances of using the line to reduce reliance on the increasingly vulnerable southern route through Rhodesia.

Shaba, producing nearly 70 percent of Zaïre's foreign exchange earnings, ships out more than 40

percent of its copper through South African ports.

But a civil war in Rhodesia could cause the southern route to be cut. Even a temporary closure would hit the Zaïrean economy heavily.

As he keeps a wary eye on economic and political developments in southern Shaba, Mobutu is also being harassed on his eastern flank, where there are reports of mercenary activity in neighbouring Rwanda. Three battalions of the Zaïrean army were flown recently to the eastern sector to check any incursion there.

In the west, the Zaïrean president is thought to be uneasy about the presence of the 7 000 or so Cuban troops guarding the oil installations in the Angolan enclave of Cabinda — a sliver of territory between Zaïre and the Atlantic ocean.

And immediately to the north, the ousting last month of the pragmatic President Joachim Opango in marxist Congo-Brazzaville could bring new political tensions for Mobutu, Western diplomats believe.

The new hard-line, pro-Soviet leader, Colonel Nguesso, may attempt to pressurise Mobutu into cutting all ties with the anti-Néto Unita movement.

In the middle of an economic siege, faced with the spectre of unrest in his capital city, and with uncertainty on all his borders, the 47-year-old General Mobutu now has more cause to feel uneasy than at any time in his 12-year-rule.

The Star

Friday March 16 1979

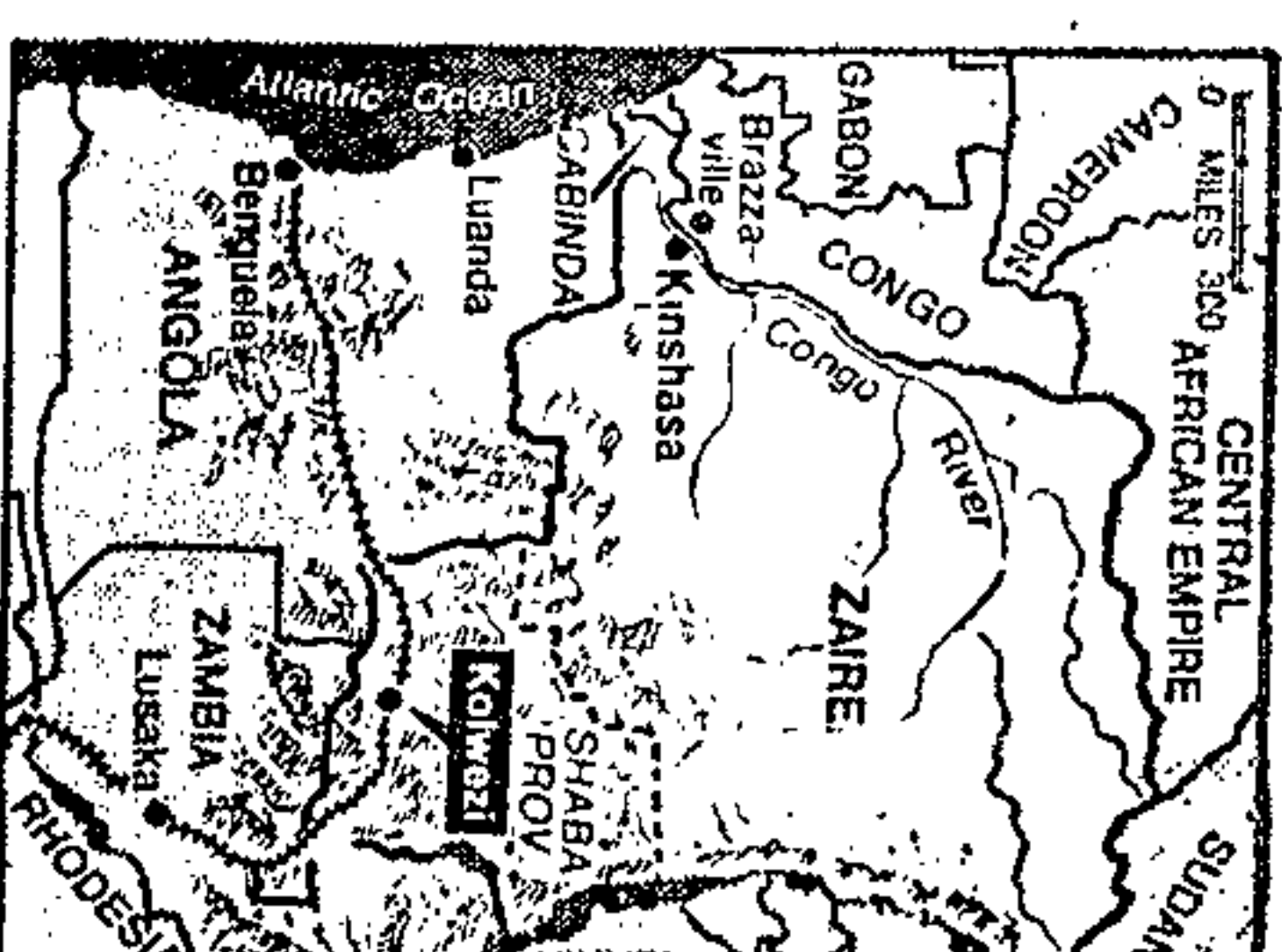
CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS INSIDE

Fear still paralyses the Zaire massacre town. What will the remaining whites do when the 2 000-man peacekeeping force from Morocco, Senegal and other African countries leaves? "We will leave one day before," said an Italian mechanic. In the meantime everyone steals. Soldiers steal, civilians steal, officials steal. There is no measure to stop it.

KOLWEZI (Zaire) down to the tight sockets and doors. Many of the bodies that were dumped in a common grave have been reburied now, in separate plots in a weeded patch the size of a football

stop it. They stop a thief with an armful, and he gives them some. The army and police have their own bands working for them. Everything is corrupt, everything is rotten.

For the 100 whites who have returned to Kolwe-



of them may have been taken hostage by the retreating rebels it is generally believed that most escaped and were evacuated to Europe without having been properly registered.

More than 1 000 blacks probably died — the doubt arises because they were scattered in several areas — and perhaps half of them were civilians. Many were killed by the Zairian soldiers and some by the French Foreign Legionnaires.

who had fled and later returned, was the second-to-last to get on the plane to Brussels. One man who stayed behind quietly watches the argument with a superior smile.

"I'll tell you," he said, his voice dropping out of earshot of the black waiter. "I love this part of the world, and I plan to stay here until I die. But the white man is finished here. For them it's a second indepen-

appeared. A Greek businessman reportedly took his 200 000 dollars (R169 000) and left the country.

The Belgian-orientated primary school was opened on January 9, to "inspire confidence," according to its director. It has only two white pupils among 900. The half dozen Belgian technicians who have returned to the mines, to take the place of hurriedly recruited Frenchmen who called themselves "work mercenaries."

BRIEFING

field at Mwanzaz. Cemetery, on the outskirts of town. There are no names, but each grave is marked by a steel post with a number.

On the litter-strewn main street, among the line of shops with single-storey, squat facades typical of a frontier town in the copper belt, perhaps half the stores have reopened. They are newly painted in pink and yellow, with the bullet holes plastered over. But they have few goods to sell and fewer customers with the money to pay for them.

"How does a town like this recover from something like that?" a Protestant minister asked. "It's not just the deaths — they were horrific enough — but it's what it does to the living, to the survivors.

"They return to their homes and they find nothing. No chairs, no tables, no forks, not a crumb. Everything looted by the army. They have no fuel for their lamps. Nothing to eat. A few shops are open but they have no money to buy. What do they do? They steal.

"Everyone steals. Thievery is legalized. Soldiers steal, civilians steal, officials steal. There is no measure to

— There were 2,000 before the invasion — and for the handful who remained throughout, it is a life of suspicion and fear, suspicion that every black man they see is a rebel in disguise and fear that the 2,000-man peacekeeping force from Senegal, Morocco and other African countries will leave. What will they do then?

"We'll leave one day before," said an Italian mechanic, who remained behind when French and Belgian paratroops evacuated his countrymen. With a handful of firebombs, he protected his house from looting, out of love, he said, for his eight dogs.

For the 200,000 or so blacks who live here, scattered in the shantytowns called "cités," stretching for miles, life is simply an effort to survive, scraping together something to eat and dodging the imminent roadblocks set up by drunken soldiers.

Kolwezi! revisited

"There are soldiers who say openly they will take their revenge when the Moroccans leave," said one. "Two weeks ago a soldier stole my friend's car. With the Moroccans he was able to get it back. He saw

the soldier again, and was told, 'Just wait until they go.'"

Although few will admit it now, some residents greeted as liberators the rebel soldiers who walked casually into town one morning with rifles slung over their shoulders. The fact that the rebels were able to stage such a quick and concerted takeover, many agree, was a sign that their preparation had been aided by the local residents.

In this context, the banners across the major streets, put up for a visit by President Mobutu Sese Seko, three weeks ago, strike an ironic note. "You have routed the mercenaries. Grand merci," says one.

"Welcome intrepid fighter," says another. To this day, there are no exact figures on the number killed. The bodies of 94 whites have been buried. An additional 30 are unaccounted for. Although some

Witnesses have reported that the rebels began killing whites within hours of seizing the town. Especially grocery-store owners or people looked upon as Government collaborators. But most were believed killed by the rebels days later, when panic set in with news of the arrival of the paratroops.

One point is argued to this day in the Elysées restaurant, the only one in town, where the handful of whites who venture out at night, congregate under a string of Christmas bulbs and blown-up photographs of Paris. "The point is whether the killings were manifestation of racial hatred or a tactic calculated to drive out the whites and deprive Zaire of expertise to run its vital copper mines.

Other points argued, over endless rounds of whisky are whether the Belgian paratroops should have preceded the French, and who, among those present

finished, too, I'm a veteran. I saw Europe lying in ruins. I saw villages destroyed. One week later people were out there working. Here, eight months later and nobody's working. Why is there no recovery? Because Zaire is sick, that's why."

Because Kolwezi is so essential to Zaire's economy, providing most of the copper that brings in 60 percent of its export earnings, the Government is eager to foster the impression that things have returned to normal and that it is safe for Europeans to return. "You see, the stores are opening, the streets are clean," said an assistant to the local commissioner. "It's as if nothing had happened."

The Government has provided the equivalent of 5-million dollars (\$4.2-million) mostly to shopkeepers, for an official "Kolwezi relaunching." But a good part of this sum, by all accounts, has simply dis-

have left their families in Europe. They act like scouts in a dangerous terrain.

Ten kilometres out of town there is a group of fewer than 20 Americans, all men, working for a company that is building a hydro-electric power-transmission line. Their camp, which before the invasion had 76 people living in the splendour of ice-cream making machines and video cassette television, was badly looted. "We can't do any construction," said Charles Hearn, the project boss. "We're just trying to piece things back together."

The library was sacked. The golf course is occupied by soldiers. The recreation hall, which has a mélange of Senegalese soldiers, wrinkled miners and prostitutes, and where a film called "The Menace" is playing, resembles a wartime beerhall. "I think," said one longtime resident, "one learns to live with incertitude." — New York Times News Service.

It doesn't take long on arrival to learn 'la systeme'.

Ten dollars to get past customs, 10 to avoid a "cholera shot", 10 more to get a hotel room and 20 to the international operator to put through a reversed-charge call.

That, at the visitor's level, is the initiation to what President Mobutu Sese Seko himself has described as the "Zairean disease".

At ground level it's the hungry Kinshasa black paying more than a month's wage for a 50-kilo sack of grain that may have been provided free by a Western donor, or losing his watch and wallet to a scavenging soldier, trying to make up for pay pocketed by an officer.

At the top it's President Mobutu, the self-styled "Guide" who is reputedly one of the richest Heads of State in the world, and his circle of relatives and officials cruising in big cars and reaping vast profits off foreign business deals, food, medicine and favours.

Somewhere in between it's the Belgians, French and other foreigners and free-wheeling fortune-seekers swarming after Zaire's abundant copper, cobalt, diamonds and rich farmlands.

It's open to question whether the endemic corruption of Zaire is the cause or only the most glaring symptom of a far deeper Zairean disease —

Graft — the Zairean disease

a reversion to the basic jungle law of survival in the face of crushing poverty, hunger and disease.

As it approaches its 20th year of independence, Zaire is bankrupt, its foreign debt is a staggering R3 500 million. Inflation rages at up to 100 per cent a year, roads and communications are collapsing, small industries are grinding to a halt and demoralised farmers are abandoning cash crops.

Cholera is sweeping through the east, while measles, malaria and sleeping sickness are making comebacks elsewhere. Medical services are near collapse.

With medical supplies siphoned off by officials, one Kinshasa hospital has closed. The other, Mama Yemo, is out of bandages, anaesthesia, scalpels, many medicines, X-ray film and even quinine — the most fundamental of anti-malarial drugs.

Whole sections of central Kinshasa are without phones and outside communications have nearly disappeared.

Of about 140 000 km of roads, at independence, only about 24 000 are still usable and fuel is scarce and expensive.

Of a fleet of 2 000 city buses brought from India only two years ago, only about two dozen still run

— the rest, stripped of any usable parts, rust in muddy fields.

After last year's rebel invasion of Shaba Province, 11 Western nations and the International Monetary Fund mapped out a new plan to rescue Zaire's economy from chaos before making any further aid or credit available.

For most of Zaire's 26 million people, the initial reform — a devaluation of the Zaire currency by 50 per cent — served largely to make food and goods even more expensive.

Other key features of the rescue plan are a crackdown on official corruption and putting expatriate experts at the head of the Central Bank, Finance Ministry and Customs Service.

But even barring another of the invasions or rebellions that have plagued Zaire since independence in 1960, economists hold out little hope for a quick recovery. "We're only talking about levelling out the curve of decline," said an American economist. "There's no real recovery possible for one to three years."

Still, the IMF banker installed last August in the Central Bank — former West German Central Bank director Mr Erwin Blumenthal — has earned

Serge Schmemann: Kinshasa

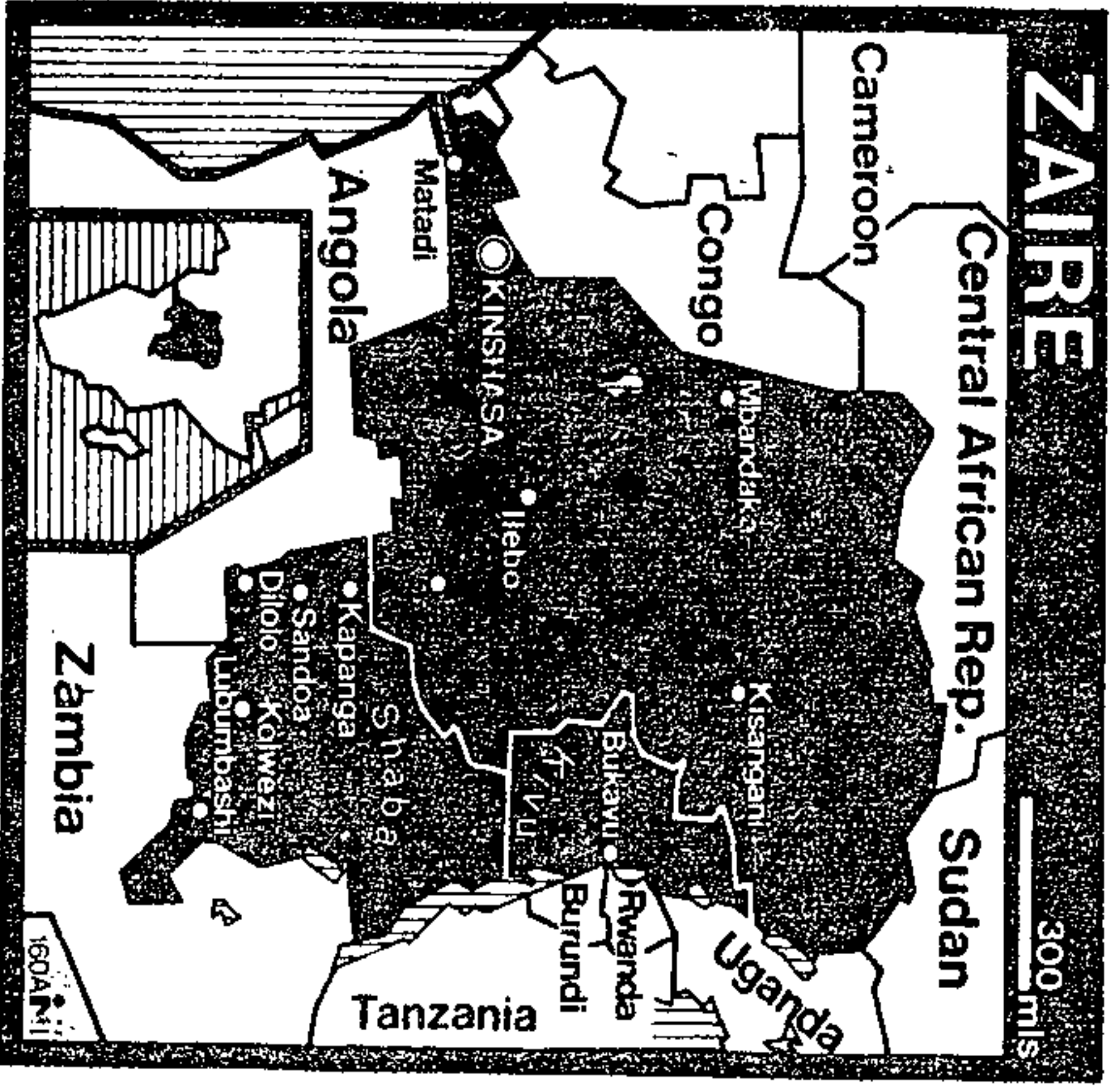
respect for his head-on attack on corruption.

Among Mr Blumenthal's first moves was to cut about three dozen top Zairean businessmen and companies off from access to Zaire's foreign exchange.

The group included close friends and relatives of President Mobutu, including his uncle, Mr

Litho Moboti, head of the Mobutu family clan, millionaire chairman of several export-import firms and probably the best-known of the "untouchables" thriving on politically-protected wheeling and dealing.

The crackdown has proved dangerous. Diplomats say Mr Blumenthal had to face



down an angered General who came with a platoon of soldiers to demand foreign exchange, and another IMF official fled the country after a group of men ransacked his home and attacked his daughters.

But observers agree that Zaire's plight cannot be explained solely as the result of corruption and mismanagement under President Mobutu.

They cite Belgium's dismal record as the former colonial power which left behind only a handful of educated Zaireans at independence, the bloody civil wars after independence, the fall of copper prices in the mid-1970s and the Angolan civil war that severed the vital Benguela railway from Shaba copper mines to Angolan ports.

The observers point out that it was not always so bad in Zaire, a country richly endowed with copper, cobalt, diamonds and farmland.

In the heady days after President Mobutu, then an idealistic army officer, seized power in 1965 and brought a measure of stability to Zaire, copper commanded good prices and Western powers poured in loans and aid to keep the heart of Africa out of communist hands.

President Mobutu borrowed big and spent

big, mortgaging his economy to throw up prestige projects like a 17-storey radio-television centre, a vast monument to "Zairean heroes" and an ambitious, still unfinished 2 400 km power transmission line.

Emboldened by the boom years, President Mobutu in 1973 embarked on a "Zaireanisation" scheme to nationalise foreign holdings and Africanise personal and place names, including his own.

Plantations and farms, stripped of expatriate technical skills and neglected in government development plans, quickly deteriorated and Zaire turned from an exporter to an importer of food.

Small industries cut production or folded. Subsequent efforts to bring the foreigners back found few takers.

Production of cobalt and copper in Shaba was disrupted in 1977 and again in 1978 by invasions of Angola-based Kantangan rebels, and President Mobutu was forced to call in foreign troops from France, Belgium and Morocco after his own dispirited and ill-paid forces melted away.

Today only a 1 500-man force of Moroccans and a

sprinkling of other African troops in a "pan-African force" prevents Belgians and other expatriates from fleeing Shaba en masse.

Despite the economic chaos, constant reports or rumours of rebellions, growing unpopularity within his own country and across Africa and increasing criticism from Western backers embarrased by his wealth and autocratic rule, President Mobutu maintains an uncanny knack to survive.

One Western economist involved in the IMF rescue plan explained: "Any change of regime would worsen the economic crisis in the short term. There's no economic alternative to Mobutu."

An embittered black university graduate put it more graphically: "At least Mobutu and his people have already filled their glass until it overflows, and we get a bit of the spill-over. Any new man would simply start with an empty glass."

With the memory of the civil wars of the 1960s still fresh, aware of President Mobutu's ability to summon foreign help and lacking any other leader not tied to an ideological or tribal faction, the blacks of Zaire, as one diplomat put it, "seem prepared to cope with a known evil for now rather than to fight and end up with what might be a far greater one." — SAPA-AP.



PRESIDENT Mobutu
... a Swiss nest egg.

Bribery rife in Zaire

Argus 12/6/79

(358)

IT is only 100 km from the Zambian border to this city, capital of Zaire's Shaba Province, but the journey is a gauntlet of roadblocks at which officials and soldiers demand bribes from travellers for the right to continue.

The rip-off, for that is the only way to describe it, starts at the border post of Masumbalesa where scruffily-dressed Zairean officials made it clear that it is something of a privilege to be allowed to enter Zaire.

The immigration officer scrutinises your visa for a good minute before announcing solemnly that it is in order but that you have to change 10 Kwacha into local currency before he can stamp the passport.

Pulling out a thick wad of Zairean notes he quickly dispels any thoughts that this is an official banking operation. You give him 10 Kwacha and he gives you ten Zaires. He then stamps your passport.

It is a fairly profitable transaction for the immigration officer. With ten Kwacha he can buy 30 Zaires on the black market and that represents half of what he might legally earn in a week.

The customs officer is less ambitious. He wants only two Kwacha for filling in the carnet. You could refuse but then he'd spend an hour going through your car. It is a lot easier to pay.

Ten kilometres from the border you come to the first roadblock where drums and an overturned car block the road. A

shabby gendarme saunters out of a lean-to and demands to see your papers. He asks for a cigarette. You proffer the packet. He takes three.

After rummaging through a suitcase and looking into the boot he waves you on.

At the next roadblock, twenty kilometres down the road, a youth in civilian clothes insists it is illegal for you have Zam-

Rip-offs and rackets abound in Zaire today. Even the President gets into the act. Report from Argus Africa News Service.

bian Kwacha and, after threatening you with jail pockets one of the two crisp ten Kwacha notes you have left in your possession.

There are five roadblocks between the border and Lubumbashi, so it can be an expensive, and at times, harrowing trip.

Corruption of this kind runs in a thick streak through Zairean society and it is not difficult to see why.

Soldiers and officials are paid irregularly by a bureaucracy that is as corrupt as it is inefficient. Payrolls frequently find their way into the pockets of senior army officers or civilian administrators and in any case the cost of living is so high that it is difficult for most officials to live on what they earn.

At hotels receptionists often insist there are no rooms until you produce a substantial banknote and

it is impossible to make an international telephone call without a kickback of at least ten Zaires to the operator.

Until air fares were nearly trebled earlier this year it was difficult getting on a domestic or international flight without bribing the check-in clerk.

Few business transactions of any kind seem to be completed without money sticking to various palms. Businessmen in Lubumbashi say that an import permit can cost them as much as twenty percent of its value in bribes and that few permits are issued without a kickback.

The endemic corruption among officials is felt much more acutely by the ordinary African. They can ill-afford the one Zaire demanded from them by a gendarme or party official for an imaginary offence, but are soundly beaten if they refuse to pay.

Like corruption, theft is endemic in Zaire and involves both the rich, often staggeringly wealthy by anyone's standards, and the poor.

President Mobutu himself has guided millions of dollars of state money into his Swiss Bank account, most recently through a secret cobalt deal which International Monetary Fund officials believe made him four million dollars richer.

UN supervises refugees' return

13/6/79 (358)

The Star's

Africa News Service

LUBUMBASHI — More than 100 000 people who fled to Angola during the rebel invasions of Zaire's Shaba province in 1977 and 1978 have returned under an amnesty monitored by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

Commission officials say the amnesty, declared by President Mobutu Sese Seko last June, has, for the most part, been respected by the Zairean Government.

They say that although several hundred of those returning were arrested and questioned by the army during the repatria-

tion process, all but a handful have been released.

"It is not a bad record in the circumstances," said an official. "Those still detained are expected to be released soon."

It is thought that among the refugees were at least 100 of the rebels who took part in the attack on Kolwezi last May.

Although covered by the amnesty, many of them were arrested and questioned by the Zairean army to establish where the rebel camps were in Angola and how strong the rebel force was.

Peace force in Zaire to pull out

LUMBUMBASHI. — A Pan African peace-keeping force will begin pulling out of Zaire's vital copper belt next month, following a ceremony yesterday in which President Mobutu Sese Seko decorated the flags of the force's five member countries.

Troops from Morocco, Togo, Gabon, Senegal and Ivory Coast were stationed at Lumbumbashi after French and Belgian forces helped defeat the Katangese forces which overran the Shaba region last May.

The Pan African force will make a phased withdrawal over three months and will be replaced by a 2 500-man Belgian-trained Zairian infantry brigade which has already arrived in Shaba.

The Belgian Foreign Minister, Mr Henri Simonet, was present at yesterday's march at which the new, heavily armed Zaire force was reviewed by Gen Mobutu.

The President has shown particular concern for the maintenance of security in Shaba and at establishing confidence in the Zairian forces, without which key expatriate technicians in the mining industry would not be prepared to remain.

The Pan African force is due to be flown out by a joint Belgian, French and American operation. But the move is being delayed pending a vote in the United States Congress next month to release funds for the troop transport, Western diplomatic sources said.

Two American officers visited Shaba earlier this week to plan the airlifting of 1 500 Moroccan soldiers, the sources said.

The Belgians will continue to train the 21st Zaire Infantry Brigade and will also retrain a 10 000-man division, an official communique said. It added that Belgium would help assure logistics for the Zairian Army.

But Western diplomats said the Belgians would not hold command posts. — Sapa-
Reuter.

Zaire tries to head off radicals

358
NIM
16/7/79

MONROVIA — Zaire said yesterday it planned to ask the Organisation of African Unity to sponsor a conference between Britain and all the warring parties in the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia's conflict.

Zairean Foreign Minister Mr. Nguza Karl-i-Bond, at a meeting with African foreign ministers to prepare for the OAU annual summit which opens in Monrovia tomorrow, added that his government would make the request to the Heads of State during the three-day session.

Whether an official Zimbabwe - Rhodesian delegation would attend any such OAU-sponsored conference is doubtful.

Mr. Nguza told reporters: "Zaire wants a meeting of all the sons of Zimbabwe in order to negotiate a solution which is acceptable to all parties and to Africa."

He said that as the "administering power" of its breakaway colony Britain also would be invited.

The Zairean Foreign Minister also charged that the White privileges enshrined in the constitution of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia "constitute a fatal flaw which make it undemocratic."

The forthcoming Zairean action at the OAU summit in the Liberian capital added up to an attempt to counter a strong bid by

radical African States to get the organisation to recognise the Patriotic Front as "the sole legitimate representative of the Zimbabwe people."

This phrase was inserted into a pre-summit resolution of the OAU liberation committee by the foreign ministers last week and was viewed as intended to close the door on negotiations involving Bishop Muzorewa.

Mr. Nguza said his President, Mr. Mobutu Sese Seko, had discussed the conference plan with the presidents of Tanzania, Zambia, Angola and other States.

In another development conference delegates reported that the drafting committee handling resolutions of the summit had rejected an Ethiopian draft seeking to increase assistance to the Patriotic Front by sending African armies into the field.

The draft called for troops to be dispatched to fight alongside the guerillas so that a provisional government could be set up in captured areas.

● See Page 9

May Bennett, Ridgeworth

- tomatoes
- fresh pineapple
- radishes

denials by the French-backed Emperor Bokassa.

President Mobutu has flatly denied his troops took part in the massacre, but has not yet allowed the team to visit Zaire. — Sapa-AP.

Cabbage, leaving the outer leaves to chop onion. Peel and cube the carrots. Thinly slice some of the inner stalks. Place the carrots, cabbage and the finely chopped onion from the tomatoes, pineapple and add to the salad. Toss well, then pile the salad in a double cross, then put them in an open up.

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Ethne Beard, Port Elizabeth

- chopped onion
- salt and pepper

hot. Chop up the bacon, mix mayonnaise. Season with a little salt.

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May Bennett, Ridgeworth

- salt and pepper
- paprika and parsley

Flat salad platter; cut side

000---

S. Drury, East London

- 1 cup cucumber, peeled and diced
- 1 cup cooked green peas

ts and peas with french dressing. se. Cover with greaseproof paper or use.

nd 2 T lemon juice.

Massacre of kids held in Zaire

MORE than 30 young survivors of the Bangui children's massacre in Central African Empire in which Emperor Bokasa's troops, possibly aided by soldiers of President Mobutu Sese Seko's Zairean army,

allegedly killed 100 children during a demo over school uniforms — are being held in a concentration camp near Kinshasa, capital of Zaire. This is the claim of an exiled Zairean liberation

movement, the MNC Lumumba. The movement called on President Mobutu to allow an African investigation team to visit the camp at Ecafele. The team recently found that the massacre had taken place, despite flat

May Bennett, Ridgeworth

- 1 medium size lettuce
- 2 onions
- parsley

- 1 cucumber
- mint (fresh)
- scallions

Wash and shred the lettuce, chop onions finely and parsley; keep a few pieces for garnishing. Wash cucumber peel and cube. Wash scallions, and cut tops off leaving a short piece of the green left on. Toss the lettuce, parsley, cucumber, onion and scallions together, salt and pepper. Pour over a little french dressing and serve in a glass bowl. Garnish with a few sprigs of mint and parsley.

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Mrs Futter, East London

- 2 lbs sliced green beans
- 2 chopped onions

- 1 d salt, level
- 2 cups water

Boil the beans (sliced) with salt and onions till cooked, then pour off the water.

Sauce:

- 1 1/2 cups sugar
- 1 d curry powder

- 1 heaped T flour
- 1/2 bottle vinegar

Mix the curry powder, flour with a little water. Mix well, so that no lumps form, and then add the sugar and vinegar, boil up and stir all the time, then add the cooked beans and onions, bring to boil again. Bottle.

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- 1 medium head lettuce, torn in bite-size pieces (4 cups)
- 2 cups diced apple
- 1 11 oz can (1 1/3 cups) mandarin orange sections, drained
- 1 6 1/2 or 7 oz can tuna, drained and broken in large chunks
- 1/3 cup coarsely chopped walnuts
- 1/2 cup mayonnaise or salad dressing
- 2 t soya sauce
- 1 t lemon juice

In a large salad bowl, combine lettuce, apple, orange sections, tuna and nuts; toss together. Combine mayonnaise, soya sauce and lemon juice; mix well. To serve, add dressing to salad; toss gently. Makes 4 - 5 servings.

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Zambia and Zaire set for cobalt killings

COBALT prices are flying high, so high that two of the shakiest economies in Africa — Zambia and Zaire — stand to make a mighty killing out of this copper-associated metal which is vital to the super-alloys used in jet engines and turbines.

The highly-strategic metal is now fetching more than \$25 a pound at producer price levels — or, more expressively, R48 000 a ton — a rise of 300% in less than two years.

With the price now holding firmly, Zambia could net R150-million this year, with another R550-million going to Zaire, from their respective productions of 3 000 and 12 000 tons.

Even cobalt-thin South Africa is not entirely out of the picture. The platinum producers and the massive slime re-treatment twins, Ergo and the Joint Metallurgical Scheme in the Free State, are all reported to be examining cobalt recovery programmes which could win almost 1 000 tons a year.

Zambia is already feeling its first flush of money for the past five years and is intent on doubling its cobalt production by the end of 1980.

So valuable is cobalt in Zaire today — producer of 60% of the free world's supply — the metal is being airlifted out of Shaba.

A main market-moving factor is that the Russians and the Chinese are going direct to the producers for

By SIMON CORNISH

supply contracts, instead of relying on the usual market distribution channels.

Cobalt got on the price escalator at the beginning of 1978 with the invasion of Shaba Province in Zaire — source of 70% of the country's production — which knocked out mining there for several months.

The incident threw a harsh light on the free world's dependence on unstable Zaire.

It also threw metallurgical plants in the West, which were turning out super-special alloys for jet engines, into a complete tizzy.

The threat to cobalt supplies struck when the aircraft industry had full order books for civil aircraft, largely due to the airlines' replacement programmes.

At \$25 a pound, there is plenty of speculation about finding substitutes over the next few years but all that can be done in practical terms is to conserve current supplies.

Current indications predict about 22 500 tons of cobalt will come on the market this year. Production of temperature corrosion resistant alloys will take-up 30% of that, chemical applications 30%, magnets 22%, tungsten carbide 8%, steel alloys about 5%.

Which means that free world cobalt production will remain inadequate for its hungry market for some time.

Zaire debate

Is mineral-rich, Western-supported Zaire going to make it?

Is it splitting apart or coming together?

No one seems to know for certain.

High-level US State Department officials will tell you that modest reforms are beginning to take hold under Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko.

But diplomats hardly are in total agreement as to the future of this former Belgian colony, three times the size of Texas.

Because of its size, minerals and history of violence, Zaire is one of those countries that arouses emotion and endless argument, even within the confines of the State Department. With important decisions on international financing for Zaire to be made by the end of the year, debate is likely to intensify soon.

Much of this debate will be confined to confidential cables and quiet discussion among diplomats and financial specialists. But it is possible to get a glimpse of some of the fundamental issues as they are debated by those most deeply involved from Robert Remole, former head of the political section of the US Embassy in Kinshasa.

Remole, now retired, says he was passed over for promotion and given a bad efficiency report because he disagreed with the picture of developments in Zaire being reported to Washington by Walter Cutler, US ambassador to that country until last spring, and currently

No one seems to know whether Zaire is going to make it, or split apart at the seams. For America, which aids the Sese Seko regime, the answer is vitally important, reports DANIEL SOUTHERLAND of the Christian Science Monitor News Service.

ambassador-designate to Iran.

Remole contends that his reporting from the embassy on Zaire often was either "killed or emasculated." In his view, Mobutu's regime is incorrigibly corrupt and is backed by an uncertain army that has shown in times of crisis that it will not fight.

This former No 3 man in the US embassy recommends that all military aid to the Mobutu regime be stopped, that co-operation on intelligence matters be ended and that the staff of the US embassy there — now among the largest in Africa — be cut in half.

Remole thinks Mobutu's chances of pulling his deeply divided mosaic of a country together are not good and that it is a mistake for the United States to be too closely identified with him.

Cutler, now in Washington, denies that Remole's bad efficiency report was a result of his dissent from prevailing views or policy.

On the subject of American aid and support for Zaire, Cutler said: "While obviously much remains to be done, during the past two years there has been sufficient progress toward a realisation of promised reforms to merit continued co-operation."

Cutler and a number of other State Department officials say continued aid to Zaire also will depend on whether reform continues.

These officials contend that cutting aid to Zaire is "not a viable option" at this stage and that, in private talks, the United States has been firm with Mobutu in its urging of reforms.

"We're relatively more optimistic than we were a few months ago for the simple reason that we get the impression Mobutu is trying a little harder," said one official in the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs.

Expressing what apparently is the top-level view at the State Department, officials briefing reporters recently also have asserted that the most blatant corruption in Zaire — the "Mercedes and champagne" extravagance of high officials — has been reduced, thanks to the insistence of the International Monetary Fund.

"Nonsense," says Remole. "Half the foreign exchange in the country still isn't under control."

And Bob Remole does not stand alone.

HONEY CAKE

1 cup flour
4 t baking powder
2 T butter

3 T honey

Jan

if it is too thick. Chill in a large bowl. Before serving pour on sour cream and sprinkle with chopped chives.

Cat

to boil.

at and soak

ed rest of

tender. Cool.

remaining

a few reserved

le with Worcester

th cream and

Sue J

strips.

h white vinegar

short a time as

Somerset West.
Wrench Town Bakery, Observatory; Good Hope Bakery, Elsie's River; Ultra Bakery,
Checkers, Poto' Go...
Princess macaroni,
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ngabamYama njengoko in
abasebenzi abangabanye
imveliso, kodwa imvelis

Zaire Cabinet reshuffled

6356

PRESIDENT Mobutu have been given others.
Sese Seko has step-
ped down as Defence
Minister, fired 13
other Ministers and
barred members of
the new Cabinet from
engaging in private
business.

Nine Ministers have
either kept their port-
folios — including Pre-
mier Boboloko Lokonga
and Foreign Minister
Nguzi Karl T'Boho — or
aimed at decentralising
power and reducing in-
fluence-peddling by bar-
ring persons important
in one field from exer-
cising authority in others.

The shake-up appears
aimed at decentralising
power and reducing in-
fluence-peddling by bar-
ring persons important
in one field from exer-
cising authority in others.

A number of directors
of state enterprises who
were recently called be-
fore Parliament to an-
swer charges of misman-
agement or fraud have
been discharged.
The judicial system has
also been reorganised. The
new office of Attorney
General will fall under
the Justice Ministry, cre-
ated to replace the old
Judicial Council.

Zaire has been battling
to recover financial equi-
librium — after years of
corruption, unwise spend-
ing and economic misfortune
— at the behest of West-
ern leaders who have
demanded reform as a
condition for re-financing
the African country's
huge foreign debt —

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lento kunyanzeleke ukuba ki
Nangona aba bagxothweyo i
abamnyama, Nangona bathe b
bamnyama bame bemi kwicala
lokugala logwayimbo indoda
abamnyama xa bebemengaphi
"Siliapha sonke yaye iing
Ayanda amanani! abantu ab
abafundi base University
zikolo U.W.C., Hewat, Pe
Abafundi bathe abasebenzi
Fattis & Montis ingathengw
Umbutho oy! Western Provi
ukuba angayithengi! imvel
Umbutho oy! South Africa
zikolo ezinonxibelelwano
bagashwe. Yaye akufuneki
Abafundi base U.C.T. bay
Bacele ukuba imveliso za
Umbutho oy! Women for Pe
kunye nabasebenzi.

Umbutho walapha ekapa o
wakhupha istatement uxh

KINSHASA — Thousands of people in Zaire have been plunged into financial ruin in an attempt at currency reform by the near-bankrupt government.

The government has been blamed for deaths and economic chaos according to diplomatic and business sources in the country.

Diplomatic sources say the currency reform effort, which involved the recall of more than 90% of the nation's currency at the close of last year, was a failure. They say black marketeers and the country's privileged elite nearly all escaped by being forewarned or helped by corrupt officials.

The latest disaster for the Zairean economy comes as the government of President Mobutu Sese Seko, already scheduled to get \$190-million in international help this year, is seeking a further loan from the

Economic

358

chaos hits

RDM 26/2/80
thousands

in Zaire

World Bank to cover a deficit projected at as much as \$370-million.

Pres Mobutu agreed to reforms demanded by the International Monetary Fund — including devaluation of the currency by more than 80% in the last 15 months. — UPI.

Mobutu's stiff challenge in crisis-ridden Zaire

358
4/3/80
BD

New measures announced by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko are intended to tighten up discipline in the army, notorious for its brutality and repression, and weed out corruption in the police force. He has plans to reform education too.

But observers are sceptical about the measures. They do not think things will alter much. For example, the secret police, the National Documenta-tion Centre (CND) will be pruned of some of its more ruthless elements, but it has now been empowered to carry out house visits and searches.

In the field of education, the govern-ment has set up a national commission to reform the primary and high school systems. To cope with the growing numbers of festive young people, who form 50 per cent of the country's slightly more than 26 million pop-ulation, the government is laying emphasis on technical training to take in those who do not make it to the national univer-sity of Zaire, which is in three sections — at Kinshasa, Lubumbashi and Kisangani.

The reforms are believ-ed to have been introduc-ed to appease the dis-enchantened students. Toward the end of January, university students blocked the main highway from Kinshasa to the Atlantic Ocean town of Matadi in protest against delays in grant payments, highly prohibitive enrol-ment fees and poor living conditions.

The Presidential Guard opened fire on the demonstrators, injuring scores of them. This protest was followed by other demonstrations at several schools in the first week of February.

The student protests are symptomatic of the large-scale dissatisfaction in the country over Zaire's critical economic state. Inflation, which peaked 100 per cent in 1973, con-tinued unabated at an

VICTOR NDOVI: London

average rate of 60 to 70 per cent in 1979. For the ordinary Zairean this stark economic picture means severe hardships.

While today's pay rates are 60 per cent below 1970 levels, food prices have shot up alarmingly. The price of a loaf of bread has risen from the average equivalent of about 27c to R1.50 in three years. To make the situation worse, there has been a drought rivaling the Sahel drought of the 70s.

Late last December pop-ular resentment surfaced during a currency switch which resulted in the loss of substantial amounts of money by Zaireans. Of-ficially the exercise was designed to revitalise the economy by recovering sums reportedly salted away by speculators. All old five and ten Zaire notes had to be exchanged for fresh notes — and only three banking days were allowed for the operation.

The rules laid down that Zaireans could exchange up to R1 350 (3 000 Zaires) and businesses up to R9 000 (20 000 Zaires) with half of the exchange automatically placed on bank deposit. But black marketeers hastily sprang up to flout the exchange restrictions.

Several bank employees sought commissions "for their services" as did the police, who manned strategic points in the long queues. According to the Kinshasa newspaper, Elima, many people were left with useless old notes.

The declining economic situation is further com-pounded by the chaotic

mismanagement and dis-heartening inefficiency of state enterprises.

Of the 131 state cor-porations, 55 of which totally depend on govern-ment subsidies, none is economically viable. Incensed by heavy losses which they have per-sistently incurred, Pres-ident Mobutu has now drastically streamlined them in the hope of mak-ing them profitable.

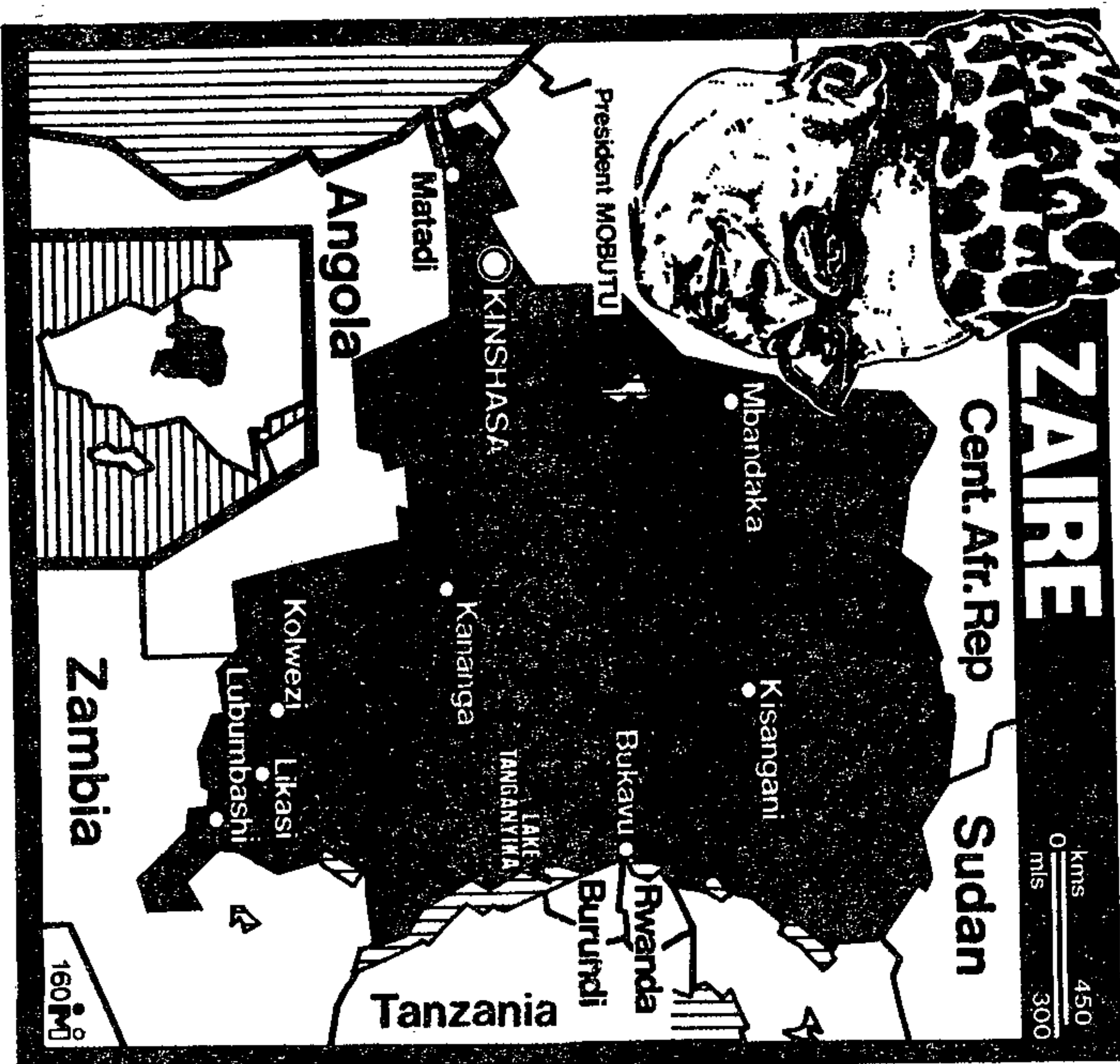
This is not the first time that Zairean students have protested against economic hardships. In June 1969 students from the then Lovanium University (now the Kinshasa section of the national university) took to the streets of Kinshasa in protest against rising inflation and financial ruthlessness. The CND marchers.

The students tried again

two years later, but these demonstrators were treated equally brutally. The authorities went further by forcing students into national military service. Those who evaded the draft were severely penalised.

These harsh measures only temporarily halted student agitation against the country's social ills.

In some cases some problems were so glaring that the authorities were



compelled to act. In late January, the President confirmed reports that former State Com-missioner (Minister) for Higher Education and Scientific Research, Mungul Diaka, had left the country with his family and other unnamed people after the President had ordered in-vestigations into the af-fairs of the national air-line, Air Zaire, and the customs and excise department.

More than 16 000 000 Zaires (R7 500 000) is still outstanding in loans to the state coffee board, Lozacaf. In an announce-ment in Parliament, the President said it would be "unjust to leave un-punished" all those who have squandered public money.

He said that one month would be given to those who owed Lozacaf money, to find ways of repaying their loans.

Despite this grim war-ning, President Mobutu has however shown less firmness towards those in high office. In future all investigations against top officials alleged to have misused public funds, will only be instituted with the express permission of the President. The move is aimed at dampening vehe-ment public criticism of national leaders involved in corruption and bribery.

The Zairean parliament has been noticeably bold in its criticisms of shoddy performances by ministers, government of-ficials and ministries. This outspokenness by parlia-ment has now displeased the President.

What remains conten-tious, however, is whether President Mobutu's loudly acclaimed reforms were introduced in genuine concern for change in the country's political system, or whether they are designed to bring in exter-nal economic aid which Zaire badly needs to revive its sagging economic fortunes.

Mobutu acts to quieten his people

NEW measures announced by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese

Seko are intended to tighten up discipline in the Army, notorious for its brutality and repression, and weed out corruption in the police force. He has plans to reform education too.

But observers are sceptical about the measures. They do not think things will alter much. For example, the secret police, the National Documentation Centre (CND) will be pruned of some of its more ruthless elements but it has now been empowered to carry out house visits and searches.

In the field of education the Government has set up a national commission to reform the primary and high school systems. To cope with the growing numbers of restive young people, who form 50 per cent of the country's slightly more than 26 million population, the Government is laying emphasis on technical training to take in those who do not make it to the National University of Zaire, which is in three

sections — at Kinshasa, Lubumbashi and Kisangani.

The reforms are believed to have been introduced to appease the disenchanted students. Towards the end of January university students blocked the main highway from Kinshasa to the Atlantic Ocean town of Matadi in protest against delays in grant payments, highly prohibitive enrolment fees and poor living conditions.

In retaliation the Presidential Guard opened fire on the demonstrators,

**VICTOR
NDLOVI
Kinshasa**

injuring scores of them. This protest was followed by other demonstrations at several schools in the first week of February.

The student protests are symptomatic of the large-scale dissatisfaction in the country over Zaire's critical economic state.

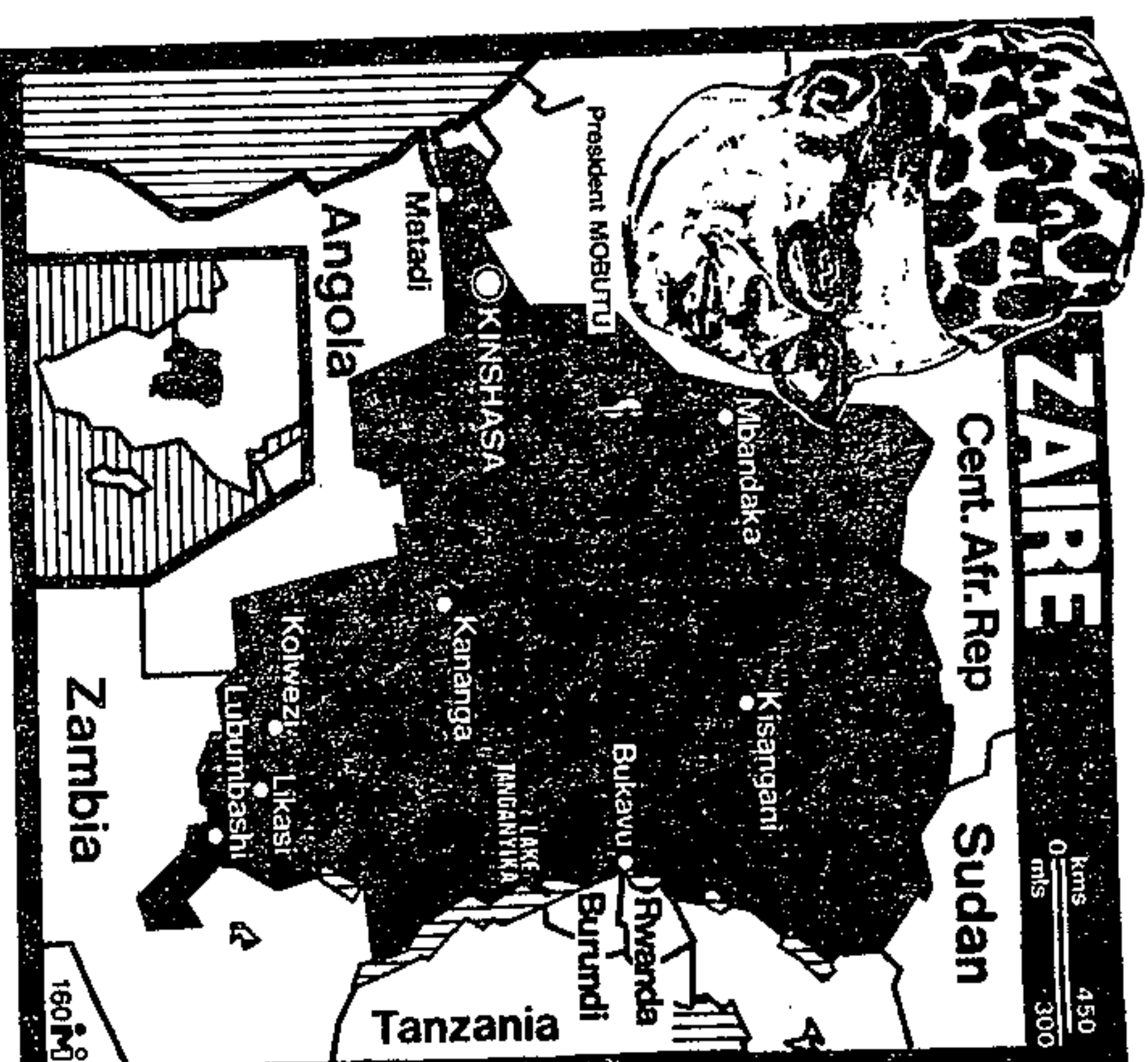
Inflation, which peaked 100 percent in 1973, continued unabated at an average rate of between 60 and 70 percent in 1979. For the ordinary Zairean this stark economic picture means severe hardships.

While today's pay rates are 50 percent below 1970 levels, food prices have shot up alarmingly. The price of a loaf of bread has risen from the average equivalent of 15p to 75p in three years. To make the situation worse there has been a drought rivaling the Sahel drought of the 70s in the past year.

Late last December popular resentment surfaced during a currency switch which resulted in the loss of substantial amounts of money by Zaireans. Officially the exercise was designed to revitalise the economy by recovering sums reportedly sailed away by speculators.

All old five and 10 Zaire notes had to be exchanged for fresh notes — and only three banking days were allowed for the operation.

The rules laid it down that Zaireans could exchange up to £750 (3 000



depend on government subsidies, none is economically viable. Incensed by heavy losses which they have persistently incurred, President Mobutu has now drastically streamlined them in the hope of making them profitable.

This is not the first time that Zairean students have protested against economic hardships. In June 1969 students from the then Lovanium University (now the Kinshasa section of the national university) took to the streets of Kinshasa in protest against rising inflation and financial overspending. The CND ruthlessly disbanded the marchers.

Brutality

The students tried again two years later, but the demonstrators were treated equally as brutally. The authorities went further by forcibly enlisting students into national military service. Those who evaded the draft were severely penalised.

Of the 131 State corporations, 55 of which totally

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In some cases some problems were so glaring that the authorities were compelled to act. In late January the President confirmed reports that former State Commissioner (Minister) for Higher Education and Scientific Research, Mungul Diaka, had left the country with his family and other unnamed people after the President had ordered investigations into the affairs of the national airline, Air Zaire, and the customs and excise department.

More than 16 000 000 Zaires (14 000 000) is still outstanding in loans to the State coffee board, Lozacaf. In an announcement in Parliament the President said it would be 'unjust to leave unpunished' all those who have squandered public money.

He said that one month would be given to those who owed Lozacaf money to find ways of repaying their loans.

In spite of this grim warning President Mobutu has, however, shown less

firmness towards those in high office. In future all investigations against top officials alleged to have misused public funds will only be instituted with the express permission of the President. The move is aimed at dampening vehement public criticism of national leaders involved in corruption and bribery.

The Zairean Parliament has been noticeably bold in its criticisms against shoddy performances by ministers, government officials and ministries. This outspokenness by Parliament has now displeased the President. He has accused some MPs of using Parliament 'as a forum for exposing their personal bitterness and for taking revenge.'

What remains contentious, however, is whether President Mobutu's loudly acclaimed reforms were introduced as a genuine concern for change in the country's political system or whether they are designed to bring in external economic aid which Zaire badly needs to revive its sagging economic fortunes. — (GEMINI.)

RDM 13/3/80 (358)

Amnesty hammers Zaire on executions

LONDON. — Amnesty International yesterday said it had submitted a 20-page memorandum detailing incidents of political imprisonment, torture and executions in Zaire.

The announcement came less than 24 hours after Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko said in Brussels that the London-based group had congratulated him on his government's human rights record.

An Amnesty International spokesman said his organisation had presented the memorandum on human rights violations to President Mobutu's

government in February and was still awaiting a reply.

"In its memorandum, Amnesty International said it was gravely concerned about the high death rate in the country's prisons where political detainees are held without charge or trial in appalling conditions," the spokesman said.

"More than 100 prisoners are known to die each year from starvation, disease and torture."

Amnesty International said it had urged President Mobutu "to end these abuses and to release all prisoners of conscience". — UPI.

Mozambique has launched a drive to repair and modernise its railway network. In the past year, more than 90 locomotives have been ordered, and the line from Beira to the Zimbabwe border is to be electrified. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Zaire sinks deeper into financial morass

358

RD M
30/5/80

KINSHASA. — Zaire's \$58-million payment of the first instalment of rescheduled commercial bank debt totalling \$434-million has been greeted by most Western economists in Kinshasa with the scepticism of a probation officer in charge of a hardened recidivist.

For five years Zaire's tangled external financial obligations have been the despair of private banks and governments. They have been caught up in the old dilemma of a moneylender whose client is patently unable to pay up: should he be tided over the bad times, or should he be written off?

Lenders have adopted the former approach with Zaire, though their patience has been sorely tried during a series of unsuccessful attempts to put Zaire's financial affairs in order.

Thus as of June 30, 1979, according to the authoritative report prepared by Lazard Frere, Kuhn Loeb Brothers and S G Warburg for the Bank of Zaire, the external public debt, disbursed and outstanding, was \$3 650-million (since risen to an estimated \$4 000-million).

The debt service ratio for 1980 is estimated at 26% — but this excludes payments of arrears amounting to nearly \$1 100-million. External debt as a percentage of gross domestic product, says the report, had risen from 32% at the end of 1972 to well over 100% in mid-1979.

It was in late 1975 that Zaire had to start negotiations to reschedule unmanageable external debts. The combination of low copper prices (copper and cobalt provide nearly three-quarters of export earnings) and a corrupt economy reeling under the effects of a disastrous nationalisation programme in 1973-74 left Zaire unable to meet its commitments. Between 1973 and 1975 Zaire borrowed some \$2 600-million, mostly from private sources.

Last year Zaire and its creditors tried yet again. In early November tentative agreement was reached with the agent banks of syndicated credits on the rescheduling of the entire debt (including principal and interest in arrears) owed to private banks. It called for a substantial downpayment in 1980, small annual payments during 1981-84, and liquidation of the rest during 1985-99.

It was this agreement which was formally signed in Paris last month by Mr Namwisi Ma Koyi, Zaire's Minister of Finance, and representatives of 122 commercial banks which had participated in 22 syndicated Euromarket loans. The bank debt has been extended for 10 years with interest set at 1 7/8 percentage points over the London interbank offered rate for the first five years and two points over for the remaining five.

The \$58-million payment by the Bank of Zaire at the end of last month represents interest arrears and 10% of the arrears on payments of principal.

The other round of negotiations last year involved the Paris Club and on December 11 the club agreed to reschedule \$1 200-million of Zaire's debt, comprising arrears (including those on already rescheduled debt and insured short-term commercial credits) and maturities coming due during the period July 1, 1979, to December 31, 1980.

However, a major condition is attached to the agreement. It is conditional on Zaire's satisfactory performance.

The 1979 Budget deficit turned out to be \$280-million, soaring over the limit set by the IMF. An IMF mission visited Kinshasa in January to review performance and set new criteria for 1980.

Sceptics in Kinshasa were not surprised, and point to past stabilisation failures. In 1976 a one-year programme accompanied by an IMF standby facility included a Budget deficit target of 60-million Zaires. The actual 1976 deficit was 302-million Zaires. In 1977 a second stabilisation programme, also with an IMF standby facility, set a target of 273-million Zaires.

Will Zaire yet again prove unable to meet the terms of rescheduled bank and Paris Club debts? The first point made by economists is that the debt service ration anticipated in 1980 is double the level recorded in recent years. Commitments are between \$440-million and \$470-million — equivalent to about 23% of exports. Without rescheduling, payments due would have been about \$540-million.

What then has change in Zaire's political and economic circumstances which would suggest the Government is capable of meeting the target? Very little to most observers in Kinshasa.

The array of expatriates who in theory control Zaire's finances are not as effective as might appear on paper. The IMF nominated representative at the Bank of Zaire, Mr Erwin Blumenthal, left in July last year — "slamming the door behind him with a loud bang," commented one diplomat. The diplomat added that the German banker was dismayed by the lack of progress since his arrival a year earlier.

Mr Ismail Battuck, from Turkey, has been an adviser in the Ministry of Finance since May 1979, but his aides arrived only recently. Not until April this year did the Belgian Customs start functioning and it remains to be seen whether it can plug the huge leaks in export earnings caused by the smuggling of coffee (estimated to be as much as the officially recorded crop, which in 1979 was 70 000 tons), industrial diamonds and gold, and the false invoicing of exports and imports.

Businessmen who need to circumvent the law are almost contemptuous of these and other measures, confident that barriers can be surmounted in a country in which corruption is endemic. — Financial Times.

French give muscle to Zaire army

STAR

7/6/80

358

Own Correspondent

PARIS — France has sent a huge shipment of arms and military equipment to Zaire, the scene of two wars within three years.

With officials both at the Lorient Arsenal and in the Defence Ministry, remaining tight-lipped, sources said a major consignment of weaponry was loaded last weekend aboard the vessel Dives, a cargo ship able to land tanks and to carry 1800 tons of freight.

Dockers loaded a continuous flow of military equipment and sealed containers on the vessel supervised by armed gendarmes and soldiers.

The Dives was expected to head for Dakar, the Senegalese capital, with the consignment.

France has long supported the pro-West regime of Zairese President Mobutu Sese Seko, flying 600 Foreign Legion paratroops into the embattled Shaba region in May 1978 to

capture the main town Kolwezi from 4000 rebels who had already massacred 1000 people including about 200 whites.

A politically more acceptable inter-African force subsequently took over peacekeeping duties in the vital mining region which earns 63 percent of Zaire's foreign exchange.

Kinshasa and Luanda have resumed diplomatic links and apparently ended the threat of a third Shaba war. But Zaire is still prey to strong unrest based on political opposition to General Mubutu and to hardship caused by the vast country's crumbling economy.

Only a year ago, weeks after a 50 percent devaluation of Zaire's currency, French Foreign Minister, Jean-Francois Poncet, was urgently studying the situation in the country to see whether French troops should be alerted over reports of trouble.

Western backing has eased some of the problems but loyalty of the armed forces is crucial to the President continuing in power and morale would undoubtedly be improved in the 40 000-strong army if its equipment was beefed up.

The army includes an armoured vehicle regiment, a mechanised battalion, 14 infantry battalions, seven parachute battalions and four guard battalions.

PROJECT DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POPULATION BY REGION FROM 1960 TO 1970. COMPARE 1970 ACTUALS WITH 1970 PROJECTEDS TO GET MIGRATION

RETROJECT TOTAL DOMESTIC POPULATION TO 1960

O 59 K=1,2
O 65 L=1,14
PTA(1,K,L)=PPT(2,K,L)/ASUR(K,L+1)
ET1=PPT(2,K,L)/PPT(2,K,L+1)
ET2=PPT(2,K,L)/PPT(2,K,L+1)
PTA(1,K,L)=PPT(2,K,L)/((BET1*ASUR(K,L+1)+BET2*ASUR(K,L+1))
SUR(K,L+1)
PTA(1,K,L)=BET2*PPTA(1,K,L+1)
PTA(1,K,L)=BET1*PPTA(1,K,L+1)

ADJUST SUPPLIED REGIONAL FIGURES ASSUMING UNDERENUMERATION CONSTANT ACROSS REGIONS.

O 10 J=1,4
O 10 K=1,2
O 10 L=1,17
P(1,J,K,L)=PP(1,J,K,L)/PPTA(1,K,L)/PPT(1,K,L)

ADJUST 1970 0-4 AND 5-9 AGE GROUPS BY PROJECTING FORWARD REGION, TOTALLING AND ADJUSTING GIVEN REGIONAL FIGURES

O 20 J=1,4
O 31=0
O 32=0
O 33=0
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O 35=0
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CONTINUE

PPA(2,J,K,L)=PP(1,J,K,L+1)*SUR(1,J,K,L+1)*
JR(2,J,K,L)=PP(1,J,K,L+1)*SUR(1,J,K,L+1)*
P(1,J,K,L)=PP(1,J,K,L+1)*SUR(1,J,K,L+1)*
PA(2,J,K,L)=PP(1,J,K,L+1)*SUR(1,J,K,L+1)*
O 30 J=1,4
O 30 K=1,2
O 30 L=1,17

Zaire⁽³⁵⁸⁾ debt^{RDH} plan^{31/5/80}

PARIS. — Western nations, Japan and the world's leading monetary agencies have urged Zaire to seek further rescheduling of its huge external debts to re-launch its economy.

A communique issued after a two-day international meeting in Paris said further rescheduling of the public debt, increased financial help at favourable terms and substantial balance of payments support were still needed.

Mr Willi Wapenhans, vice-president of the East Africa office of the World Bank, says Zaire's balance of payments on current account is now roughly even.

"However, stress and strains will occur in servicing the debt and we encouraged Zaire to seek further rescheduling."

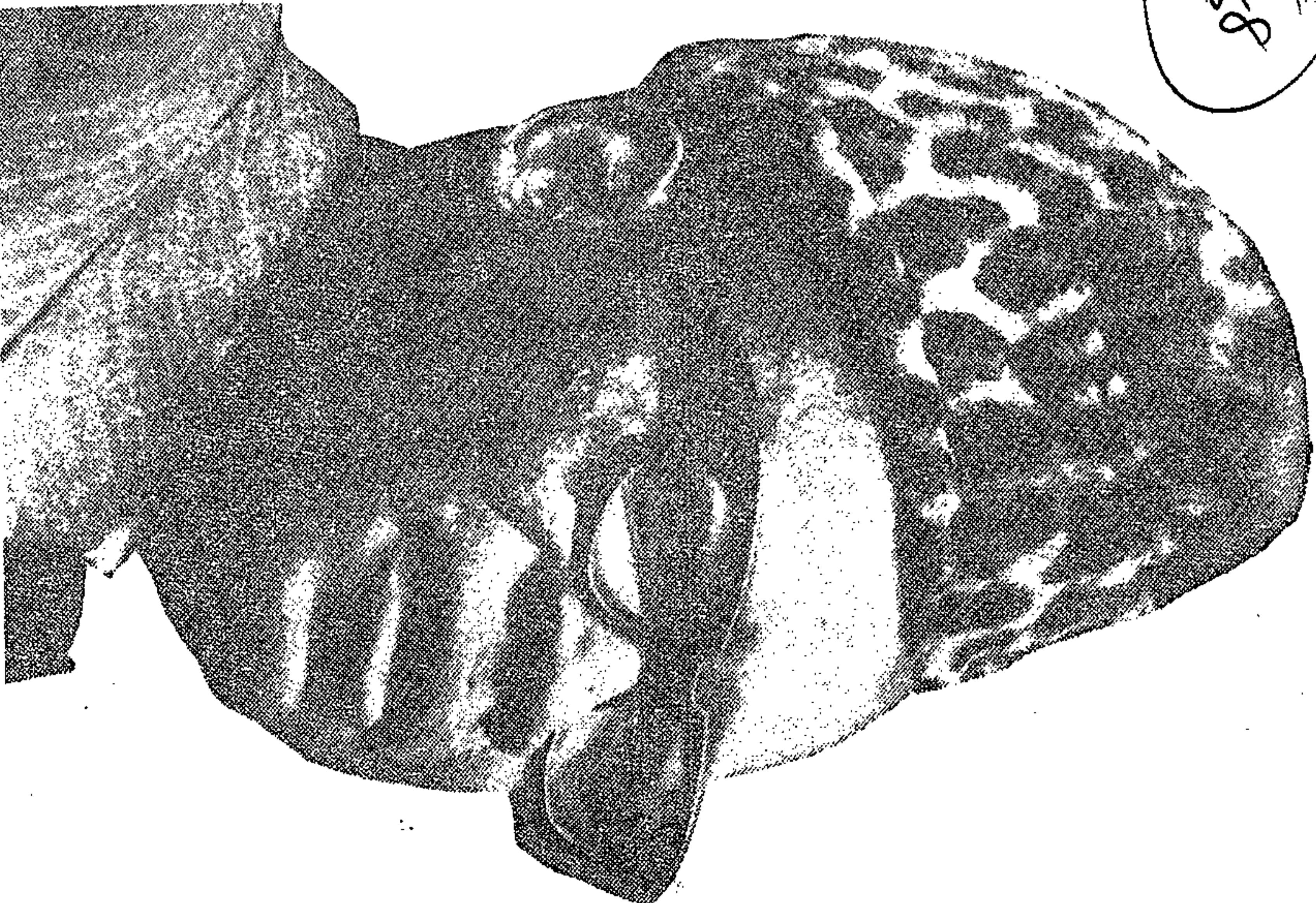
Last December creditor nations agreed then at \$4 000-million, but left open the question of debt falling due in 1981 and 1982.

Last month Zaire also rescheduled about \$450-million of the money it owes commercial banks after falling behind on interest and other repayments

— Reuter.

Inflation in Zaire has gone crazy: a loaf of bread sells for R1,45, a litre of milk costs R5 and eggs are R10 a dozen. Small wonder the people are angry. PRANAY GUPTA reports from the capital, Kinshasa.

Wealth at top... but grumbling in streets



President Mobutu Sese Seko... at the helm for 15 years.



FLASHBACK to May 1978 when Mobutu was saved from political extinction by French legionnaires, seen here searching for rebels in Koiwezi. Hundreds were killed in the rebel invasion from Angola.

With song, slogan and the burning of cars and buses, several hundred university students, marching through Kinshasa recently, protested against the policies of President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The demonstrators attributed Zaire's deepening economic problems to what they described as corruption and mismanagement on the part of President Mobutu.

Prices for consumer goods and food have risen precipitously. A loaf of bread, which cost the equivalent of 20 cents two years ago, now sells for R1,45. A litre of milk costs R5 and eggs are R10 a dozen.

The rebels fled to Angola in the late 1980s after the collapse of the Katangan secessionist attempt. The President was saved from political extinction in 1977 and 1978 mainly through the intervention of forces from Morocco and France.

Potential

petrol-station attendant to supplement his earnings.

Corruption

According to Western economists the inflation rate is running at 200 per cent a year, while unemployment has touched 50 percent.

The economists assert that corruption among public servants is so rampant that the official export figures for diamonds, copper, cobalt and coffee, which are given as R10 000-million,

represent half the true value to cover the siphoning off of funds.

With oil prices soaring, foreign-exchange reserves are exhausted, according to the World Bank.

A Western banker based here said that Zaire "is really such a rich country, but officially it is so very poor," with the Government "involved in sidetracking national wealth." He said that only a new government could effect a change.

Holdings

President Mobutu has on several occasions dis-

missed the corruption charges as malicious propaganda concocted by his enemies. But Western diplomats do not take such statements seriously.

They say that President Mobutu has major business interests in the two main diamond-mining concerns, Miba and Britmond. They also say he has holdings in what is known as the Tenke Fungurume Mining Society, a consortium of investors from the United States, France, South Africa and Japan.

A South African publication recently estimated General Mobutu's personal fortune at more than R2 500-million. He maintains homes in Abidjan, the Ivory Coast, Dakar, Senegal, and Bangui, the Central African Republic, as well in several countries in Europe.

With all that wealth at the top, it is not uncommon to hear grumbling in the streets. Soldiers complain about poor pay and say their officers get all the luxury items. Visitors

are frequently approached for money by soldiers and policemen.

Downfall

"Ultimately Mobutu must take the blame for all this," said an influential member of the 272-seat National Assembly who was once close to the President. He said in an interview that a growing number of Assembly members were openly expressing their concern to the President.

"We told him just the other day," he said, "that

we were willing to help him check this deterioration, that if the situation continued this way it could mean his downfall very soon."

In return, the legislator added, the President "lectured us severely" and said that "the rumouring of the country was none of our business."

"He told us we were treading on his toes and that if we didn't watch out we would have no toes left ourselves," the legislator added. — New York Times News Service

The President struck back by ordering the arrest of hundreds of students, closing the local university and shipping the protesters to distant communities. To Western and third world diplomats here, the students were providing a further indication of what is seen as the President's increasingly shaky position.

The authoritarian President for 15 years, he has been in a shaky position.

The threat to General Mobutu's control appears to be largely the result of the deteriorating economy of this once-prosperous former Belgian colony, long known as the Congo.

12/6/80

The country has vast deposits of diamonds, copper and cobalt and is potentially one of the world's wealthiest nations, but it has debts of at least R4 200-million, with repayment of Government and commercial loans R1 000-million in arrears.

21/6/80 (358)
Zaire gets support from black states

By JOSÉ CAETANO

PRESIDENT Mobutu Sese Seko has received firm pledges of co-operation from the leaders of Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique at the two-day mini-summit in Lulumbashi, for his intended plan to reroute a substantial amount of Zaire's exports through Mozambican ports.

According to a broadcast by Mozambique Radio, President Seko told reporters that the agreements concluded in Lulumbashi could "be seen as an historic mark in the history of Africa" because "the struggle towards development is essential for the achievement of economic freedom".

According to the broadcast, the summit was attended by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Samora Machel of Mozambique and the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe.

The meeting discussed ways of streamlining the traffic of Zaire's exports through the railway networks of Zambia and Zimbabwe towards the Mozambican ports of Beira and Maputo.

Although Zaire did not attend last April's summit in Lusaka, where a major transport plan for Southern Africa was drafted, the country has been assured of the use of the Mo-

zambican ports after last week's visit by President Seko.

Zaire is almost entirely dependent on South African ports for exporting because of the unreliability of the Benguela railway line in Angola.

Mr Mugabe told reporters on his return to Salisbury that the discussions had been "a success".

Yesterday's discussions in Lulumbashi follow a visit to Salisbury by Mozambique's Minister of Land Transport and Ports, Mr Alcantra Santos, and the Minister of Communications and Civil Aviation, Mr Rui Louza. They discussed aspects of the plan agreed on at the Lusaka meeting with their Zimbabwean colleagues.

Meanwhile, Malawi's Minister of Transport, Mr Robson Chirwa, has arrived in Mozambique to visit the ports of Nacala and Beira which his country uses as an outlet for both its imports and exports.

He also inspected the refrigerating facilities available at both ports and held talks with Mozambican railway officials on the possible use of the new container port at Beira which is due to be completed by the end of the year.

Malawi was a signatory of the Lusaka plan which aims to reduce African countries' dependency on South African ports.

CAPE TIMES 25/6/80 (358)

Hundreds died in Zaire detention — Amnesty

PARIS. — The French section of Amnesty International yesterday again accused Zaire of trampling human rights.

Amnesty, which has won the Nobel Peace Prize for its defence of political prisoners, claimed that hundreds of political prisoners had died in Zaire detention camps without having been tried.

It accused the Zaire Army of killing dozens of people to suppress peaceful demonstrations. Amnesty urged Zaire to give amnesty to the political prisoners it allegedly holds in honour

of the 20th anniversary of its independence from Belgian colonial rule.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Nguenza Kar-I-Bond, charged at a news conference that the accusations stemmed from "the declared hatred for Zaire by a sort of international left".

Mr Kar-I-Bond, who was sentenced to death in 1977, but pardoned after one year in detention, said he had "first hand knowledge" that conditions in Zaire's prisons were not as bad as Amnesty claimed.

— Sapa-AP

Amnesty spotlight on Zaire again

PARIS. — The French section of Amnesty International has again accused Zaire of disregarding human rights.

And Zaire's Foreign Minister claimed his Western-aligned country was being slandered by the "international Left".

Amnesty, which has won the Nobel Peace Prize for its defence of political prisoners, claimed that hundreds of prisoners had died in Zaire without having been tried.

It accused the Zaire Army of killing dozens of people to suppress peaceful demonstrations, and urged Zaire to free political prisoners, in honour of the 20th anniversary of its independence from Belgian rule.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Nguza Karl-i-bond, charged at a news conference that the accusations stemmed from "the declared hatred for Zaire of a sort of international Left".

"Powerful interest groups have infiltrated into Amnesty International," he claimed, but did not name them.

Mr Karl-i-bond, who was sentenced to death in 1977 but was pardoned after one year in detention, said he had first-hand knowledge that conditions in Zaire's prisons were not as bad as Amnesty claimed.

He said he had read an unpublished report by the International Red Cross which pointed to "a clear improvement" of prison conditions.

"We are a country of laws," he said. "Zaire is not a jungle."

— Sapa-AP.

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Mobutu backs Angola against SA

LISBON. — President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, who once openly supported the opponents of Angola's Marxist regime, arrived in Luanda yesterday on an official visit to express support for Angola's stand against South Africa.

The Angolan news agency, Angop, reported that when

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos greeted President Mobutu, he said the visit of Zaire's head of state was an act of solidarity between neighbours.

"Your visit is linked to the moment when the Angolan people stand united around the (ruling) MPLA party to defend its country's territorial integri-

ty," the Angolan President said, referring to the South African military raid into southern Angola which began last month.

The Angolan President said President Mobutu's visit would lead to increased co-operation between the two countries.

President Mobutu brought

with him the State Commissioner for Transport and Communications, Mr Mushobewka Kalimba Wa Katana, indicating that the future of Angola's troubled Benguela railway, once the main outlet for Zaire's copper and cobalt exports, would feature high in official talks. — Sapa-Reuter.

Land dispute

Mail Africa Bureau

LUSAKA — Zaire has tightened its claim over a portion of Zambian territory, the Times of Zambia reported yesterday. In its front page lead, the newspaper says: "Zaire has physically occupied Zambian territory in Kaputa by setting up customs and immigration posts."

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has said the border dispute between the two countries should be solved in a friendly manner by the Zambia-Zaire permanent joint commission.

The disputed area is believed to have rich deposits of platinum, tungsten, cobalt, copper and gold.

Zaire troops sent to border

From The Sunday
Times, London

KINSHASA — President Mobutu of Zaire has sent the crack French-trained 31st Parachute Battalion to the Ugandan frontier in response to reports of clashes and border violations by Ugandan troops pursuing pro-Amin rebels into Zaire itself.

President Mobutu claims the situation along the frontier is calm and has sharply denied Ugandan claims that Zaire has

been harbouring pro-Amin soldiers who launched the recent invasion into Uganda.

Although these rebels certainly did not receive official Zairian sanction, former Amin soldiers have been organising within Zaire and it was from Zaire that some of them crossed into the West Nile region early last month.

Reports of tens of thousands of Ugandan refugees arriving in Zaire are now slowly reaching

Kinshasa — evidence of the size of the sweep by Ugandan National Liberation Front forces in their operation against the Population of Uganda's west Nile who are suspected of supporting the invasion.

Reports from Kampala indicate that virtually all semblance of law and order has broken down in Uganda as December 10 — the date set for general elections — draws nearer.

Petition begins for nudity

CAPE TOWN. — A group of nudists have started a petition and an international campaign for official recognition of Sandy Bay as a naturists' haven.

Ms Lisa Kruger-Liptrot said last night that more than 80 people had already asked for petition forms to circulate to friends and the public.

The group has asked the Australian Nudists' Association and the International Nudists' Association in Britain to raise the issue internationally.

The Students' Representative Council and the Women's Movement at the University of Cape Town have agreed to circulate the petition, Ms Liptrot said.

The petition declares that the signatories "do not regard nudism as practised on the main beaches at Sandy Bay as being an act which tends to deprave the morals of others, nor is it to be considered an act of public indecency."

It asks the authorities to give "formal recognition to a state of affairs which has in fact been in existence for the past 51 years or more."

"If we can produce 15 000 signatures in South Africa then the authorities must take notice," Ms Liptrot said. — Sapa

Zambia-Zaire in bid to end border row

RDM 3/3/81
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LUSAKA. — President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire flew home yesterday after talks with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda which appeared to have eased tension in Zambia over a seven-year-old border dispute.

A joint communique said both sides were satisfied with the outcome of the one-day visit and the two leaders reaffirmed their belief in the principle of territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of independent states.

The dispute involves border territory between Lake Mweru and Lake Tanganyika. Zambia thinks there are what one official described privately as "strategic minerals" in the area.

Zambian officials said before the three-hour talks began that although Dr Kaunda had ruled out the use of military force, he had been prepared to take the dispute to the Organisation of African Unity and the International Court of Justice.

But the wording of yesterday's communique indicated some formula had been

reached, though it gave no details.

It added that the two sides also agreed on the need for close co-operation regarding border security and "to facilitate the free return of Zairean refugees who are on Zambian territory in conformity with the Geneva Convention on refugees".

Diplomatic sources in Kinshasa told reporters last week one topic likely to be raised by the two leaders was the future of several thousand ex-Katanges Gendarmes now living in Zambia.

The sources said some of Gendarmes would like to return home. The Gendarmes, remnants of Moise Tshombe's army of the 1960s, spearheaded the 1977 and 1978 invasions of the southern Shaba Province, site of Zaire's vital copper and cobalt mining industry.

Zambia has also been concerned by Zairean bandit raids on its Copperbelt province, just across the border from Shaba, and the reference in yesterday's statement to border security appeared to take note of the situation. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Gecamines delays growth plan

Mercury Correspondent KOLWEZI—Gecamines, the world's largest producer of cobalt and a major revenue earner for Zaire, will have to postpone its planned expansion programme because of a cash shortage, according to company officials.

Sitting on proven reserves of copper and cobalt worth a minimum \$40 000m at current prices in the southern province of Shaba, it is trying to raise \$40m this year to fund its operations.

First priority for the State-controlled company, Generale des Carrieres et des Mines, is to keep production at last year's level — 425 000 tons of copper and 14 700 of cobalt.

Its second objective is to increase output to the record 470 000 tons

reached in 1974, the level at which its plants' capacity is fully used.

A planned expansion to produce 570 000 tons of copper by 1983 by building a 100 000-tons a year electro-refining plant will probably have to be postponed, they said.

Current difficulties of Gecamines, heir to the famous Belgian Union Miniere du Haut Katanga, are fourfold.

They are transport problems, a slump on the cobalt market resulting in less foreign currency to buy equipment, heavy taxation by the Zairean Government and the after-effects of the exodus of qualified expatriates three years ago.

Gecamines, which earns 70 percent of Zaire's foreign currency income, paid taxes amounting to 48 percent of its turnover in

1979, according to the company's annual report.

Gecamines' managing director Mr Umba Kyamitala, told the visiting Belgian Prime Minister, Mr Wilfried Maartens, recently of the company's three-stage investment projects.

● The first and most pressing is to maintain present equipment and production, with investments put at around \$40m.

● The second stage, a programme of rehabilitation to raise copper production to its 1974 level of 470 000 tons, is estimated at some \$100m. Financing is expected from the World Bank.

● The third stage, to raise production to 570 000 tons, is estimated to cost \$160m based on the 1980 value of the dollar.

100,00
96,15
93,85
83,08
75,38
55,38
29,23
16,15
5,38
1,54
0

2
0

2,51 - 5,00
0 - 2,50

Total payment (R per week) Number of workers Cumulative %

Distribution of workers according to total payment, weekly R

TABLE 18

is shown in the table below.

The distribution of workers at various levels of total payment (terms) and payment in kind gives an approximation of total payment made by farmers (with the omissions noted above). The addition of cash wage, bonus (expressed in weekly

c) Total payment.

section.

area. This question will be further examined in the next this survey pay high wages relative to the average for the actual payments, (8) or that many of the farms included in payment in kind in the agricultural census are well below it appears then, that either farmers' estimates of

Zaire mining hope runs down for want of cash

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KOLWEZI. — Gecamines, the world's largest producer of cobalt and a major revenue earner for Zaire, will have to postpone its expansion programme because of a cash shortage, according to company officials.

Sitting on reserves of copper and cobalt worth a minimum \$40 000-million at current prices in the southern province of Shaba, it is trying to raise \$40-million dollars this year to fund its operations.

Priority for the State-controlled company, Generale des Carrieres et Des Mines is to keep production at last year's 425 000 tons of copper and 14 700 tons of cobalt.

Its second objective is to increase output to the record 470 000 tons of 1974, the level at which its plants' capacity is fully used.

A planned expansion to produce 570 000 tons of copper by 1983 by building a 100 000 ton a year electro-refining plant will probably have to be postponed.

Difficulties of Gecamines, heir to the famous Belgian Union Miniere du Haut Katanga, are fourfold.

They are transport problems, a slump on the cobalt market resulting in less foreign currency to buy equipment, heavy taxation by the Zairean Government and the effects of the exodus of skilled expatriates three years ago.

Gecamines, which earns 70% of Zaire's foreign currency, paid taxes of 48% of its turnover in 1979, according to the company's annual report.

All Europeans left Kolwezi after the attack on the mining city by Angola-based opponents of President Mobutu Sese Seko in May 1978. Several hundred Zaireans and 100 Europeans were killed.

Half of them came back and others were recruited abroad, mostly in France, but lack of maintenance of the equipment has slowed production.

Gecamines' managing director, Mr Umba Kyamitala, told the Belgian Prime Minister, Mr Wilfried Maartens, recently of the company's three-stage investment projects.

The first and most pressing is to maintain equipment and production, with investments put at \$40-million dollars. Mr Kyamitala said the company was negotiating a loan with the

European Economic Community.

EEC help would complement a possible \$20-million French loan and be granted within the framework of the Lome Trade and Aid Convention linking the EEC with 61 African, Caribbean and Pacific associate members, say Western diplomats.

The second stage, a programme of rehabilitation to raise copper production to 470 000 tons, is estimated to cost \$100-million. Financing is expected from the World Bank as part of the Mobutu plan of economic recovery which has been prepared by a financial stabilisation programme controlled by the International Monetary Fund.

The third stage, to raise production to 570 000 tons, is estimated to cost \$160-million, based on the 1980 value of the dollar.

Gecamines, often described as a state within a state, operates 13 hospitals and schools attended by 60 000 pupils.

It is beset by transport problems caused by political upheavals around Zaire's borders. Before 1975 and the civil war in Angola, more than 20% of its copper production was exported by the 2 000 km Benguela railway across Angola to the Atlantic port of Lobito.

A similar volume went by rail through Tanzania to Dar es Salaam on the Indian Ocean.

Although officially reopened, the Benguela line is not operational because of sabotage by Unita guerrillas fighting the Marxist-orientated Angolan Government.

A few hundred tons of manganese were sent recently to test the line.

Only 5% of Gecamines' production is exported through Dar es Salaam because of a bottleneck at the Tanzanian port of Kigoma where cargoes arrive after being ferried across Lake Tanganyika.

This leaves only two main outlets for Zaire's copper — the route through South Africa and the so-called national route to the Zairean port of Matadi on the Atlantic.

About half the production goes through South Africa with the advantage of a direct line and a transit time of about three weeks, but the disadvantage is that it involves foreign currency outlays.

The rest goes through Zaire, by train to Ilebo on the Kasai River, to be loaded on barges, unloaded in Kinshasa and again put on railway wagons for Matadi, a process taking up to six months but payable in domestic currencies.

One of Zaire's long-term aims is to complete an east-west railway line from Matadi to Lubumbashi, but it is out of the question in the present financial situation.

Company officials remain optimistic and are convinced the current slump in cobalt is temporary. They foresee growth in the aerospace industry, one of the main consumers of cobalt for production of super-alloys, and believe the new US Administration will increase its stockpiles of strategic raw materials. Sapa Reuter.

ZAIRE is a mecca for South African businessmen, say exporters.

And, as one said this week: "Zairean businessmen come here with suitcases full of money as foreign exchange deals there can be quite dicey."

ZAIRE — THE BLACK BONANZA

The old Belgian Congo, with its huge deposits of copper, buys tons of South African goods each year — from toothbrushes to steel to complete houses.

"The market is worth millions of rand, even though South Africa, because of its boom conditions, is more expensive now than Europe, which is in the grip of a recession."

"Zaire is an old friend of our country, and it is showing its appreciation of our trade," the Sunday Times was told.

"Certainly, there are difficulties in getting paid but if South African businessmen can overcome that, then they are in for a bonanza."

The country buys huge amounts of vegetable products, spare parts, mineral products, and chemical and allied industries products.

Zaire threat to cut CSO links

RDM
1/5/81

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By NEIL BEHRMANN

LONDON. — Zaire, the world's largest producer of industrial diamonds and of a sizeable quantity of gem stones, may stop selling its output through De Beers Central Selling Organisation.

A CSO spokesman confirms that the marketing arrangement could end in May when the contract is due for renegotiation, but he hopes the agreement will be rolled over.

De Beers entered into a mar-

keting contract with Zaire in 1967. The CSO buys and markets Zaire's diamonds for a fee based on a percentage of the value of the goods. Audited accounts of the transactions are presented to the Bank of Zaire.

This arrangement has gone on for 14 years. In February 1980, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire said that Sozacon, the State mineral marketing agency, should assume responsibility for the marketing of all Zaire's minerals, including diamonds.

On April 2 this year, a presidential ordinance decreed that Sozacon would assume responsibility immediately. The agency can choose whether to renew agreements with existing marketing organisations, such as the CSO, or make its own arrangements.

The CSO spokesman says he is cautiously optimistic that the agreement will be continued, but proposals have not been discussed in detail.

Zaire's overall output of gem stones and industrial diamonds is officially reported to have fallen to 8 100 000 carats in 1980 from a 13 500 000-carat high in 1974, and a further fall is expected this year.

About 70% of these diamonds are industrial, including a large proportion of boart. About 20% are "near gem" because they have poor colours (green and yellow). The remainder are gems.

Many of Zaire's diamonds are smuggled to Brazzaville and the stones are sold directly

to diamond centres, such as Antwerp. The CSO has bought most of these smuggled diamonds from Antwerp dealers.

Zaire diamond production is much higher than the official figures.

Besides production problems, the fall in official output could have been caused by increased smuggling.

Under the marketing agreement, the CSO buys all the diamonds from Miba mines, the major producer in Zaire with 8 100 000 carats in 1980.

Presumably the CSO is worried that some of these diamonds will be marketed independently. One outlet could be Russia, which has been selling fewer rough diamonds through the CSO because it is becoming a major producer of polished diamonds.

The CSO controls 80% to 85% of the world diamond market.

Zaire's gem output is about 5% to 10% of world production and if it is marketed independently, it would loosen the CSO's grip on the market, but only marginally.

Russian polished diamonds remain the biggest threat to the CSO because the Soviet Union is the largest producer in the world and its diamonds include a sizeable quantity of gems.

The CSO has not been able to discuss its proposals with Sozacon because Sozacon's director-general, Mr Citoyen Lakuza, is visiting Brussels, Washington and Frankfurt.

Zambia threatens to deport Katangese

Argus
4/5/81

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Argus Africa
News Service

LUSAKA. — Zambia has threatened to deport leaders of the Katangese People's Congress, who are preparing for an anti-Mobutu conference in Geneva.

Reacting to reports that the Katangese rebels were planning to travel to Geneva on Zambian travel documents, Zambian Home Affairs Minister, Mr Frederick Chomba, said he might soon be forced to throw them out of the country.

A delegation of the rebel leaders is to travel from Moscow, Brussels, Angola, and Zambia for a meeting to start legal proceedings to declare Shaba province a separate republic from the rest of Zaire.

In Geneva they plan to consult representatives of Britain, France and the United States.

After these talks they are scheduled to travel to Brussels for further talks with defected former Zairean Foreign Minister and recently Prime Minister, Nguza Karl il Bond. Mr Nguza comes from mineral-rich Shaba province.

Mr Moke Gerard, the man who claims to be the representative in Zambia of the rebel movement, released documents which he said will form the basis of the Geneva meeting.

The documents will be lodged with the International Court of Justice.

A determined Mr Gerard insisted that Zambia should accept the activities of the Katangese because, he said in a statement, 'the Government of President Mobutu was not popularly elected.'

He said he would ask the Zambian Government for travel documents, which a Zambian police spokesman confirmed were expected from Mr Gerard since he already has made an appointment.

De Beers warns Zaire on CSO deal

FRANKFURT. — Failure to reach agreement between De Beers Central Selling Organisation and Zaire on a marketing contract for Zaire's diamonds is not of vital commercial interest for the company, says a director of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Mr Philip Oppenheimer.

He told analysts he would not expect this to lead to other producers following suit.

He warned that a move away from the CSO could be unfortunate for Zaire.

Zaire needed guaranteed prices and sales, and without them it would be doubtful if it would get International Monetary Fund loans.

Mr Oppenheimer said the CSO had had a contract with Zaire for 14 years to buy its total diamond production.

However, President Mobutu Sese Seko decided recently that

Zaire should handle sales of all its minerals.

Mr Oppenheimer said negotiations were under way to see if Zaire's diamond sales could still be channelled through the CSO.

Zaire's position would be influenced in future by the emergence of Australia as a large diamond producer.

Another De Beers director, Mr Julian Ogilvie Thompson, said the percentage of diamond jewellery sales in proportion to total sales of jewellery was rising.

Consumer demand last year reached record levels in value terms and in terms of pieces and carats was second only to 1979.

Signs were that prices in the diamond markets were bottoming out and steadying. He expected a year or two of quieter growth in the market. — Reuter.

Cell death sparks a protest

'Mail' Africa Bureau

LUSAKA. — Zaire has sent a strong protest note to Zambia over the death of a Zairian national, Mr Kalala Shashilunga, who died in a police cell in Lusaka last Tuesday.

Zairian Charge d'Affaires in Zambia, Mr Nkumbi Kitenge, expressed indignation at what he described as "meting out instant justice by police".

He said although he was aware that Zairian nationals committed acts of crime in Zambia, they should be treated like any other criminal and be brought before a court.

Lusaka police chief, Mr Bartholomew Mwale, has appointed an independent team of investigators to probe the circumstances under which Mr Shashilunga died.

CSO bid to save Zaire deal

DOM 16/5/81

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By NEIL BEHRMANN

LONDON. — Executives of the Central Selling Organisation have met with Zaire's State-controlled mineral marketing agency, Sozacom, in an attempt to salvage a 14-year agreement to market Zaire's diamonds.

It is a paradox, but De Beers hopes Zaire will realise that it needs the CSO more than the CSO needs it.

Zaire has signed contracts to sell diamonds directly to several Antwerp dealers and an industrial diamond dealer in London instead of through the CSO, the De Beers marketing arm.

Although Zaire is the world's largest producer of industrial diamonds and produces sizeable quantities of gems dealers said its decision would have a negligible effect on a diamond market which continued to be depressed.

Zaire has signed contracts with Antwerp dealers Caddi and Glasol and with Industrial Diamond Company of London.

Although all firms confirmed that they had signed contracts with Zaire, they refused to discuss details. They acknowledged that they had signed "blank contracts" with Zaire, indicating that there had been no firm sales arrangements.

A CSO spokesman said the organisation was negotiating with Zaire.

Under the previous marketing arrangement, Zaire's major diamond producer sold its full production through the CSO.

Last year Zaire produced more than 8-million carats and it is expected to produce about 6-million carats in 1981.

Over and above that output, the CSO bought about 2-million carats from independent diamond diggers through buying offices in Brazzaville and Bujumbura in Burundi.

A large proportion of Zaire diamonds, estimated to be 1-million to 2-million carats, is also smuggled out and the CSO has been buying these diamonds, mainly in Antwerp, for years.

Dealers believe that Sozacom intends selling 25% of its production through the CSO, leaving the remaining share to the three independent dealers.

In Washington a spokesman for the Zaire Embassy confirmed that Sozacom planned to market diamonds independently of De Beers.

The CSO seems to be taking an "all or nothing" attitude.

A De Beers director, Sir Philip Oppenheimer, said that all diamonds should pass through the CSO and that the sales should not be split between various parties.

He said failure to renew the agreement was "not of vital commercial interest to the company" and the break from the CSO could have unfortunate financial consequences for Zaire because it needed guaranteed prices and sales.

A dealer said the Zaire diamonds were poor-quality stones averaging \$10 a carat, indicating annual sales of \$60-million to \$80-million.

Another London dealer said that the mood in the diamond market had begun to improve in April, but the latest bout of interest-rate increases had dampened enthusiasm.

The diamond sight, or sale, which was held in London last week was small and was about the same volume as the March and February sights — about 60% lower than the January sight.

Some diamonds continued to trade at a 5% to 10% discount to CSO quotations.

A polished-diamond dealer in Antwerp said the market, especially for large stones, remained depressed. Cutters in Antwerp had laid off 30% to 50% of their staff over the past 12 months and a similar situa-

Dealers were reluctant to build up stocks because high interest rates had made stockpiling costly.

Dealers believe that the CSO will continue to keep offerings low when it holds its next sight in June.

All these factors indicate that the CSO is stockpiling a relatively large quantity of diamonds, and that 1981 first-half CSO sales in volume and value terms could be much lower than stock brokers' expectations.

Like many experienced Zairois politicians, Mr Nguza Karl-Bond has run the full vicious circle of President Mobutu Sese Seko's political gauntlet.

In 1977, following the first invasions of Zaire's Shaba province by Katangese guerillas, he was fired as foreign minister and condemned to death for high treason. After languishing in prison for some time he was pardoned and brought back into the government, eventually becoming Prime Minister.

Two months ago, after another politician, Mr Bomboko Lokumba, had been brought back from political oblivion and made first vice-Prime Minister, Nguza got the message that the cycle was about to repeat itself, so he quietly slipped out of the country and announced his resignation from the safety of Brussels.

It is mainly through this strategy of keeping politicians constantly insecure that the astute president Mobutu, said to be one of the richest men in the world, has survived 15 years as Zaire's leader.

This is no mean feat in such a large, tribally diverse country, which borders with nine other nations from Sudan in the north to Zambia in the south.

But it is Zaire's very size and vulnerability, coupled with its critical economic problems, rampant corruption and the consequent growing popular dissent, which will stretch to the limit Mobutu's survival talents if he is to last through the next few years.

And, ironically, Nguza could emerge from the splintered and so far ineffective opposition groups in exile as the strongest candidate to replace Mobutu should he fall.

So far the most serious threats to Mobutu's long reign have been the two invasions of the mineral-rich Shaba province in 1977 and '78. Mobutu's own troops were unable to contain the Angolan-trained and armed Katangese insurgents involved.

It was the intervention of French troops on the orders of former President Giscard d'Estaing which saved Mobutu on both occasions.

But now Giscard is out and Mobutu is reportedly gravely concerned at the very real possibility that the new Socialist President, Francois Mitter-

Challenge to Mobutu

Star 29/6/81 (358)

The defection of former Prime Minister Nguza has created perhaps the most serious challenger in exile to the rule of Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko. David Thomas, of The Star's Africa News Service, reports from Kinshasa.



Mobutu Sese Seko

rand, sensitive to criticism of French interventionism in Africa, will refuse to become involved in another Shaba.

Only crack French paratroopers have so far been able to operate effectively in the remote, practically roadless southern and eastern regions, where most of the anti-Mobutu dissidents are concentrated.

For the moment the Katangese threat is dormant because of agreements reached between the Angolan and Zaire governments not to support the other's insurgents.

This agreement, however, is somewhat precarious especially with the possibility that the new, staunchly pro-Mobutu administration of President Ronald Reagan may resume clandestine support to Mr Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerillas in Angola.

With the present doubts in Kinshasa about the future of French military support to Zaire, Mobutu is understood to be hoping that the Americans, who already have a small military transportation unit in the country, will fill the vacuum.

Reagan support for the Kinshasa government is based on Mobutu's strongly anti-Soviet pro-Western stance. Although the Soviets have a diplomatic presence in Zaire it is low-profile.

At present military aid to Zaire comes in various forms, mostly training, from France, Belgium, China, Morocco and the US.

The Belgians, who reportedly are seeking a comeback in their former

fully avoided identifying with the other exile opposition groups in Brussels.

Under the Zairois constitution Mobutu's ruling "Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution" is the only party permitted to operate in the country.

It appears from his refusal to become involved with the other Zairois exiles that Nguza may try to make his bid for leadership from within the party.

Mobutu's recent political record has been erratic. In 1979 he introduced a semblance of "liberalisation" under pressure from his Western supporters. Nguza was pardoned and a certain amount of freedom to criticise was allowed.

This ended with customary ruthlessness last December and January with the arrest of at least 13 members of parliament who had presumably taken the new breath of liberalisation too seriously.

Coincidentally, they were released in a magnanimous gesture by Mobutu two days after Nguza announced his resignation as Prime Minister.

Congo colony, are under pressure from Mobutu to clamp down on the Zairois opposition groups who operate in exile from Brussels.

Nguza has announced he will run for the Zaire presidency in the next elections but he has care-

Zaire still caught in web of debt

RDM 14/7/81 (358)

KINSHASA. — The West's repeated efforts to put some order into Zaire's chaotic economy are beginning to show results, according to diplomats in Kinshasa.

"But it is far too early to be optimistic about any lasting recovery," says a British banker. "We have been hopeful in the past and the mess has not got any better."

Zaire's total foreign debt now exceeds \$4 800-million. Falling revenue from its main exports of copper, cobalt and coffee have pushed the debt servicing ratio to around 20%, forcing the sprawling central African republic to look for further government-to-government debt-reschedules this year.

Zaire was offered generous terms by the commercial banks when their \$434-million of debt was renegotiated in April last year. The banks are faced with the consistent failure of Zaire to honour its repayments on principal for five years. Zaire repaid \$58-million last April to cover all its arrears on interest and 10% of its arrears on principal.

But government-to-government debt is proving more intractable. Although payments have been made in time since March last year, there is considerable opposition within the Government, especially from President Mbutu Sese Seko, to the stringent conditions which have been attached to Western

economic help.

The International Monetary Fund has been acting as the West's watchdog for an economic recovery programme. Zaire was granted an 18-month IMF stand-by of \$150-million in August 1979.

Under the terms, Zaire had to abide by strict budgetary and balance of payments controls and IMF teams were put into the Ministry of Finance and the central bank, ostensibly to improve efficiency but also to try to fight the corruption which starts from the top and works down.

Until March last year, the Government failed to meet the stiff conditions of the stand-by, but since then the country has respected its understanding with the funds and has repaid \$43-million of scheduled debt. Observers are confident that the remaining \$40-million will be paid on time.

But another crunch in foreign debt funding will come this month when Zaire will have to repay \$795-million.

A meeting of the Paris club of creditor governments has been fixed for February.

A central bank official said: "Zaire intends to seek a further rescheduling of its debt by requesting a fourth meeting of the Paris club."

The prospect of a further rescheduling is unlikely to make the IMF well disposed towards Zaire's request for a \$1 000-

million extended fund facility over three years from March 1981.

The continued deterioration of the economy, President Mobutu's unwillingness to comply with stricter conditions and Zaire's poor record for compliance with previous agreements make long-term rescue attempts look increasingly hopeless.

But Zaire can continue to count on its political weight as the mineral-rich giant of Central Africa and, at least in name, an ardent ally of the West. The US has expressed its desire to continue support for the Government of President Mobutu in spite of his scant regard for human rights.

But Western countries are noticeably cooler towards the idea of a substantial plan for aid than they were at the time of the second invasion of the copper-mining province of Shaba in 1978. The scheme would have involved billions of dollars to repair the country's infrastructure and to get industry functioning at full capacity instead of its present 30%.

Zaire's attitude is that the West is starting to strangle any hopes of recovery by insisting on a tight debt repayment schedule.

"The external debt burden prevents any possibility of economic take-off," one senior official says. — Financial Times.

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QUANTITY
SURVEYING
(Continued)

De Beers pulls out of Zaire as contract ends

From The Financial Times

LONDON — The South African diamond giant De Beers has finally pulled out of Zaire after having had exclusive rights to the marketing of the country's important diamond production for the past 14 years.

The move follows Zaire's decision this year to break away from De Beers Central Selling Organisation (CSO) and sell its industrial-grade diamonds at higher prices on the open market.

Sales have been handled by the country's Sozacom Agency which now holds the marketing monopoly.

Sales have been made to independent diamond dealers — the firms of Caddi and Glasol of Ant-

werp and Mr Jack Lunzer's industrial-diamond company of London.

Based in Hatton Garden, Mr Lunzer specialises in industrial diamonds, the usually small gritty material which sells for about 10 dollars a carat compared with prices of thousands of dollars for the good-quality gem stones, which are often bought for investment.

Because of his lower costs, Mr Lunzer and the other independent dealers can offer better prices for the material to Zaire and, at the same time, sell to customers at a profit.

Zaire is the leading producer of industrial diamonds and total output last year amounted to about 14-million carats (there are 142 carats to the ounce) of which it is thought about 4-million carats were smuggled out of the country.

Total world production

of gem and industrial diamonds last year amounted to 47.2-million carats. The CSO, which markets more than four-fifths of world production of rough (uncut) diamonds, is having to carry huge stocks of unsold diamonds because of depressed demand.

These stocks, worth about 740-million dollars at the end of last year and higher now, arise from the CSO policy of buying a guaranteed minimum quantity of mine production and regulating supplies to match market demand.

Zaire's breakaway from the CSO will have loosened its grip on the market to some extent and raises the possibility that other producers might follow suit.

However, the lure of higher prices may be tempered by the fear of the dangers inherent in an uncontrolled market at a time of rising production capacity and poor demand.

1. 'South Africa' includes Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, otherwise stated.
2. Following the sustained public discussion of unemployment in 1976 the Department of Statistics started (from October 77) a Current Population Survey of Africans (and 'Coloureds'). Its object is 'to obtain current short-term information on the structure of the economically active African population, particularly as regards the unemployed'. It does this by collecting information from 'a sample of nearly 10 000 dwellings (in clusters of 30 for practical reasons) ... selected after stratifying on the basis of geographical area and national unit'. (Statistical News Release, P 27.3 of 14 May 1980.
3. For a detailed account of the introduction of the labour

Morris, 1977.

NOTES

LONDON. — De Beers Consolidated Mines has finally bowed to competitive pressures and has pulled out of Zaire. The marketing monopoly for Zaire's important diamond production has been taken over by the State-controlled Sozacom marketing agency.

De Beers Central Selling Organisation, which handles the pricing and marketing of over 80% of world production of rough diamonds, now sees the end of its 14-year exclusive purchasing concession for Zaire diamonds. All CSO rights and concessions there have been withdrawn.

The departure of De Beers was foreshadowed earlier this year when, seeking better terms for its sales, Zaire broke away from the CSO and began to sell a part of its diamond production on the open market.

Sales were arranged with independent diamond dealers, Caddi & Glasol of Antwerp and Mr Jack Lunzer's Industrial Diamond Company of London's Hatton Garden.

So far four sales have been made, bypassing the CSO. The most recent was last Friday when 504 300 carats from the Miba mine of Bakwanga Mining were sold to la Banque Commerciale Zairoise for \$4 600 000.

Zaire's diamond production is mainly of industrial-grade material which fetches around \$10 a carat compared with prices reckoned in thousands of dollars a carat for quality gems.

But the total value of Zaire's production is considerable. It is the world's leading producer of industrial diamonds and its output last year is estimated at 14 million carats — of which about 4 million carats were reckoned to have been smuggled out — compared with world production of gem and industrial diamonds amounting to 47 200 000 carats.

De Beers, whose mines produced 14 700 000 carats last year and which is cutting output by about 5%, now has to stomach the first major breakaway from the CSO since that of Ghana in the late 1950s.

It has not yet been decided how the production of the Ashton joint venture in Western Australia will be marketed. This will be mainly in the form of industrial stones and an annual capacity of 22 million carats is expected after full production starts in 1985.

Whether the market will be able to absorb this big new production remains to be seen. It has been assumed that, for practical reasons alone, the sales will be made through the CSO which undertakes to buy a

De Beers yields to Zaire

guaranteed minimum quantity of mine production, stockpiling if necessary to regulate the flow of diamonds to match demand.

But resentment has been expressed in Australia at the prospect of the potential diamond production being controlled by South Africans.

The Australian opposition party's shadow Minister for Minerals and Energy, Mr Paul Keating, has criticised the Government for leaving the marketing of diamonds to the "whim" of individual companies and the "caprice" of De Beers and has called for export controls on diamonds.

Perhaps a solution to Australia's nationalistic desires might be found in a pattern estab-

lished elsewhere. This would mean setting up an Australian Government marketing agency which would fall in line with the CSO selling policies but not be dominated by them.

While the Zaire breakaway has to some extent loosened the CSO's iron grip on the market, the selling organisation's main fear is that other producers might be tempted to follow suit in a quest for better prices.

Such a move however, might lead to an uncontrolled market developing against the background of depressed demand for diamonds and rising world production capacity. In the long run this would seriously harm the higher cost producers. Financial Times.

RDM 4/9/81
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8/2/ 11/9/81
Zaire loan (358)
LUXEMBOURG — The
European Common Market
has lent over 6 million
dollars to Zaire for the
promotion of small-scale
industrial projects, its
bank for long-term fi-
nance said yesterday.

W. J. S. comes to aid of Zaire

From the Financial Times, WASHINGTON — Few observers at the US Congress would have thrown up their hands in surprise when Mr Nguza Karl-I. Bond, Zaire's former prime minister, testified on corruption and mismanagement in Zaire.

Mr Mobutu Sese Seko, the President of Zaire and one of Africa's toughest political survivors, did not acquire his enormous wealth on his official salary alone.

Few countries know this better than the United States, closely involved in the affairs of this vast, potentially wealthy, state since Zaire's turbulent days in the 60s.

But the ambivalence towards Zaire felt by the Carter administration, concerned with probity and human rights, has been replaced by the African "realpolitik" of President Reagan and his advisers.

They have singled out Zaire as a country which, by virtue of its pro-Western stance and strategic resources such as cobalt and copper, deserves Washington's help.

ALLEGATIONS

Nevertheless, Mr Nguza's allegations come before the House Africa Sub-committee at a critical time for Mr Mobutu.

The President, battling to salvage Zaire's economy, has his own political survival at stake in a protracted and complex international operation to keep his country afloat.

His operation has three main planks:

1. A 10-year International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan of \$2 billion (IMF) to help right the balance of payments and to fund the government's budget.

2. A \$1 billion World Bank loan to help the government to meet its foreign debt obligations.

3. A \$1 billion IMF loan to help the government to meet its foreign debt obligations.

PRELUDE

The package is the culmination of more than two years of effort which

TN	Non Residents
TM	Miscellaneous
TF	Farmers
TE	Estate
TD	Donations Tax
TC	Company Tax

CODE
followed the grim decline in the mid 70s of Zaire's economy, but by a drastic rationalisation programme, falling copper prices and an increase in foreign debt. The Government now has a programme for the recovery of what is known as Africa's lost decade.

O. OF TUTORIALS

Oppenheimer^{Star} not worried by Zaire defection

22/9/87
246 358

LONDON — "I think you will find over the period ahead that people who look at the thing carefully may come to the conclusion that the Zaire experience should be looked upon as a warning rather than an example."

Thus Mr Harry Oppenheimer last week delivered his verdict on the defection of Zaire from the Central Selling Organisation.

Would it lead to the organisation's breakup, he was asked in a long interview? He smiled disarmingly. "Our contracts have a good long time to run in most cases," he said.

"I can't pretend that we are pleased that anybody breaks away. It's a bad example."

"The worst thing is the loss of prestige perhaps which is involved rather than the actual material which is about two percent of the CSO intake, largely in extremely low quality diamonds."

COMPETITION

He pointed out that the kind of diamond produced in Zaire was going to come under tremendous competition from the £316-million Ashton joint venture in Australia when the latter reaches full production in 1985 with an annual capacity of some 22.5-million carats.

Would other black African diamond-producing countries consider leaving the CSO?

"You do run risks with some of these African countries," Mr Oppenheimer admitted, "because for political reasons they are prepared sometimes to cut off their nose to spite their face and of course we run these risks."

"SOPHISTICATED"

Asked about the political objections raised in Australia about the possibility that the South African Organisation will market Ashton diamonds, Mr Oppenheimer replied that it was natural that there would be a prejudice against South Africa and

Kenneth Martson of the Financial Times interviews the chairman of Anglo American.

The Ashton Consortium leader, the Rio Tinto-Zinc group's CRA, was composed of "highly sophisticated people."

"They have had long and friendly talks with us and they've also quite rightly talked to a great many other people. What they will finally decide I don't know."

"Was the growth in the size of the CSO stockpile of rough diamonds near the limit of what might reasonably be financed?"

"We are a good long way from that level," said Mr Oppenheimer, but he confirmed that borrowings would be made if necessary to finance the stocks.

Mr Oppenheimer did not envisage any reduc-

tion being made by the CSO in its purchases from mines outside those in the De Beers group. "We can handle this all right."

There was no question of the CSO lowering its selling prices which are currently above those being fetched in Antwerp for smuggled stones.

He pointed out that the market in the larger, high-priced "investment" diamonds "is particularly bad."

But the importance of this area of the market had been "a little bit overdone because it was the area where the prices were pushed up by speculation to levels which really had no relation to any reality."

Mr Oppenheimer was concerned at the high level of retail price mark-ups, "it is one of the major difficulties of this trade."

One of the problems of the investment diamond scene was that during the boom "people sold diamonds for investment purposes at quite absurd mark-ups."

had something important that they would lose by dealing with the CSO.

"All we can do is to do our best to show to the Ashton people that by selling to us they are going to do better than selling to other people."

Zaire seeks way out of SA's grip

Zaire is attempting to reduce its dependence on the rail route through South Africa to save hard currency and to avoid becoming trapped by political events in the sub-continent beyond its control.

The southern railway from the province of Shaba through Zambia and Zimbabwe to South Africa has been Zaire's main export route for copper since the Angolan civil war severed the line to Lobito in 1976.

Last year 233 000 tons of copper, Zaire's main hard currency earner, were exported through South African ports while imports of food, coking coal and fuel carried north on the line from South Africa and Zimbabwe totalled 363 000 tons.

These figures represent nearly two-thirds of the total imports and exports for the province of Shaba.

This dependence on the south, which has grown rapidly in recent years

Zaire fears becoming embroiled in the transport dispute between Zimbabwe, Zambia and South Africa. A Star Africa News Service report from Lubumbashi.

due to the greater efficiency of the route, is beginning to worry both the government and the mining industry.

The first concern is that use of the southern route entails substantial hard currency payments to the three countries through which the line passes and further port and demurrage charges in South Africa itself.

Zaire, currently hard-pressed for foreign currency and with long-standing debts to international creditors totalling nearly R4 000-million, is already experiencing problems meeting costs incurred on the southern route.

Zambia has stopped rail traffic in and out of Shaba pending payment of

nearly R4-million in arrears, a move which has demonstrated the province's vulnerability.

The Zambian action left the province with just five days' supply of maize meal, most of which is imported from Zimbabwe and South Africa, and even if the trains start running again this week, rationing will have to be enforced soon.

Coupled with this is concern about the ability of the railway systems in both Zambia and Zimbabwe to cope with both internal transport demands and Zaire's transit traffic.

To reduce this dependence on the south, Zairean Railways is attempting to boost traffic on the Voie Nationale — the rail and steamer link with Matadi — and is also trying to increase exports through Dar-es-Salaam via the circuitous rail and steamer route across lake Tanganyika.

Zaire's president fights to save economy — and himself

RDM

2/10/81

358

WASHINGTON. — Few observers at the US Congress would have thrown up their hands in surprise when Mr Nguza Karl-I-Bond, Zaire's exiled former Prime Minister, testified on corruption and mismanagement in Zaire.

Mr Mobutu Sese Seko, the President of Zaire and one of Africa's toughest political survivors, did not acquire his enormous wealth on his official salary alone. Few countries know this better than the US, closely involved in the affairs of this vast, potentially wealthy state since Zaire's turbulent days in the 60s.

But the ambivalence towards Zaire by the Carter Administration, concerned with probity and human rights, has been replaced by the African realpolitik of President Reagan and his advisers. They have singled out Zaire as a country which by virtue of its pro-Western stance and strategic resources such as cobalt and copper, deserves Washington's help.

Nevertheless, Mr Nguza's allegations come before the House Africa sub-committee at a critical time for Mr Mobutu.

Planks

The president, battling to salvage Zaire's economy, has his own political survival at stake in a protracted and complex international operation to keep his country afloat.

The operation has three main planks:

- A three-year International Monetary Fund (IMF) 912-million Special Drawing Rights (SDR) extended fund facility announced in June, of which SDR 100-million has been drawn.
- A World Bank sponsored consultative group meeting a few days later, designed to mobilise further external support.
- Agreement on rescheduling external government debts at a meeting in Paris in July of western creditors. In 1979 Zaire reached agreement on rescheduling the bulk of commercial loans.

The package is the culmination of more than two years' effort, including a \$150-million standby agreement with the IMF, which began in August 1979 and concluded in March this year.

It follows the grim decline in the mid-70s of Zaire's economy, hit by a disastrous nationalisation programme, falling copper prices, and an unmanageable external debt.

Backed by the major donors the government now has a programme for the recovery of what is one of Africa's best en-

dowed States. The programme is based on rehabilitating industry, giving investment priority to agriculture and mining, and improving the transport system.

Yet the level of debt-servicing for 1981 is likely to mean a further year of austerity for Zaire. The Paris meeting of Western governments agreed to reschedule \$260-million of debt falling due this year and defer a further \$85-million. That leaves some \$370-million to pay. For the next year, a further \$280-million was rescheduled, leaving a balance of around \$500-million still to be met.

In the opinion of some econo-

mists, the squeeze may have been applied too tightly.

The Paris meeting of Western creditors was working on the basis of export receipts made earlier this year. "Looking back now," says one economist, "those figures were optimistic."

"The developments of the past 18 months, however, have left the president in an invidious position."

"He may satisfy grudging and suspicious creditors and fulfil the foreigners' formula for economic recovery. But until the benefits reach his people, the President's tenure of office must remain uneasy." — Financial Times.

Cobalt cuts ahead in Zaire

Star 9/10/81 (358)

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUBUMBASHI — Zaire is expected to make significant cuts in cobalt production in the next few years unless there is a resurgence of international demand which helps reduce the present stockpile of nearly 20 000 tons.

Last year's output totalled 14 480 tons but the forecast for the current year is slightly more than 12 000 tons and output in 1982 could be as low as 9 000 tons.

Zaire, the world's leading producer of cobalt, used mainly in heat-resistant alloys used by the aerospace industry, has so far sold less than a quarter of this year's production.

The slack demand is blamed on the Western recession and on the overstocking of inventories in 1978 and 1979 following the second rebel invasion of Kolwezi which forced demand and prices to record levels.

Shortly after the Kolwezi attack cobalt was selling at about R22 a half kilogram for forward buying and as much as R36 on the spot market. Zaire's most recent sales are understood to have been made at slightly under R10 a half kilogram.

The near-collapse of the cobalt market is causing

serious cash flow problems for Gecamines, particularly as it has coincided with a significant fall in copper prices.

Government revenue forecasts for this year will also be hit by the fall in cobalt and copper prices.

This will make it difficult for President Mobutu's administration to meet obligations under the latest International Monetary Fund support scheme and could force international banks to consider a further rescheduling of some of the country's debt.

Neighbouring Zambia is also facing problems selling its cobalt and the stockpile there has grown from less than 100 tons early last year to nearly 3 000 tons.

A heyday for smugglers

The Star's Africa News Service

LUBUMBASHI

Zaire's state takeover of the marketing of diamonds from the De Beers Central Selling Organisation is expected to lead to a resurgence of diamond smuggling which could offset the anticipated increase in government revenue.

De Beers, which markets over 80 percent of the world's production of diamonds, had its concession to market Zaire's output taken away earlier this year in a move designed to increase government revenue from this quarter.

The country's mineral marketing authority, Sozacom, is now handling all diamond sales through a Belgian consortium which is understood to be taking a

10 percent commission as opposed to De Beers' 20 percent.

Zaire is the world's largest producer of industrial diamonds but no major world producer has yet operated successfully outside

the Central Selling Organisation monopoly and concern is already being expressed in financial quarters here about the move.

One result, financial experts believe, could be a marked increase in the smuggling of diamonds to neighbouring countries.

De Beers' Zairean subsidiary had established a solid reputation for quick and efficient payments to local producers which, the financial experts believe, is unlikely to be matched by Sozacom.

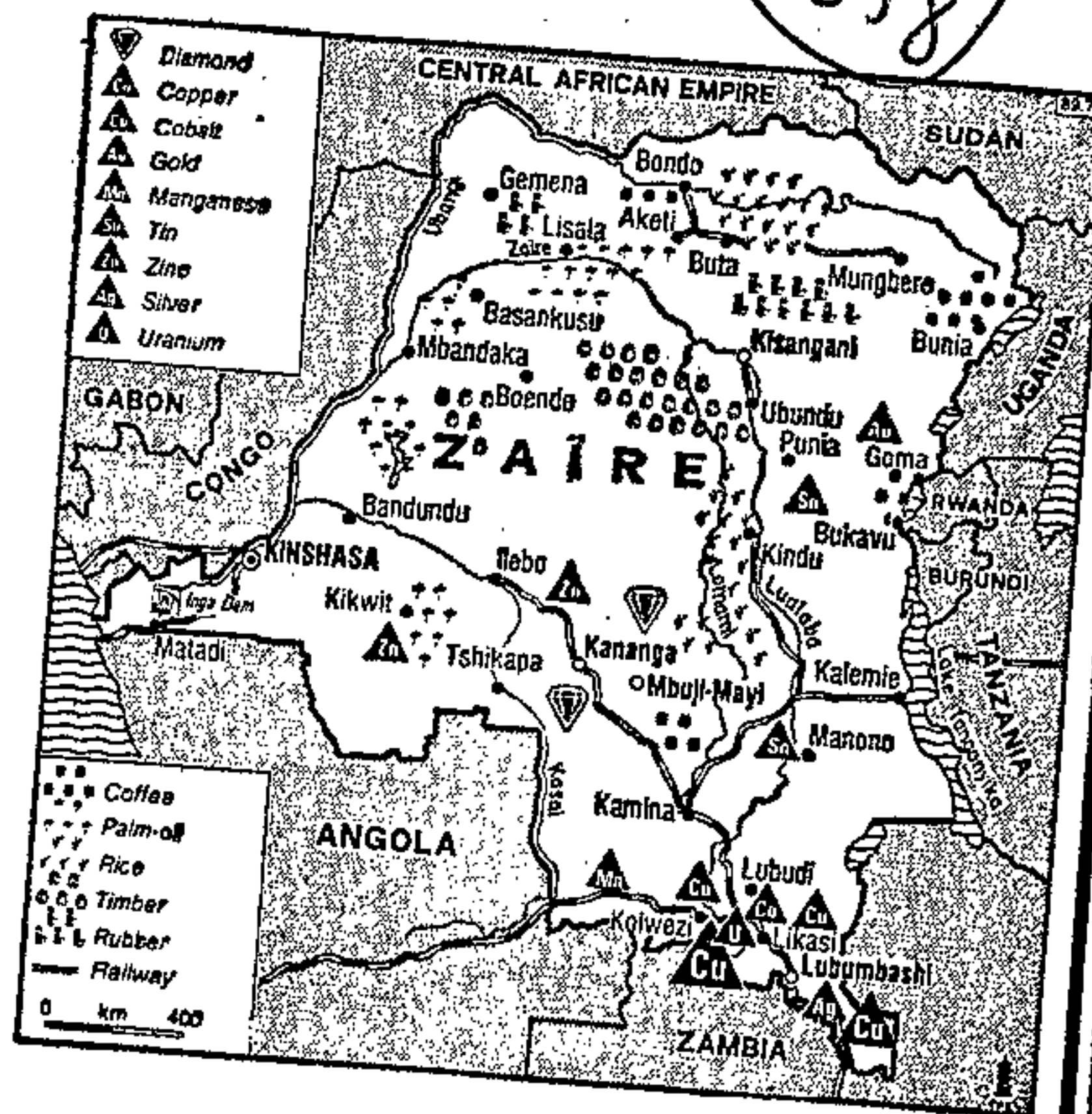
Smuggling

The state mineral marketing authority, which already markets the country's copper and cobalt, has a poor record of payments to Gecamines, the state-owned mining company in Shaba.

"If Sozacom handles diamond payments as badly as it has handled payments to Gecamines then there's no question that we are going to see an increase in smuggling," a banker here said.

The bulk of Zaire's gem quality diamonds, representing 40 percent of the country's output, are produced by small-scale operators working alluvial deposits around Tshikapa near the Angolan border.

Cash



De Beers made spot cash payments to these miners in Tshikapa, often flying huge sums of money into the town in DC 3 aircraft.

The concern among bankers is that Sozacom will not be able to handle this end of the operation nearly as well as De Beers.

"The people producing the diamonds in Tshikapa have very little trust in the government. They'll want cash in their hands before they part with the diamonds and if Sozacom doesn't run things efficiently they'll sell elsewhere," said the Lubumbashi banker.

The obvious places are Brazzaville in neighbouring Congo-Brazzaville and Bujumbura in Burundi, traditional selling points for diamonds smuggled out of Zaire.

Ironically, diamonds smuggled out of Zaire are almost certain to finish up in the hands of De Beers since the company has long maintained buying counters in these countries to mop up illegal exports.

Scandal

Another major concern about Sozacom's involvement in the diamond business is that proceeds from future sales could easily be embezzled by corrupt officials.

The organisation was involved in a major cobalt scandal two years ago in which several million rands are believed, by bankers in Kinshasa, to have finished up in a foreign account held by the president, General Mobutu.

Zaire, desperately short of hard currency and under tight IMF fiscal control because of outstanding foreign debts totalling nearly R4 000-million, can ill-afford to have any foreign currency earnings picketed by officials and the IMF is expected to take a close look at Sozacom's operations.

Zaire — where a Coke can cost a day's wages

Savaka
14/15/87
(358)

LUBUMBASHI. — A soft drink in one of the sidewalk cafes which grace the otherwise decaying main street in Lubumbashi costs the equivalent of R2, a day's wages for the average Zairean working in this southern mining town.

So there's not a huge market for soft drinks even in Lubumbashi's October heat and the cafes lead a quiet and unhurried existence beneath the jacaranda trees which shade the pot-holed and litter-strewn street.

That a soft drink should cost a day's wages is illustrative of an important fact about Zaire, potentially one of the richest countries in Africa but currently trying to drag itself out from under an avalanche of foreign debts which have crippled the economy.

It is that nobody in Zaire can live on their official salary even if they never buy a soft drink and, from the provincial governor to the street sweeper, everybody is busy augmenting his pay cheque through a wide range of wheezes known as "the parallel system".

A telephone operator will, for example, ask for a backhander before connecting your call. A copper miner smuggles malachite, a semi-precious stone, across the border into neighbouring Zambia.

The district governor, likely as not, has a few dozen fictitious employees on the payroll or is busy taking kickbacks from those anxious to conclude important deals in his province.

It is into this twilight economy that the

asked rhetorically. . . "Maybe people will just lie down and die, maybe they'll stand up and fight. We don't know, but it's worrying a lot of people."

His company recently concluded a survey which produced the horrifying information that the official spending power of the average Zairean is just seven percent of what it was in 1960 when Belgium granted independence to its most important colonial possession.

"We also established that the minimum livable wage is now R250 a month for a family of three. We pay R60 to R80 a month because we'd have to close down if we paid more. But it means that stealing and corruption is rife in the company," he said.

In the shanty towns known as the Cite around Lubumbashi people have a lean and hungry look which suggests that even allowing for a second source of income, the IMF's belt-tightening exercise is reaching the stomachs of the average Zairean.

The question this raises, and one that is being asked increasingly frequently by diplomats and others in Zaire, is whether the whole exercise of reducing the external debt to manageable levels is possible without some sort of internal revolt.

"The IMF seems to be adopting Marie Antoinette's line that if there isn't bread then let them eat cake", said a commercial banker here. "Conventional wisdom suggests it might be a dangerous line to take." The IMF's assessment of Zaire's performance in



LAI D LOW: French paratroopers question Zaireans during the rebel invasion of Kolwezi in 1978. They are sure to be called in again in the event of another uprising.

evidence of solid support for the fiscal rehabilitation programme. Businessmen are experiencing serious cash flow problems, President Mobutu has had to undertake a purge of the central committee of his ruling party and external Zairean dissidents seem to be taking new heart from the general discontentment within the country.

"If there was an uprising, the country's 40,000 whites would be a prime target since they are seen as prostitutes of Mobutu's administration", said a Catholic priest with a lifetime experience in Zaire.

"Once a few white throats were cut, Western governments would be under pressure to intervene, just as they did after the massacre

of whites at Kolwezi".

Following the Kolwezi massacre in 1978, Moroccan troops played a peacekeeping role for a year before France and Belgium sent instructors to train new units of the Zairean army.

There are still more than 100 Belgian and 150 French military instructors in Zaire and there seems little doubt that they'd would be used as a frontline defence of white interests in the event of an uprising.

That is not to say that it will necessarily ever occur, but rather than putting Zaire's economic house in order its Western creditor nations might have to consider guarding it while the springcleaning is in progress.

International Monetary Fund (IMF) is having to stroll in its efforts to restore a measure of economic sanity which might make it possible for Zaïre to one day repay the R4 000-million owed to Western creditors.

But the IMF's twilight stroll is itself encouraging rather than discouraging the parallel system since the austerity measures it has imposed on President Mobutu's wilfully spendthrift and corrupt administration in Kinshasa are an important factor in the price of a soft drink or a bag of mealie meal.

By insisting on devaluations of the Zaïre (the local currency) and restricting credit, the IMF has made the State's books look a good deal healthier — the economy grew by nearly two percent last year, the first growth in years — but is making everything more expensive and forcing a greater reliance on the system as a means of survival.

"But even the parallel system is not a bottomless barrel", said a prominent businessman here who, like everyone else in this autocratic state, requested anonymity.

"There aren't many notches in the belt for the IMF to tighten. Then what happens?" he

1980, during which the last portion of a R140-million IMF standby loan was used up, is one of satisfaction at what is perceived as a new willingness by the country's politicians to tackle problems with politically unpopular remedies. *South Africa* 15/87-18

Accordingly, a recent study of the IMF says, Zaïre's efforts towards economic recovery "merits strong internal and external support".

The latter has been more apparent than the former since this study was completed early this year. In June the IMF itself granted a R1-billion three-year credit to Zaïre, the biggest ever loan made to a country in sub-Saharan Africa.

In July there was further good news when one of the "clubs" of Zaïre's creditor nations met in Paris and agreed to reschedule some R350-million in debt repayments due this year. The United States, one of the main backers of President Mobutu's anti-communist administration, is expected to increase its already substantial aid commitments before the end of the year.

But internally it is difficult to find much

Economic chaos could lead to revolt

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUBUMBASHI — A soft drink in one of the sidewalk cafes which grace the otherwise decaying main street in Lubumbashi costs the equivalent of R2, a day's wage for the average Zairean working in this mining town in the South.

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That a soft drink should cost a day's wages is illustrative of an important fact about Zaire, potentially one of the richest countries in Africa but currently trying to drag itself out from under an avalanche of foreign debts which have crippled the economy.

It is that nobody in Zaire can live on their official salary even if

they never buy a soft drink and, from the Provincial Governor to the street sweeper, are all busy augmenting their pay cheques through a wide range of wheezes known collectively as "the parallel System."

A telephone operator will, for example, ask for a backhander before connecting your call. A copper miner smuggles malachite, a semi-precious stone, across the border into neighbouring Zambia. The District Governor, likely as not, has a few dozen fictitious employees on the payroll or is busy taking kickbacks from those anxious to conclude important deals in his province.

Encouraging

It is into this twilight economy that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is having to stroll in its efforts to restore a measure of economic sanity which might make it possible for Zaire to one day repay the R4 000-million owed to Western creditors.

But the IMF's twilight stroll is itself encouraging rather than

discouraging the Parallel System since the austere measures it has imposed on President Mobutu's wilfully spendthrift and corrupt administration in Kinshasa are an important factor in the price of a soft drink or a bag of maize meal.

By insisting on devaluations of the Zaire (the local currency) and restricting credit the IMF has made the state's books look a good deal healthier — the economy grew by nearly two percent last year, the first growth in years — but is making everything more expensive and forcing a greater reliance on the system as a means of survival.

"But even the Parallel System is not a bottomless barrel," said a prominent businessman here who, like everyone else in this autocratic state, requested anonymity. "There aren't many notches in the belt for the IMF to tighten. Then what happens?" he asked rhetorically. "Maybe people will just lie down and die, maybe they'll stand up and fight. We don't

know, but it's worrying a lot of people."

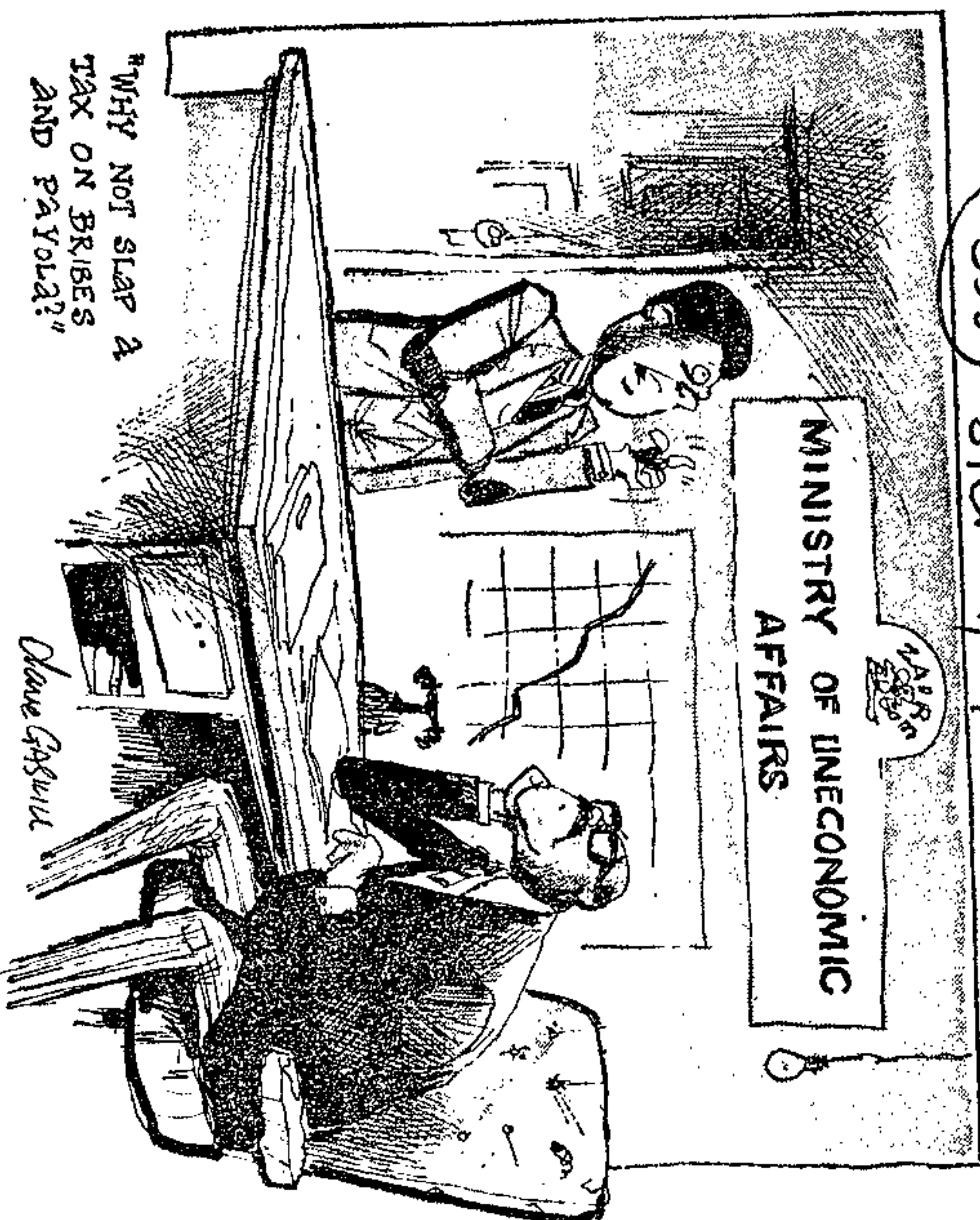
His company recently concluded a survey which produced horrifying information that the official spending power of the average Zairean is just seven percent of what it was in 1960 when Belgium granted independence to its most important colonial possession.

Hungry

"We also established that the minimum payable wage is now R250 a month for a family of three. We pay 60 to 80 rands a month because we'd have to close down if we paid more. But it means that stealing and corruption is rife in the company," he said.

In the shanty towns known as the Cite around Lubumbashi people have a lean and hungry look which suggests that even allowing for a second source of income, the IMF's belt-tightening exercise is reaching the stomachs of the average Zairean.

The question this raises, and one that is



"Why not slap a
TAX ON BRIBES
AND PAYOLA?"

Clare Gribble

being asked increasingly frequently by diplomats and others in Zaire, is whether the whole exercise of reducing Zaire's external debt to manageable levels is possible without some sort of internal revolt.

"The IMF seems to be adopting Marie An-

Accordingly, a recent study by the IMF says, Zaire's efforts are experiencing serious economic recovery "merits strong internal and external support."

Apparent

The latter has been more apparent than the former since this study was completed early this year. In June the IMF itself granted a R1-billion three-year credit to Zaire, the biggest loan it has made to a country in sub-Saharan Africa.

In July there was further good news when one of the "clubs" of Zaire's creditor nations met in Paris and agreed to reschedule some 350-million rand in debt repayments due this year. The United States, one of the main backers of President Mobutu's anti-communist administration, is expected to increase its already substantial aid commitments to Zaire before the end of the year.

But internally it is difficult to find much evidence of solid support for the fiscal re-

habilitation programme. Businessmen are experiencing serious cash flow problems, President Mobutu has had to undertake a purge of the central committee of his ruling party and external Zairean dissidents seem to be taking new heart from the general disgruntlement within the country.

One of the most vocal of late, former Prime Minister Nguzu Karl I-Bond, has been touring Europe and the United States predicting a collapse into anarchy and chaos if the West does not quickly withdraw its support for President Mobutu.

While Mr Nguzu is regarded as having little domestic support he adds an influential voice to the diverse chorus of opposition and might be able to use his stature abroad to bring about a measure of unity in the splintered exile opposition groups.

Responding

What the exile groups hope to be able to take advantage of is a popular uprising.

since the two rebel invasions of the mineral-rich Shaba Province in 1977 and 1978 demonstrated the administration's ability to cope with external threats.

"If there was an uprising the country's 40 000 whites would be a prime target since they are seen as pro-Mobutu's administration," said a Catholic priest with a lifetime's experience in Zaire. "Once a few white throats were cut Western governments would be under pressure to intervene, just as they did after the massacre of whites at Kolwezi."

There are still more than 100 Belgian and 150 French military instructors in Zaire and there seems little doubt that they would be used as a frontline defence of white interests in the event of an uprising.

That is not to say that it will necessarily occur, but rather than in putting Zaire's economic house in order if western creditor nations might have to consider guarding it while the spring-cleaning is in progress.

He won't follow his leader

RDM 122.10.81
\$58
SALISBURY. — Mr. Joshua Nkomo, leader of the minority Patriotic Front Party in the government coalition, said yesterday he would not accompany Prime Minister Robert Mugabe on a "meet the people" tour of Matabeleland — Mr Nkomo's political stronghold.

Mr Mugabe began his seven-day tour yesterday and will speak at a rally in Bulawayo on Saturday.

The two leaders and guerrilla war allies have clashed publicly on several occasions.

Matabeleland is dominated by Mr Nkomo's Ndebele tribe, and provided most of the 20 parliamentary seats the Patriotic Front won in the independence elections. — UPI.

ZAIRE — GENERAL

1982 — 1988

CSO withdrawal a success Zaire to double diamond output

358
25/1/82
EOM

By JOHN MULCAHY

ZAIRE'S Miba diamond mine is expected to double its production in two years in an expansion programme costing \$40-million.

The Government of Zaire and the World Bank's International Finance Corporation for a loan to finance the expansion are expected to agree to the loan on Friday.

Mr Jack Lunzer, managing director of Industrial Diamond Company (IDC), Hatton Garden diamond merchants and one of the three companies handling the marketing of Zaire's diamond production, said the Miba expansion would double production in two years from 6-million carats now.

Mr Lunzer was in Johannesburg last week after attending the monthly diamond sale in Kinshasa where the Societe Zairoise de Commercialisation des Minerais (Sozacom), Zaire's State mineral marketing organisation, sold 542 733 carats of diamonds for \$8 500 000.

He rejected claims that Zaire's withdrawal from the Central Selling Organisation (CSO) had been unsuccessful, and said its production was not sufficient to meet demand.

Evolutionary

Since Zaire's withdrawal from the CSO last year the entire production from the Miba mine, as well as from Tchikapa, had been sold without difficulty, said Mr Lunzer.

Questioned on the possibility of other producers following Zaire out of the CSO, Mr Lunzer said Zaire was an unusual case because most of its diamonds were industrial quality, "and the marketing of gems is a completely different ball-game".

The IDC had operated independently of the CSO for 15 years.

He foresaw changes in the diamond market, but equated these with evolutionary change. "Nothing stays the same — we see a different Africa to 10 years ago, with a national pride and determination for independence."

While the nature of the CSO would change with the world, it would still be around in one form or another.

Surcharges

He defended the CSO's action in imposing surcharges on gems three years ago which sent the prices of wholesale diamonds rocketing.

"The CSO had no option — they had to put a stop to the madness that had swept the investment diamond market."

If its monthly sales continued at the current level — and Mr Lunzer expects demand to increase — Zaire's annual sales could reach \$120-million, representing 8.5% of the CSO's 1981 sales.

Mr Lunzer said other areas of Zaire produced diamonds, but these were smuggled out through Brazzaville and

Burundi.

While these stones were produced by hand on a small scale, the combined total from these operations was significant. It was estimated that in December exports from Brazzaville amounted to \$6-million against \$5-million in November last year.

Mr Lunzer said: "By far the greater proportion of Zaire's diamond output is in industrial stones where the market is determined by straightforward supply and demand factors, and is unaffected by speculation or investment."

"The relatively small quantity of gem diamonds produced in Zaire are in the medium-quality range, which at the retail level are selling like red-hot cakes."

Mr Lunzer said there had always been strong demand for Zaire's industrial diamonds, and in the 1950s and 1960s the US built up a huge stockpile of the stones.

Production was adversely affected in the civil war in Zaire, and around the same time the US decided to release 6-million carats a year of the Zaire stones for sale by tender as the development of synthetic diamonds had reduced the strategic need for such a large stockpile.

According to Mr Lunzer the IDC continually underpinned these US sales as it had substantial markets for the Zaire diamonds.

All minerals

Zaire's decision to follow an independent marketing approach was not confined to diamonds, and Sozacom was established to market all Zaire's minerals.

In its first step towards increasing production the Miba mine had placed a deposit of \$5-million for a dredge to produce 1 500 000 carats a year.

Mr Lunzer said the world should welcome the discovery of the huge diamond field in Australia as there was an inadequate supply of natural industrial stones.

Annual synthetic diamond production had reached 130-million carats, but the size of these stones was limited, and because there had not been enough natural diamonds to satisfy the market, synthetic compounds of smaller stones had been developed which did not always have properties equivalent to "naturals".

"I am not concerned about the world's ability to absorb the Ashton production," said Mr Lunzer. But the likely impact on the market could not be judged until the performance of the Ashton industrials had been assessed.

Australia had produced diamonds from various sources for 50 years, but the friability of the stones varied from place to place, and the Ashton diamonds would have to be tested to determine

their best use.

Mr Lunzer would not be drawn on Ashton's possible marketing plans, but said the Joint Venture management had been in close contact with every major distributor and user of diamonds, "and are handling the situation in a most able way".

Strikers 358 enrolled E. Post 5/2/82 in army

KINSHASA — Zairean authorities have forcibly enrolled 85 students, including a girl, into the army for their alleged role in a strike at the university in Kinshasa, the Zairean news agency, Azap, reported today.

The students, accused of leading the recent strike after which the Government closed the university, were drafted into a commando unit and will undergo special training for two years.

It quoted Kinshasa governor, Mr Sakombi Ekope, as saying the students' behaviour had threatened the security and property of the capital's inhabitants. — Sapa-Reuter

Resistance grows to corrupt regime of Mobutu's Zaire

CAPE TIMES 1/3/82 (358)

LONDON. — Probably the biggest scandal in Africa relates to President Mobutu's continuance in office at the head of a perennially bankrupt Zaire.

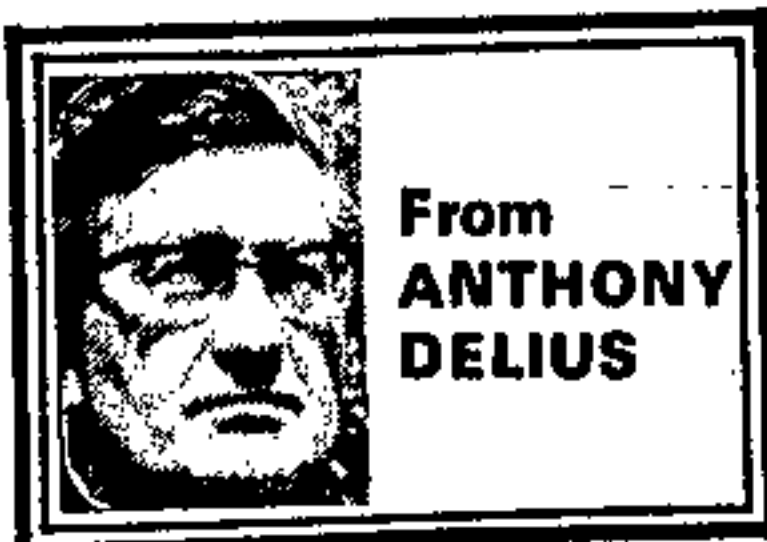
How is it that what is potentially one of the richest countries in Africa with (in 1979) a favourable trade balance of \$600 m has to have by 1981 an extended credit from the International Monetary Fund of \$1 000 m spread over the next three years? And this in spite of all the millions that have been poured largely by Western nations into the country over the last 20 years or more? This huge expenditure has been intended to keep Zaire stable and in the camp of the West, but neither of these aims may ultimately be fulfilled.

Discontent

Under a surface of apparent stability (and evident bankruptcy) the signs of discontent are multiplying. One of the latest of such signs was the student disturbances at the University of Kinshasa, which have been ended by drafting the 85 students regarded as ring-leaders into a special commando unit in the army. The students were protesting against low grants, poor facilities and bad food, probably made all the more insufferable when seen against the high living of so many of the people in power.

Neither the students nor their relatives nor many of the 30 million Zaireans struggling along on one of the lowest average incomes per head in all Africa are going to become more contented with their lot when they read or hear of the latest revelations made about their President's huge fortune. The March issue of Africa Now claims that President Mobutu has a fortune of at least \$4 000 m outside the country, amassed since he became head of state 16 years ago. It's estimated that Mobutu and his family have the "14th largest fortune in the world, just ahead of the Dutch royal family".

It may be that few Zair-



From
**ANTHONY
DELIUS**

eans are going to hear these calculations of their President's immense wealth immediately. The Zairean government is in control of one of the most subservient radio services in Africa and the press is, if anything, even more in line with government propaganda than the radio. There is, however, no doubt that the growing opposition inside and outside the country is going to see to it that the news is spread widely, and they will be helped by the media of neighbouring states with which Mobutu is no great favourite.

Expensive properties

The Africa Now revelations are certainly sensational, but are given with a wealth of facts and figures, including a photocopy of a certificate from the Belgian finance ministry about the numbers of expensive properties in smart areas of Belgium owned by Mobutu and his family.

Africa Now is a monthly magazine published in London by one of Africa's ablest and most responsible journalists, Peter Enahoro of Nigeria.

Mobutu is said to have assembled his fortune by transfers from his vast budgetary allocation (last year's was \$330 m), sales of private hoards of minerals, kick-backs on big company deals, etc. All these are products of a system of phenomenal graft, with advice given by men prominent in European finance and politics.

Some of the information about Mobutu's methods and fortune-making come from the President's former Prime Minister, Nguza Karl i Bond, now campaigning in the West to have Mobutu thrown out of office.

Once, under Western pressure to clean up his regime and give it a somewhat more liberal ap-

pearance, Mobutu produced an elected assembly with the respected and efficient Nguza as Prime Minister. But the assembly and Nguza asked too many questions, so the assembly was superseded by another committee and Nguza made a bolt for it before Mobutu's henchmen caught up with him. He had previously been thrust out of high office into Mobutu's top security prison before suddenly reappearing as PM, and recognized the signs that something nasty was going to happen to him again.

Westerners, including the Americans, are convinced by now that paying



up to keep Mobutu on top is becoming a very expensive enterprise in every way, and they would certainly like to see somebody else in charge, who had a chance of staying in charge, perhaps Nguza. But the Western countries, including even France and Belgium, have become painfully aware of how unpopular they can become with the majority of African countries if they interfere in Africa too openly. Their attitude is that they cannot do anything about displacing Mobutu, and that the task is something that the Zaireans must do for themselves.

Readers of this column may remember the surprise expressed in it at the hasty arrival of 600 Zairean soldiers to play a part in the African peace-keeping force in Chad, especially as the poor fighting quality of Zair-

ean troops made this a doubtful contribution. Now it seems this was a military manoeuvre by Mobutu to reassure European and American friends he felt were beginning to lose faith in his usefulness. He wanted to show that he was foremost among those who would act to keep an anti-Westerner like President Gaddafi out of Chad.

Power-base

The army, 19 000, navy, 1 000, air force, 1 000, and paramilitary police, 35 000, are Mobutu's chief power-base in the country. They are being somewhat better paid and better trained since the armed forces' feeble showing in the invasion of the Shaba province by the forces of one group of the opposition. However, the loyalty of senior officers is being made doubly sure by their being given shares in certain lucrative enterprises. They are also being more closely bound to Mobutu's cause by the fear that his downfall might reveal where their obvious wealth came from. However, a feature of the last few years is that a number of senior officers have, either because of their greater loyalty to their people or because of a yearning for power, taken part in plots against him. Some of these officers are now dead.

The Front de Liberation Nationale du Congo (FLNC), headed by General Nathaniel Mbumba, a former chief of police of Kolwezi, has been responsible for the two Shaba invasions, 1977 and 1978. Referred to loosely as a force of former Katangese gendarmes, this group is much wider than that, formed out of the large number of Zairean exiles still in Angola, probably only a small minority of whom still retain any loyalty to the late Moise



President Mobutu... a reported fortune of \$4 000 m abroad

Tshombe. They have shown themselves capable of beating the Zairean forces in the field.

Another armed group is one maintained by the Marxist Parti de la Revolution Populaire (PRP) in the mountainous areas of the north-easterly zone of Zaire. In spite of the creation of special commando units of the Zaire army to hunt them down, these PRP military activists are still making themselves felt. Then there is the Mouvement d'Action pour la Résurrection du Congo (MARC) formed by a number of former Congolese politicians, which hopes by winning the confidence of Western powers to bring about an internal takeover in Zaire.

In exile

Finally there is the group in exile in the West, of which the most prominent is Nguza Karl i Bond, of men who were once members of the government under Mobutu. They share the aim of turning out Mobutu and then reforming the country from there.

Very probably all the four main groups mentioned will have something to do with the overthrow of Mobutu and his friends, black and white, if it ever happens. The end of Mobutu might leave an even bigger mess behind than the casting out of Idi Amin did in Uganda, and the stench of corruption it unleashes could cling to certain financial and political circles in Europe and America as well.

1004 3/3/82

Zaireans

close 358

Zambia

border

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — Zaire closed its border with Zambia yesterday as tension heightened over Monday's exchange of fire between Zambian and Zairean troops.

A Zambian Government spokesman said a second Zambian bus, with its crew and an unknown number of passengers, had been seized by Zairean authorities.

The Copperbelt regional permanent secretary has called for an emergency meeting with leaders of Shaba province in southern Zaire.

The meeting would attempt to reduce tension in the Sakania area of Shaba, scene of the exchange of fire between Zairean and Zambian troops, and the abduction of seven Zambian nationals and seizure of mealie meal.

Reports reaching the Zambian capital say thousands of Zambian residents at the Sakania border have fled their villages to Ndola, provincial headquarters of the Copperbelt province.

358 3/8

Banditry set the scene for shootout by military

By Brendan Nicholson
The Star's Africa
News Service

SALISBURY — The incident leading to a shootout between Zambian and Zairean border troops this week follows years of cross-border banditry by ill-disciplined Zairean soldiers.

In December 1980 the Zambian Government ordered its troops and paramilitary police to deal ruthlessly with armed gangs they found on the Copperbelt after a series of attacks believed to have been carried out by Zairean soldiers.

The order came at the height of a diplomatic row over the shooting by Zambian forces of two members of a gang found near the town of Konkola wearing Zairean uniforms.

The Kinshasa Government admitted the two men belonged to its army but claimed they had been shot 2 km inside Zaire.

Though Zairean troops cannot be blamed for all crime on the Copperbelt their willingness to use military weapons during holdups has added a brutal dimension to increasing lawlessness in the region.

They are believed to have been responsible for the deaths of Zambian policemen, local residents and a number of expatriates.

In the latest incident, Zambia claims, Zairean troops established a roadblock on a main road inside the Copperbelt Province and stole a truck carrying mealie meal.

They are also alleged



to have stopped a bus in the Shaba Salient as it crossed the pedicle road, which links the Copperbelt with Zambia's far north, and detained seven Zambians.

Lusaka did not say where the subsequent shootout took place or give casualty figures.

But a Zairean spokesman said Zambian troops killed three Zairean army men during an attack on a village 500 m inside Zaire. This provoked a retaliatory raid into Zambia on Sunday, the spokesman claimed. A Zambian soldier was killed.

In December last year four men in military camouflage robbed a series of vehicles on the Ndola-Luansha road after pretending they were Zambian paramilitary police.

That night a gang of 12 well-armed men, thought to be Zaireans, attacked a farmhouse near Ndola and raped two women before escaping across the border with goods worth thousands of rands.

It is believed that the latest wave of violence may have been sparked by a Zambian clampdown on Zairean smuggling operations involving a range of goods from food to emeralds.

Zimbabwe threatens foreign newsmen

The Star's Africa
News Service

SALISBURY — Zimbabwe is to get tough with foreign correspondents who misrepresent events in the country says its Minister of information, Posts and Telecommunication, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira.

His Government would clamp down on foreign journalists who "saw Zimbabwe through South African eyes," he told the opening of a Rumanian photographic exhibition here on Wednesday.

He accused the foreign Press of wrongly portraying a meet-the-people tour by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe as a sign of the decline of his ruling Zanu (PF) Party and of mistakenly projecting the recent Cabinet reshuffle as the advent of civil war.

"We have already withdrawn the accreditation of one correspondent and are going to adopt a tougher line towards such correspondents," Dr Shamuyarira said.

A South African-based correspondent for the West German Press, Dr Hans Germani, had his accreditation withdrawn this year.

Dr Shamuyarira called for more literature from socialist countries to counter "lies."

Clairvoyant seeks seat

The Star's Africa
News Service

SALISBURY — Mr Andre Holland's Democratic Party, which failed thrice to win a seat in Zimbabwe's House of Assembly, has chosen as its candidate in a Bulawayo by-election Mr Bill Macleod (44).

A male nurse known as a clairvoyant, he sees the Democratic Party as a bridge between the races.

4, FRIDAY, MARCH 5, 1982

(258) (260) D. Dispatch 5/3/82

MPs demand border closure

LUSAKA — Angry members of the Zambian Parliament called on the government yesterday to close the border with Zaire permanently and to scrap the Zambia-Zaire Permanent Joint Commission.

In a heated debate following last weekend's exchange of fire between Zairian and Zambian security forces, back-benchers said there was no need for Zambians to be level-headed in the face of the

worsening border situation.

Despite mounting pressure from MPs for the border closure, the government said such a measure would be excessive and called on them to be tolerant while efforts were being made on both sides to resolve the dispute.

Choma MP, Mr Daniel Munkombwe, said Zambians were being "tossed" at various borders with neighbouring countries — Zaire, Malawi

and Angola — and wondered whether the government was right in asking its people to be tolerant.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Frederick Chomba, said the Zambia-Zaire Permanent Joint Commission met in Kitwe yesterday to sort out the border problems and to strengthen relations between the two countries.

Meanwhile, the Zairian ambassador to Zambia, Colonel Efomi Aon-

ga, said Zambian security forces killed three Zairian soldiers in an exchange of fire at a village 500 metres inside Zaire.

Unconfirmed reports from the Copperbelt said two battalions of the Zaire army had been rushed to Sakania on the border with Zambia to reinforce the strength of their troops.

Zaire had opened its border post at Mokambo after intense negotiations between officials

from the two neighbouring states, allowing passengers from the Copperbelt and the Luapula province to travel in both directions.

Hundreds of stranded Zambian travellers, using the road to the Luapula province, and starving Zairians lauded the re-opening of the border when immigration officers from both sides allowed traffic to flow between the two points. — DDC.

Insurance Expense
being closing entry

300

300

Years 02 and 03 - same as 01

04, Jan 1: Insurance Expense
Bank

300

300

Jan 2: Debtor (Insurance Company)
Income from Life Policy
being accrual of proceeds receivable

24 000

24 000

Jan 2: Income from Life Policy
Income Statement
being closing entry

24 000

24 000

Jan 2: Income Statement
Insurance Expense
being closing entry

300

300

Jan 31: Bank
Debtor (Insurance Company)
being receipt of proceeds

24 000

24 000

(2) Premiums Treated as an Asset

01, Jan 1: Life Policy
Bank

300

300

Dec 31: Income Statement
Life Policy
(Surrender value of policy is zero -
therefore no amount can be capitalised)

300

300

Continued/

Zairean soldiers snatch Zambians

LUSAKA. — Seventeen Zambian villagers from the Solwezi district in the north-western province have been abducted by Zairean soldiers and are being detained at Kipushi in southern Zaire

According to a member of the central committee for the copperbelt province, Mr Alex Shapi, the number of Zambians now being held in Zaire has increased to 24, including seven police officers

Relations between the countries soured in 1980 when Zairean soldiers seized Zambian territory in the Kaputa district of the northern province on the southern shore of

Lake Tanganyika

The Zambia-Zaire permanent commission has reviewed the border dispute unsuccessfully and Zambia has taken the dispute to a special committee of the Organisation of African Unity

Early this month two Zairean soldiers were killed in an exchange of fire between Zambian and Zairean forces at Sakania on the common border of the copperbelt.

There has been no response to a note which Mr Shapi sent to the Zaire Government demanding the release of the detainees. — Sapa.

Section A F



EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

	Internal	External
(1)	(2)	(3)
2a	9	
3b	107	
Examiners' Initials		

Paper No.....
(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

10

WARNING

1. No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
2. Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

Copper back on line after missile row

From Bruce Johns in Harare

A BIZARRE incident in which a Zairean villager tossed a rock at a Zambia railways locomotive led to a six-day closure of the rail line between the two countries recently.

The stoppage, ordered by Zambia after locomotive drivers refused to take trains into Zaire's copper-rich Shaba province, cost five countries thousands of rands daily in lost freight and export income — Botswana, SA, Zaire and Zimbabwe.

The embargo was lifted after Zambian and Zairean officials met last

week and the Kinshasa Government promised to pay R7-million in transport arrears and to tighten security in Shaba.

The embargo trapped six thousand tons of Zaire's 20,000 tons-a-month copper exports.

All of Zaire's copper is now railed out through Zambia and Zimbabwe to SA ports.

The move also held up the arrival in Zaire of urgently-needed spare parts, pharmaceuticals and foodstuffs (mainly from SA) and Zimbabwean coal and coke for the mines as well as maize — ordered to stave off a food shortage in Shaba.

Zimbabwe railways, hub of the regional railways system, promised to clear the backlog of traffic as soon as possible.

"It will be cleared very quickly," assistant general manager John Avery

told Industrial Week.

Although not land-locked like Botswana, Zambia or Zimbabwe, Zaire has no roads or railways to move its minerals — the bulk of its foreign earnings — from the Shaba province out through its ports of Matadi and Banana in the north-west.

The Benguela railway in Angola, once the main conduit of copper from both Zaire and Zambia, has been closed by guerrillas since 1975.

Most of Zaire's exports and imports as a result are railed via SA.

Industrial Week 7/10/82
4/5/82 358

WORLD NEWS

Food & B
MANUFACTURING

UNIONS OPERATING IN 1981 GROUPED ACCORDING TO INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION

Unions have been classified according to the Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities. The full extent of the operation of the following general workers unions has not been established:

National Federation of Workers
Orange-Vaal General Workers Union
General and Allied Workers Union

AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY AND FISHING

Black Allied Workers Union
Farmworkers Union
Food and Canning Workers Union
National Certified Fishing Officers Association
Orange-Vaal General Workers Union
Trawler and Line Fishermen's Union

MINING AND QUARRYING

Amalgamated Engineering Union of S.A.
Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers
Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers of S.A.
Black Allied Workers Union
Black Mineworkers Union
Federated Mining Explosives and Chemical Employees Union
Iron Moulders Society of S.A.
Mine Coloured Staff Association of South Africa
Mine Surface Officials Association of South Africa
Mine Workers Union
S.A. Boilermakers, Iron and Steel Workers Shipbuilders and Welders Society
S.A. Electrical Workers Association
S.A. Engine Drivers, Firemen and Operators Association
S.A. Technical Officials Association
Underground Officials Association of S.A.

Few likely to woo Israel Zaire becomes African outcast

NAIROBI — Arab anger at Zaire for restoring diplomatic relations with Israel has made other African states wary of doing the same, Western diplomatic sources said yesterday.

The sources said that several African countries which wanted to restore relations with Israel feared the Arab world would retaliate by cutting aid programmes to Africa, worth about R6 000 million over the past five years.

Most African states broke off links with Israel in 1973 to protest Israeli occupation of Egyptian territory. Egypt is a member of the 50-nation Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Zaire's decision on Israel followed the return of Sinai to Egypt last month removing, in the Kinshasa Government's view, the last obstacle to restoring relations.

The violent reaction from the Arab world and African Arab states to Zaire's decision contrasted with the muted criticism of some African countries. Senegal, Togo, Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Mali said they would not follow Zaire's lead but refrained from attacking President Mobutu Sese Seko's decision.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda assured his hosts at the end of a tour of Kuwait, Iraq, and Bahrain that his country would not restore ties with

The Arab world has reacted violently to Zaire's decision to resume diplomatic relations with Israel and other African States are wary of making a similar move for fear of losing massive Arab economic aid.

Israel. But he stopped short of criticising his neighbour.

Israel has quietly courted several African countries in recent months and Defence Minister Mr Ariel Sharon secretly visited Liberia, the Central African Republic, Ivory Coast, Malawi, Zaire and Gabon in December.

He sounded out prospects for upgrading relations — several countries allow Israeli "interest offices" to operate in their capitals — and discussed possible aid.

While Israel cannot match the massive aid potential of the oil-producing Arab states it has a sound reputation in Africa for training and military, medical and farming aid.

Despite the break in relations Israel still trades with many African states and has construction projects in several others.

Arab banking sources said Zaire received R450 million in Arab aid between 1973 and 1981 — the second biggest African recipient of such aid after Guinea.

In a possible taste of things to come the Khartoum-based Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (Badea) suspended operations in Zaire this

week because of what it called "the gravest breach of Afro-Arab solidarity."

Saudi Arabia, a major Badea donor, broke diplomatic links with Zaire in retaliation and official sources in Syria said the Arab world would impose economic and political sanctions against countries that followed Zaire.

Qatar has also cut diplomatic ties with Zaire and Algeria has recalled its ambassador from Kinshasa.

Western diplomats said many African countries would be looking to Nigeria and Kenya, two of the continent's political giants, for a lead. But they doubted that either would re-establish ties with Israel, despite being pro-Western.

More than 100 members of the Nigerian National Assembly have backed an Opposition proposal calling on President Shahu Shagari to persuade other countries to recognise Israel.

But the Nigerian Government owes much to Saudi Arabia, an ally in the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (Opec), for leading a campaign against Western oil companies which sought to force down Nigeria's oil price this year.

Kenya has yet to make a public statement about Israeli relations but, privately, officials said a resumption of ties between Kenya and Israel was out of the question.

But Kenya's Standard newspaper, normally close to government thinking, advised other African states in an editorial to follow Zaire's example.

In an apparent reference to Arab financial aid to Africa, the Standard said: "Diplomatic relations are based on criteria which are wider than money or considerations of internal schisms."

An imponderable is the attitude of Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, who is due to take over the OAU chairmanship from Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi in August.

Colonel Gaddafi, a champion of Palestinian rights and a leading anti-Israeli figure in the Arab world could influence OAU thinking on those countries with diplomatic ties with Israel.

But there were also signs that Colonel Gaddafi was trying to mend fences with moderate African States to help stage a successful OAU summit meeting, already threatened by a split between African and Arab African States.

Algerian-backed Polisario guerillas, fighting Moroccan control of the Western Sahara, gained OAU membership in February, prompting boycotts and protests at OAU sessions by largely pro-Western African States. — Reuter.

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Zaire 358

power line: Jan a dicy 26/5/82 future

KOLWEZI — When Zaire finally throws the switch on June 30 to turn on the world's longest direct current power line, most of the workers involved in the nine-year Inga-Shaba project will have moved away, leaving behind millions of rands in equipment and a giant electrical complex with a very uncertain future.

The story of its construction is full of controversy, delays and memories of two forced evacuations from Kolwezi.

The project, cost overrun is believed to be at least two times the original R230 million winning construction bid by an American firm.

Plagued

And it is not certain who will use the 560 Mw of electricity the line is designed to carry in its initial stage. There are no branches off the 1900 km line that passes through most of southern Zaire, an area plagued by power shortages.

The 600 Zaireans who worked alongside American construction workers learnt skills for which there is now little demand.

The double power line stretches from Inga, where the Zaire river tumbles over Horseshoe Falls and a series of dams towards the Atlantic, to Shaba Province in the southeast, site of the copper mines that provide 80 percent of Zaire's export earnings.

The Inga-Shaba project was conceived by the French national electricity firm, Electricite de France, at the request of Societe Nationale d'Electricite, its Zairean counterpart, in the early 70s.

Expansion

Copper and cobalt prices were high and oil prices had not yet quadrupled. Gecamines, the national mining company, needed more electricity for its ambitious expansion programme in Shaba.

Since then, however, copper prices have plummeted, expansion plans have been shelved and both Zaire and Gecamines are strapped for hard currency.

A Gecamines official at the company's headquarters in Lubumbashi said in an interview that at most the mines would now need no more than 150 Mw. There are no other commercial clients of any importance in the region.

Bidders

It may seem ironic, the official, who asked not to be identified, said. "But with all the criticism of the project, even though we can't use even half the power, we're really counting on its coming on line by July. There is a serious drought here and there's not enough water now for local dams to generate electricity."

The American firm, Morrison-Knudsen International won the construction bid in 1973 over four other bidders, but work did not begin until 1974 because of delays in financing.

The original completion date was 1977, but quadrupling oil prices and two invasions of Shaba in 1977 and 1978 by rebel soldiers opposed to President Mobutu Sese Seko caused major interruptions.

**Zaire pilots
train in SA**

JOHANNESBURG —
Pilots of a private air-
line in Zaire are at pre-
sent receiving training
on Boeing 727 simulators
in South Africa after the
acquisition by the air-
line of a Boeing 727 from
an American company.

The aircraft is one of
nine originally owned by
South African Airways.

GENERAL NEWS

Zaire abandons ore claim

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — After a year, Zaire has quietly hauled down its flag in the mineral-rich territory President Mobutu Sese Seko's Government has been claiming in Zambia's northern province.

No explanations or announcements were given by the Zaireans following the move and it is not known

whether Zambia's giant northern neighbour has relinquished its claims to the area around Kaputa.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda has called the wrangle a "delicate problem" which he had hoped to resolve through peaceful diplomatic negotiations rather than confrontation.

Zambia's Government - owned

newspaper Daily Mail today interpreted the lowering of the Zairean flag as a direct result of Cabinet-level talks between the two countries.

The area is said to be rich in diamonds, gold, platinum, tungsten, steel, copper and cobalt.

These minerals had attracted large numbers of foreigners, mostly Zaireans.

SADCC may reject Zaire's application

GABORONE. — Leaders of nine Southern African countries were likely to turn down an application from Zaire to join their fledgling economic community when they gathered here this week, conference sources said yesterday.

Zaire formally requested membership of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) earlier this year.

The sources said none of the existing SADCC members was enthusiastic over Zaire's application.

Zaire has a long-standing territorial dispute with Zambia, it failed to back Angola's ruling MPLA during its independence civil war and President Mobutu Sese Seko and President Julius

Nyerere of Tanzania are far apart politically.

President Nyerere, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, President Samora Machel of Mozambique and President Quett Masire of Botswana and the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, will attend the summit.

Their main purpose is to review SADCC's progress, to approve the appointment of a nine-member permanent secretariat headed by a Zimbabwe diplomat, Mr Arthur Blumeris, and to consider applying to the United Nations for formal recognition.

SWA/Namibia has already been designated as SADCC's 10th member after its independence. — Sapa-Reuter

Zaire's SADCC bid is quietly shelved

Star 358
23/7/82

By Jasper Mortimer,
The Star's Africa News
Service

GABORONE — Zaire's formal attempt to join the nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference has all but been publicly rejected.

Zaire's application was "being processed," the President of Botswana, Dr Quett Masire, said when the nine Heads of State and senior Cabinet Ministers held a Press conference at the end of yesterday's summit.

Asked if the application was being positively considered, the President replied forcefully: "I repeat my answer. It is being processed."

His comment was widely interpreted as diplomatic veto.

"They don't want to offend Zaire," said an observer. "They'll just shelve the application."

President Masire avoided controversy as he fielded questions.

Beside him sat Mozambique's President Samora Machel, Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, Zimbabwean Premier Mr Robert Mugabe and Cabinet Ministers from Angola, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi.

On the SADCC's view of South Africa's "destabilisation," Dr Masire said: "We confine ourselves to economic problems."

The reply seemed to conflict with Mr Mugabe's bringing to Gaborone his Minister for Security, Mr Emerson Munangagwa, and the

fact that the Angolan delegation was led by a lieutenant-colonel.

Dr Masire did, however, disclose that the Frontline states were confident that the latest initiative on Namibia would succeed.

"We definitely think in fact we have told you, that we hope to be with Namibia next year."

"We have no doubts we will all be better for it. The more the merrier."

Namibia's riches would contribute to the region's development and prosperity.

Most of the R1 000 million raised for SADCC projects had come as a direct result of the founding of the SADCC, rather than a pooling of aid.

"If there are any strings attached (to the aid) they are invisible," Dr Masire said.

● The summit announced the appointment of Mr Arthur Blumeris (42), as executive secretary of the SADCC. He is Zimbabwe's Ambassador to Belgium and to the EEC. He goes to Gaborone in two months to set up a central co-ordinating office for numerous SADCC projects.

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

	(1)		Internal	External
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6	5	70		
66				

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
EXAMINATION ANSWER BOOK



358
I'm no embezzler: Mobutu

Mobutu: My people look on me as the one who has saved Zaire from misery, quarrelling and confusion.
Question: You are looked on as a dictator — are you?
Mobutu: How on earth can this country be ruled without authority? We have had a war here. We have 450 tribes. How could they be governed without authority? From your question I begin to see how little the outside world knows about me.
Question: Don't you have the impression that, by re-establishing relations with Israel, Zaire is joining the strategic and political coordination linking Jerusalem, Washington and Pretoria?
Mobutu: That is your magazine's idea — that Israel and South Africa are the same and the friends of Israel are the friends of South Africa. That is not Zaire's view.
President Mobutu claimed there were 500 000 deaths in the civil wars in Zaire from 1960 to 1965. This was the first time he had given a figure.

million dollars. Just look how I live (in the army camp of Tshatsh). I must be the only African President who has not built himself a palace. The house I live in is mine and I have lived in it since 1960.
"Since then I have been deputy army commander and army commander and then head of state. But, for 22 years, I have slept in the same bedroom."
But President Mobutu admitted that he owned "four or five houses in Brussels, a flat in Paris, a few properties in France that are pompously described as chateaux, a villa in Switzerland and land in Zaire with 20 000 cattle."
He added: "You are attributing a fortune to me, that I do not possess. Where would I get it from? How would I amass all this money I am supposed to have?"
Question: There is a biography about you in pictures and each one praises you. One almost expects to hear loud applause. It is hardly credible. In fact, it is ridiculous.

Own Correspondent
PARIS — President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire has cheerfully denied that he is a dictator embezzling millions of dollars.
In what must be the frankest interview of his 17 years of rule he spent two hours trying to make the world understand the "real" leader of Zaire.
The French language weekly, Jeune Afrique, this week published the interview, with its reporter Seenen Andriamirado.
"Have you embezzled 250 million dollars as the American Press reports?" asked Andriamirado.
Mobutu: How is it possible? When we get American aid, my dear friend, we never see one dollar. It comes as rice, maize, spare parts or arms. Who on earth can believe I embezzle American aid?
Question: You are very rich. Are you worth three million dollars? Mobutu (laughing): A Belgian deputy said that I was worth 6 000



President Mobutu Sese Seko... a fortune he does not possess.

part of an answer book is to be torn out.
Answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.
Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
Books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room.
Candidates are so instructed.

GET off your rear ends and help the travelling troops!

This is the substance of a blunt message I pass on to the itinerant public from Mrs Joyce Terry of the local Ride Safe organization.

A couple of weekends ago Mrs Terry and her colleagues were pulling out their hair by the roots because they had a scads of troops needing lifts — but very few motorists offering them.

One problem may be a communications gap; Mrs Terry says a lot of people don't know how to contact the Ride Safe organization. They look in the directory but find nothing, which is hardly surprising, since Ride Safe has no office and no budget, just some women who use their own telephones and time.

What then, you might ask. Well, Mrs Terry points out that every Monday morning there is a Ride Safe notice in the Cape Times "Town Topics" section, giving the telephone numbers of the ladies on duty for the next week.

CFA cover

HERE'S one for collectors of commemorative

Give the troops a ride

covers. The Cape Field Artillery has produced one depicting a 140mm (5.5-inch) medium gun to mark its founding on August 26, 1857. The cover also bears the CFA cap badge and is date-stamped with the birthday date. Covers are available at 65c each from the regimental headquarters, Private Bag 9081, Cape Town.

Envelopes bearing the signature of the present commanding officer, Commandant Ian McKinney, are available at R1.65 each. Payment may be made by crossed cheque or postal order, made out to the regiment. For further information, call Colonel L. A Crook at 41-3444.

Angola coup?

JOHN MATISON, our Washington man, has come up with an item about an Angolan coup plan which was recently published in the Portuguese-language magazine Expresso and reprinted in the US government's

foreign broadcast information service (which does not necessarily signify US agreement). Matison says:

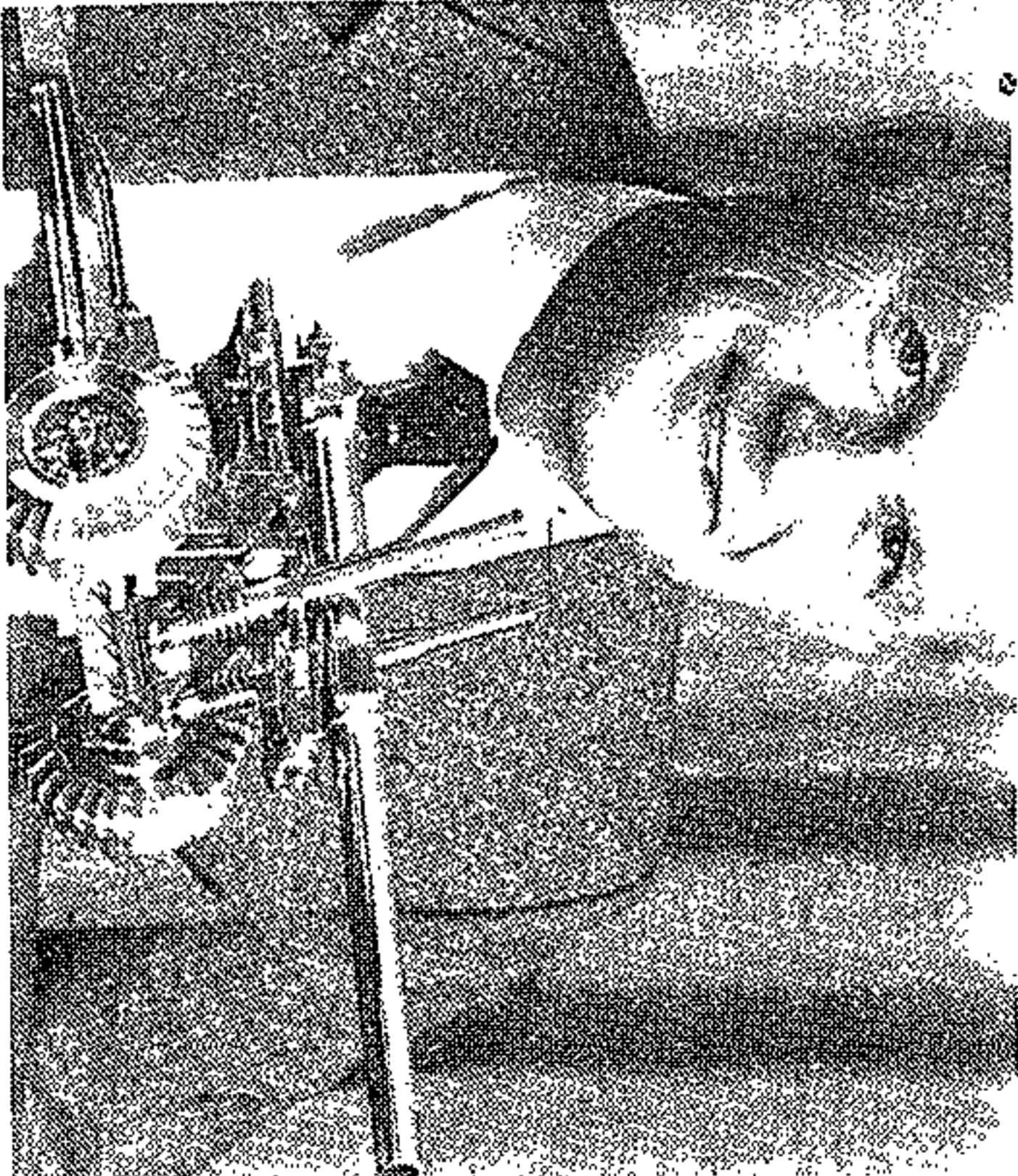
South Africa and a broad coalition of dissidents in Angola are planning an operation designed to overthrow the Angolan government, according Expresso.

The operation, code-named "Cubango", was agreed on at a secret meeting in April in London attended by South African security agents, Unita, the FNLA, a Cuban anti-Castro refugee organization and MPLA government dissidents.

The objectives of Operation Cubango are to establish a pro-Western regime amenable to South Africa's interests, including the drastic reduction or elimination of Angolan military support for Swapo, Expresso said. American government sources declined to say whether they thought it was true or not. They pointed out that Expresso is normally a reliable source of information.



ON PARADE by WILLEM STEENKAMP



The old 140mm (5.5-inch) medium gun may be heading for retirement, but it's still got lots of friends. Just to make sure that it never gets forgotten, this beautiful scale model in metal was recently presented to the regiment to mark its 125th birthday. The man with the gun is Colonel Lionel Crook, a former OC.

and said the article contained more detail than similar claims in the past which had turned out to be inaccurate.

However, South Africa has undertaken military actions in southern Angola in August-September each year, and so far this year's operation is smaller than the one last year, the sources said, adding that before the last major action similar reports, which turned out to be wrong, appeared in the Portuguese press predicting South Africa would not stop at Swapo bases in southern Angola.

Expresso says the man chiefly responsible for the operation's military planning is a South African whose real name is James J (Koo) Kemp, but who is known as Brigadier Jack Rollins when he travels abroad.

The magazine says its information points to the formulation of a large-scale and detailed plan for a military invasion of Angola and a simultaneous seizure of power in Luanda, carried out by

dissident elements in the MPLA.

Two military columns — one from Zaire and one from SWA/Namibia — would move to Luanda as part of a pre-arranged joint strategy. The northern column would be composed of about 500 mercenaries.

The new regime would cut back on military aid to Swapo, restricting its support to declarations of principles and diplomatic recognition. SWA/Namibia "refugee" camps in Angola would be moved to beyond 450km from the border.

Angola would accept Western proposals for SWA/Namibian independence, try to negotiate a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, and soften its position towards South Africa in international organisations.

Mr Victor Fernandes, a Lisbon-based Angolan dissident, has acted as the link between MPLA dissidents and South Africa. He has met a London-based agent of South

Africa's Department of National Security in Lisbon several times. In June-July he visited South Africa to meet with this agent and other Pretoria officials, and this is when the operation's main guidelines and timetable were apparently drawn up, said Expresso.

● Good stuff! But I don't think it would be as simple as all that. I think the Russians would be reluctant to contemplate losing an investment totalling billions in roubles, rands or other internationally-recognized currencies.

They could airlift in a couple of air wings and a division or two, complete with weapons, within a couple of days of receiving a "fraternal call" for help from Luanda, and stop the invaders dead in their tracks. Guerrilla fighters are hard to pin down; a conventional push with only a few hundred men on the ground and no air-fighting component is something else.

I doubt if any large-scale military help would be forthcoming from us — remember Operation Savannah? If not, where will it be coming from?

So is it all a wild story or does Expresso know things we don't?

Angola fears invasion from Zaire

LISBON. — Angola yesterday gave its first indication that it expects a new invasion from the territory of Zaire, the northern neighbour which intervened in the 1975 Angolan civil war.

The official Angolan news agency Angop quoted a statement by the top political bureau of the ruling party alerting the population to the danger of a new invasion "across the northern and southern borders of the country".

The Angolan leadership has been issuing warnings regularly that a new South African invasion is imminent across the southern border with SWA/Namibia, but this is the first time it has mentioned a danger from the north.

'Puppet' invasion

The statement by the ruling MPLA Workers' Party said the new invasion would probably involve "Angolan puppets as well as other mercenary forces alongside regular South African troops".

The official news agency said the party had declared Angola's willingness to appeal for external help under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

According to Western estimates, about 18 000 Cuban troops have been stationed in Angola since independence in 1975 and Soviet and East German military advisers are also in the country.

'Cubans to remain'

Angop said: "The prevailing climate of confrontation in the region conditions the withdrawal of the Cuban troops. They will remain in Angola until Pretoria gives guarantees that (Angola's) territorial integrity and national sovereignty will be respected."

● A South African Defence Force spokesman in Pretoria yesterday described as nonsense the Angop report that regular South African troops were to take part in a drive from Zaire into Angola.

The spokesman told Sapa: "Once again Angola is resorting to old previously-published propaganda to cover their inability to control dissent in that country. This latest round of nonsense is not worth any further comment."

— Sapa-Reuter

Nov 19 (10/82) (358)

Zaire on the way to default

KINSHASA. — Zaire will default on \$48-million repayments of commercial loans from syndicates of major Western banks this month, say banking sources.

It will also default on most of its foreign debt repayments due this year, totalling more than \$900-million out of a total cumulative debt — rescheduled four times since 1975 — of more than \$5 200-million.

Zaire was able to pay \$94-million in urgent debt repayments this year, and it is now without foreign exchange.

The central bank has said debt repayments in 1981 of \$421-million — equal to 28.5% of exports, used up almost all reserves.

Zaire, suffering from falling commodity prices, essentially for metals, defaulted by \$110-million on 1981 foreign debt repayments.

Bankers say the default, together with non-compliance by President Mobutu Sese Seko's Government with IMF conditions set in 1981 within a three-year recovery plan worth \$1 200-million, led to immediate cancellation of the plan at the end of last year.

The main reason, apart

from default on debt repayments, for cancellation of the IMF accord, was Zaire's soaring money supply to finance Government spending.

Money supply rose by 37.9% last year and is expected to rise again.

Inflation of 47% is likely to rise above 60% this year.

Zaire's \$25-million monthly oil bill was cut three months ago to \$15-million, causing a petrol shortage. — Reuter.

Kinshasa puts Sunday look

KINSHASA — If cities moved, Kinshasa's gait would be a fitful lurch.

Its life rises and breaks, moments of high fever giving way to collapse and dulled sleep. Beneath the town, the Congo River smashes into rapids, but at Kinshasa the water sits — a dark brown lake, syrupy, cola gone flat.

The city is enormous, with a population of perhaps three million, although no one could really count the people waiting for buses, begging, pushing wheelbarrows, peering from huts, lying in the dirt, walking, shouting, riding in limousines.

There are millions here trying to make some kind of life in a city whose good humour and cruelty can be both confounding and unbearable.

A few days in Kinshasa earlier this month were strange, anaesthetised ones. The chiefs of state of France and the French-speaking African countries were in town for their annual conference, and Kinshasa had newly tarred roads and whitewashed curbs. The crowds were gone from the streets.

A visitor who had once spent a lot of time in Kinshasa, appalled and attracted by its special, outlaw energy, asked an old acquaintance, an African who studied in the United States, what

The good humour and cruelty of the Zairean capital can be both confounding and unbearable, says John Vinocur of the New York Times.

had happened.

"The word came down," he said. "These were the days when Kinshasa was supposed to behave like Williamsburg, Virginia. They gave everybody Friday and Saturday off. They stopped the buses. The city wasn't there. Everything was quiet."

Not many people believe statistics about Kinshasa, or about Zaire, because here there seem to be two sets of books for all the numbers in the country, down to licence plates and telephones.

Once Zaire seemed about to become enormously rich. Instead it has drifted near bankruptcy. There are figures — like Zaire's R946 million debt-servicing obligation for the year, and its foreign debt of something like R500 000 million — but they mean relatively little. The only numbers people believe are the ones reflecting the disintegration they see every day.

For example, an ambassador said that a bus company with 120 buses had only four that worked. The air force has 17 Mirage fighters, but only seven that fly. The army

bought 200 Panhard tanks, but about 100 are not usable.

Air Zaire has three medium-range Boeing jetliners. Two fly every now and then, and the third has been cannibalised for parts to keep the others going. Some pilots have not been paid in months. Airport workers siphon fuel from arriving planes and sell it as paraffin in the city.

Theft, begging, and bribery are so institutionalised on official levels that the country was referred to in a recent report by a former International Monetary Fund official as corrupt beyond shame.

Despite its indisputable burdens, Kinshasa is often described, in a rush of local boosterism, as "relatively safe" for foreigners. The phrase was used the other night by a woman who works at the Hotel Memling in the centre of town.

But when a visitor asked about walking to a restaurant about 500 metres away, the woman said she would send a security man to accompany the guest.

President Mobutu Sese Seko has run the country since 1965. The credo of the single party in the country, the Popular Revolutionary

Movement, is known as "Mobutuism." Central to it is a respect for the teachings of the Guide, as the President is known.

There are 13 former legislators serving 15-year prison sentences for expressing interest in creating another political party, a grave form of deviationism in Kinshasa.

While the conference was on, Mr Mobutu invited a small group of reporters to the terrace of his presidential palace, set at the top of a sloping lawn that runs past the swimming pool and toward the distant Congo River.

The President, who is a relaxed, unflustered handler of any kind of question, said that there was "an international mafia" of people plotting to harm the reputation of Zaire and his capital. He said this was partly because there was no place in Zaire for fashionable and empty ideologies.

"We don't please very much," he explained. "On the other hand, my people breathe and sing and dance. Thanks to my skill."

A comic book of the

Guide's life story is sold by hawkers downtown. In it Mr Mobutu kills a lion as a boy, leads machine-gun charges as a soldier and shakes the hand of Mao Zedong, Queen Elizabeth and Richard Nixon. The hawkers' starting price for a copy is the equivalent of R6. Interested buyers with time and patience can buy the comic book for about 90c.

In their few days here the chiefs of state saw almost nothing of the city — motorcade trips, limousines with darkened windows and helicopters kept Kinshasa at a distance.

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communicate with other person except the invigilator.

No part of an answer book is to be torn out. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

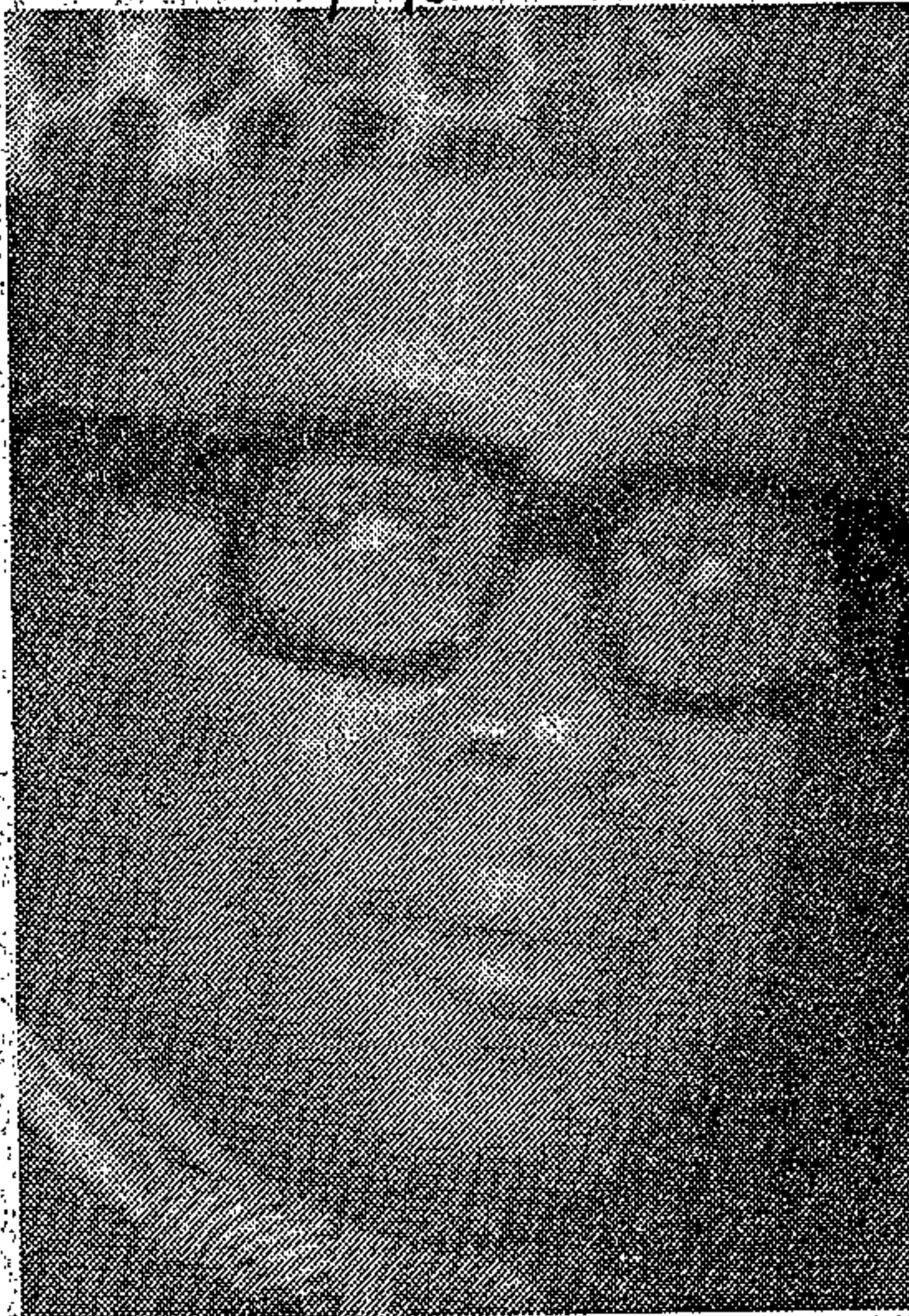
examination book(s) are used.

4. Do not write in the left hand margin.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from University

on its

26/10/82 Star



Mobutu

"We don't please very much."

Falling demand and low prices for minerals have left huge African nation heavily in debt

KINSHASA — Zaire faces a major economic crisis brought on by falling demand and low prices for the minerals that provide the bulk of its foreign currency earnings.

The huge African country will again default on debt repayments of some 48 million dollars to major western banks this month unless it receives urgently needed foreign aid, banking sources say.

Zaire, with a total foreign debt estimated at 5.2 billion dollars, is unlikely to find more than 94 million of the 900 million dollars it would need to honour all its obligations to creditors for the year, the sources added.

They said the country was now totally without foreign ex-

change, and the Central Bank has acknowledged that last year's debt repayments of 421 million dollars left the foreign reserves cupboard all but bare.

Reduced demand for Zaire's main exports, copper, cobalt and diamonds, has slashed the country's export earnings from a 1980 peak of 1.9 billion dollars to 1.4 billion in 1981 and a projected 500 million this year.

Alongside the foreign exchange crisis, Zaire is suffering from soaring money supply and inflation, acute petrol shortages and a declining rate of economic growth.

Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko had looked to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to help tide his country over the

Zaire a country totally without foreign exchange

debt repayment crisis.

Zaire and the IMF last year agreed on a three-year recovery plan allowing Kinshasa credit worth 912 million Special Drawing Rights (about 980 million dollars) from IMF funds.

It drew out only 175 million SDR's (185 million dollars) before the IMF cancelled the deal on the grounds that Zaire had defaulted on 110 million dollars owed to other creditors last year and had broken IMF limits on

the country's money supply.

Bankers said the amount of money in circulation leapt by 38 percent last year and will probably rise further this year. The Government needed the money to finance a budget deficit of 1.5 billion Zaires (250 million dollars), almost twice budgeted expenditure.

This helped fuel inflation to the present annual 47 percent, which coupled with a new paralyze could

push inflation up to 60 percent before the year is out, the bankers said.

The new system, introduced a year ago, allows companies with foreign currency of their own to import and sell goods at deregulated prices.

It now accounts for 75 percent of private trade and bankers say it is putting pressure on domestic prices and on the currency black market, where the US dollar now fetches almost three times the

official rate of 5,385 Zaires to the dollar.

With the collapse of the IMF accord, the Paris Club of Creditors, grouping international financial institutions and states, postponed talks on rescheduling of Zaire's debts.

Bankers said IMF credit was a key component in the rescheduling plan, which would have been the fifth since 1975, and without it there was little point in talking.

President Mobutu told Reuters he expected a negotiating team

from the fund to visit Kinshasa in mid-November to resume discussions.

In the meantime Zaire is having to pay 1.9 percentage points above the London Interbank offered rate (Libor) on all the accumulated interest and capital repayments on which it has defaulted.

The Government has had to cut foreign currency allocations to both the public and private sectors to 25 percent of their levels one year ago. Depressing industry of impor-

tant spare parts and equipment.

Bankers said Zaire had had to cut its oil imports from 25 to 15 million dollars a month last July. The result was a serious shortage of petrol throughout most of the country.

The old oil import bill was equivalent to total monthly earnings from copper, cobalt, zinc, coffee, and both gem and industrial quality diamonds, they said.

Mining sources said copper production in the southern mining province of Shaba fell to an average 37 500 tons a month for the first half this year, against 42 000 tons last year.

Cobalt production was also down, from an average 1 170 tons a month last year to 900

tons this year. President Mobutu told Reuters Zaire had massive stocks of 10 000 unsold tons of the metal.

Bankers said Kinshasa had suggested using this cobalt as security to its creditors or to mortgage it as part of debt repayments, but the offer was turned down.

Coffee exports are also predicted to fall this year, since smugglers are taking increasing quantities of robusta across the border into Uganda or Sudan to exchange it for foreign currency.

Zaire's overall economy, which registered a fairly healthy growth rate of just over two percent in 1980, will probably prove stagnant this year, the bankers said. — Reuters.

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36/10/82

President Mobutu Sese Seko

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Zaire moving steadily 'into the red'

... budgeted expenditure.

KINSHASHA: Zaire continues to face a major economic crisis brought on by falling demand and low prices for the minerals that provide the bulk of its foreign currency earnings.

The huge African country will again default on debt repayments of some 48 million dollars (R55 million) to major western banks this month unless it receives urgently needed foreign aid, banking sources say.

Zaire, with a total foreign debt estimated at 5,2 billion dollars (R6 billion), is unlikely to find more than 94 million (R108 million) of the 900 million dollars (R1,035 billion) it would need to honour all its obligations to creditors for the year, the sources added.

They said the country was now totally without foreign exchange and the central bank has acknowledged that last year's debt repayments of 421 million dollars (R484 million) left the foreign reserves cupboard all but bare.

Reduced demand for Zaire's main exports, copper, cobalt and diamonds, has slashed the country's export earnings from a 1980 peak of 1,9 billion dollars (R2,18 billion) to 1,4 billion (R1,6 billion) in 1981 and a projected 500 million (R575 million) this year.

Soaring inflation

Soaring inflation

Alongside the foreign exchange crisis, Zaire is suffering from soaring money supply and inflation, acute petrol shortages and a declining rate of economic growth.

Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko had looked to the International Monetary Fund to help tide his country over the debt repayment crisis.

1. Zaire and the IMF last year agreed on a three-year recovery plan allowing Kinshasa credit worth 912 million special drawing rights (about R1 225 million) from IMF funds
2. but it was only permitted to draw out 175 million SDRs (R213 million) before the IMF cancelled the deal on the grounds that Zaire had defaulted on debts to other creditors.

- Bankers said the amount of money in circulation leapt by 38 per cent last year and will probably rise further this year. The government needed the money to finance a budget deficit of 1.5 billion zaires (R287 million), al-

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most twice budgeted expenditure.

This helped fuel inflation to the present annual 47 per cent, which could be pushed up to 60 per cent before the year is out.

A system, introduced a year ago, which allows companies with foreign currency of their own to import and sell goods at deregulated prices, now accounts for 75 per cent of private trade.

Bankers say it is putting pressure on domestic prices and on the currency black market, where the US dollar now fetches almost three times the official rate of about 6 zaires to the dollar.

President Mobutu has said he expected a negotiating team from the Fund to visit Kinshasa in mid-November to resume discussions.

In the meantime Zaire is having to pay 1.9 percentage points above the London Interbank offered rate on all the accumulated interest and capital repayments on which it has defaulted.

The government has had to cut foreign currency allocations to both the public and private sectors to 25 per cent of their levels one year ago, depriving industry of important spare parts and equipment.

And with forced cuts in oil imports there is a serious shortage of petrol throughout most of the country.

The old oil import bill was equivalent to total monthly earnings from copper, cobalt, zinc, coffee, and both gem and industrial quality diamonds, they said.

Mining sources said copper production in the southern mining province of Shaba fell to an average 37 500 tons a month for the first half this year, against 42 000 tons last year.

Coffee smuggling

Coffee smuggling
Cobalt production was also down, from an average 1,170 tons a month last year to 900 tons this year but President Mobutu says Zaire has massive stocks of 10 000 unsold tons of the metal.

Bankers said Kinshasa had suggested using this cobalt as security to its creditors or to mortgage it as part of debt repayments, but the offer was turned down.

Coffee exports are also predicted to fall this year, since smugglers are taking increasing quantities of robusta across the border into Uganda or Sudan to exchange it for foreign currency. (Sapa-Reuter)

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Mobutu providing Unita attack base - Paris claim

(358) Star 29/12/82

Own Correspondent

PARIS — President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire has given permission to Dr Jonas Savimbi, head of Unita, to use Shaba Province (formerly Katanga) as a base to attack targets in northern Angola, a French daily newspaper claims.

Dr Savimbi, based near the small towns of Dilolo and Sandoa, launched attacks from there in November and is said to have plans to start operations in Angola's oil-rich northern enclave Cabinda.

The pro-Government daily *Matin de Paris*, in what it claimed to be an exclusive report from Angola, said yesterday: "South Africa has appointed N'zau Puna to command this new front, as he used to fight with the Cabinda liberation movement FLEC, backed by Zaire, in the 1970s, and he has close links with Mobutu."

The paper said President Mobutu had not forgiven Angola for allowing the Katangese ex-gendarmes to invade Shaba in 1977 and

1978, or for having invited the Cubans to Africa.

The report quoted Zairean Ministers as saying: "Unita will crush the ruling Angolan MPLA regime in Luanda and make it pay for the support it gave to the Katangese ex-gendarmes led by Nathanael Mbumba, and for calling in the Cubans to smash the FNLA led by Roberto Holden."

The remnants of the FLEC and the FNLA were regrouped into the COMIRA movement.

Deal tomorrow are

58

Alastair Matheson of The Observer writes from Mambasa, East Zaire, about a tribe which has become a paradox.

Mobutu's pygmies

358 Stan
6/1/83

If anyone should accuse Zaire of abuse of human rights, President Mobutu is likely to reply by pointing to his treatment of pygmies as an example of enlightened behaviour.

At a recent congress of the country's only political party, the People's Revolutionary Movement, he said he personally had taken the first steps towards integration of pygmies into the mainstream of life in Zaire, claiming that while the Belgians ruled the country they had treated the pygmies as sub-humans.

Apart from making it a law that they should be treated as equals to other Zaireans, Mobutu has established a pygmy battalion in the Army. Two thousand pygmy soldiers are serving as trackers, a force of 150 pygmies was sent to Shaba in 1977 as bowmen to repel invaders with their vicious barbed arrows, and some have also been trained as paratroops.

Most pygmies in Zaire, however, as well as those in neighbouring States such as Cameroon, the Central African Republic and Rwanda, still live much as they did hundreds of years ago, shunning contact with other people and keeping to the remoter parts of the vast equatorial rain forest.

About the only noticeable change in their habits is the taste they have developed for sugar, salt and cigarettes, which they obtain through barter with farming tribes, providing in exchange meat from the forest (mostly monkey-meat), honey and sometimes their own labour when clearings have to be cut.

The pygmies disdain cultivation, seldom staying in one place for more than a month or two. Their homes are flimsy, igloo-shaped shelters of bent saplings covered with broad leaves.

These days they prefer using matches to rubbing sticks together, especially as everything is constantly damp in the rain forest. But in the dank chill of their dimly lit world they wear the minimum of clothing and some still beat out the bark from trees to cover themselves. Others sport filthy rags with an occasional gaudy T-shirt acquired from a visiting missionary.

I have just been deep into the huge Ituri forest with a missionary from California, Lester Green (49), who arrived with his missionary parents in this area when he was only 10. The Ituri stretches westwards from the foothills of the Ruwenzori, the fabled Mountains of the Moon.

We walked for hours under the dripping branches, from Lolwa Mission to the camps of the Kalese pygmy tribe who showed little surprise at the sudden arrival of white visitors.

They gathered around the cooking fire to listen attentively to what Green had to tell them in Swahili, which was then translated into Kilese by our guide.

Green says that while many pygmies have become nominal Christians, the fact that few can read or write makes it difficult to establish any close contact with them. And because they are constantly on the move, schooling is out of the question, even classes in adult literacy.

Still, at one camp of 20 crudely built huts, Green expressed surprise when he found that out of the group of 50 pygmies he addressed, only one elder claimed to have heard the name Jesus.

Relations between the pygmies and tribes living near the fringe of the forest, although not all that amicable, are mutually beneficial because of barter.

Despite the government edicts about integration, however, most other Zaireans tend to look on the pygmies as a people apart.

For such a relatively small ethnic group, the pygmies of the Central African rain forest, numbering probably less than 100 000 altogether, arouse enormous interest in other lands, especially in the United States. Currently a Harvard University research team is living in the forest not far from Mombasa studying pygmy customs and trying to improve their diet.

Hardy though they are, the pygmies have a high mortality rate and children are seriously malnourished. Even the infants often suffer from lack of nourishment because their mothers do not have enough milk.

As their life is one of hunting and gathering, pygmies find most of their food and other requirements in the surrounding forest — fruit, berries, edible plants as well as small animals and honey. There are few elephants to shoot these days, but most men still carry their bows and poisoned arrows in the hope of making a kill.

One of the few African tribes with a declining population, the pygmies are a paradox in a continent where the number of people is expected to quadruple in the next 150 years. With their high mortality rate, serious malnutrition and now a significant amount of inter-marrying with other tribes, the pygmies could well be extinct by then.

Mobutu 'used' State millions

CAPL TIMES
12/1/83
358

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Zaire's former prime minister, Mr Nguza Karl-i-Bond, has accused President Mobutu Sese-Seko of embezzling the country's treasury on a massive scale and pocketing the proceeds of cobalt sales to South Africa.

In an interview with the magazine New African, Mr Karl-i-Bond claimed that in April 1977 a R5-million cheque from Saudi Arabia, meant for Zaire's defence budget, was "used" by Mobutu for his own purposes.

"For cobalt, the secret procedure was that a chartered plane of the Simetar Airline, registered in South Africa, would fly consignments of cobalt to that country early in the morning. The money received would be poured straight into Mobutu's numbered Swiss account."

Directors of Sozacom, the State-owned marketing organization, would then speculate on the difference between official market prices and the spot market price.

"The difference thus obtained went into the personal account of Mr Mobutu, while an amount equivalent to the official price was allocated to the State account of the Central Bank."

Israeli treaty lends Zaire a military hand

By Henry Reuter
The Star's Africa
News Service

KINSHASA — Israeli military experts are moving into Zaire following the recent resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Zaire has agreed to pay cash for about R9 million worth of Israeli arms, and under a new military co-operation agreement a team of Israeli military experts will instruct Zaire army units.

They will range from weapons handling and fieldcraft to communications and vehicle and equipment maintenance.

The agreement to come into force this week will replace an earlier one under which for the past year Israel has been training President Mobutu's elite guards.

Officials at the Israeli embassy in Kinshasa have denied newspaper reports in Europe that the arms deal is for weapons captured from the Palestine Liberation Organisation during the recent war in Lebanon.

It is understood that the captured arms were offered to President Mobutu, but were rejected by him for diplomatic reasons.

Zaire has similar military co-operation agreements with Belgium, communist China, France and the United States.

The Chinese are training a battalion of commandos and the French are responsible for a parachute brigade com-



President Mobutu ... allegedly misused US aid.

manded by French officers.

Last year the United States cut its R45 million a year military assistance programme to Zaire by half after allegations in the US Senate that the aid was being misused.

A party of touring senators said they had seen a US-supplied C130 air freighter being used to fly President Mobutu's cattle to one of his farms.

The US now confines its curtailed programme mainly to repairing the army's trucks and military equipment.

A stringent cash shortage in the country has resulted in Zaire's armed forces being reduced by more than half during the past decade, to number less than 20 000.

Lower ranking men who earn only 186 Zaires (R37) a month regularly supplement their income by robbing civilians during checks of premises and at roadblocks.

- the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
- Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
- Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

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WARNING

- No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
- Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
- No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
- All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Somewhere in Washington the gnomes of international finance are puzzling over what to do about Zaire.

After two decades of easy money to Africa's developing countries — years of soft loans, grace periods, and unprotesting acceptance by the West of the proposition that poor countries are owed aid, Zaire has become the first of the African group to hit the crunch.

Not only is it unable to honour its loan capital repayment agreements, all its hard currency revenues from exports are barely sufficient to meet interest payments on the loans.

There was a time when the International Monetary Fund and commercial banks — the creditors — took the view that with capital and a drastic cutting of internal running costs the output of African countries could be increased, the tide turned, and fears of a collapse of the international financial system averted.

Zaire has shown how wrong they were.

Despite more than 18 years' relative political stability and five reschedulings of its IMF debt, figures just released show its financial position to be:

- National foreign debt — R4565 million.
- Owed to commercial debtors — R435 million.

International financial agencies are watching in alarm as Zaire threatens to lead an African return to barter. Henry Reuter of The Star's Africa News Service reports in the first of two articles.

Zaire's reached the cash crunch

358 Steu 23/2/83



- Principal and interest payments due in 1982 — R1 087 million.

- Principal and interest actually repaid in 1982 — R163 million.

- Total revenue from exports in 1982 — R288 million.

The IMF's last (some say desperate) throw of the Zaire dice was made in June 1982 when it approved a R391 million SDR Extended Fund Facility (EFF) on strict conditions aimed at forcing the country to put its financial house in order.

After two drawings totalling SDR R190 million, it became

clear that the IMF conditions were not being met.

Among other things, government spending was 30 percent over stipulation, and export earnings for 1981 were R543 million below estimates.

The EFF was therefore withdrawn, and the next IMF move is now awaited with interest far beyond Zaire's borders.

Zaire has been quick to explain its difficulties. A statement by the government's Banque du Zaire has blamed the situation on low world commodity prices, recession in Western countries which re-

duced their purchases of copper and cobalt, and the rising costs of essential imports.

Elsewhere, a different picture has been painted.

West German banker Mr Erwin Blumenthal was director-general of the Banque du Zaire in 1978 and 1979, but resigned after complaining that he was unable to unravel a web of corruption and dishonesty.

In a subsequent report to the IMF, he wrote of corrupt bank payments to President Mobutu Sese Seko and members of his 50-strong "ruling family"; a R35.5 million shortage in the

government's overseas accounts; the mis-spending of loan money; and the continual blockade by President Mobutu of attempts to control the budget.

President Mobutu's reaction to the report was to appoint Mr Kengo wa Dongo as Prime Minister, with the responsibility of cleaning up the corruption which permeates all levels of Zaire society — concentrated at the top.

He is the son of an African mother and a Belgian Jew, and was feared for years as the chief state prosecutor.

He is known as Mobutu's "hatchet man" and one of Zaire's main gold and ivory smugglers.

Five years ago he was reportedly involved in a R5.5 million bank swindle, exposed by Interpol.

Perhaps the most disillusioned members of Zaire society are its American industrialists.

Ten years ago, encouraged by the United States Government, they set about becoming Africa's new generation of Voortrekkers, moving in on jet planes, building laagers behind

US and Zaire government assurances, and setting up about 50 major production operations.

Now they are trapped. Their industries are working at 30 to 50 percent capacity — if they are lucky — because there is not enough hard cash to import essential basic equipment and raw materials.

"We gambled on political stability, and have had it," said one manufacturer. "But our cushioned, foolproof schemes turned out not to be Africa-proof."

Today Zaire is threatening

to outstrip Ghana in the race to lead Africa back to the subsistence, barter economies which preceded colonialism.

Agriculture is stagnant, and in any case there are few negotiable roads to get produce to the markets.

Health standards are abysmal and there is malnutrition everywhere. A labour union survey shows that the buying power of the average wage-earner today is 13 percent of what it was at independence in 1960.

That there is no apparent political challenge to Mobutu is widely attributed to public fear of a return to savagery of the 1960s.

Mobutu has become far less flamboyant. His much publicised "back to our African beginnings" campaign has been dropped. He is quieter, some say a very tired man.

He is also reported reliably to have amassed in Swiss banks a personal fortune about equal to the national debt. One mission worker said: "Zaire's financial crisis would be over if only someone could get him to vomit it up."

But in the wake of the despair of first the Belgian colonialists, and then the Americans, new eyes are being cast on the country. Israel and China have big plans for it.

By Henry Reuter, The Star's
Africa News Service

When Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang announced recently in Kinshasa that his country would write off a R100 million loan to Zaire, it was regarded by many as a case of making a virtue out of a necessity.

As with the Tanzam railway, which was to be the subject of later loan concessions, China had little hope of getting its money back. The loan repayments, the Chinese Premier said, could be used to finance future Sino-Zaire development projects.

One thing China appears to have learnt from its experiences in Africa over the past two decades is that it is unreasonable to expect many African countries to repay loans. Another lesson has been that, if you want to do anything properly in such countries, you have to do it yourself.

For example, after agreeing to finance an international sports stadium for Kenya, China has found that in six years, 80 labourers have just completed the perimeter fence.

China approved the R100 million Zaire loan after Presi-

Israel has started to give aid to Zaire but is not making the mistakes of its predecessors — the Chinese, the Belgians and the Americans. Israel has pledged no vast sums of money — its aid is private and largely in the form of expertise and training schemes that will help the Zaireans to help themselves.

Zaire: Israel takes the plunge

dent Mobutu sese Seko's trip to Peking in 1972 and repayments were due to begin this year.

About R38 million of the loan was used to build Kinshasa's magnificent Palais du Peuple congress hall. This is well used, and well maintained.

China has learnt. The building is staffed and managed entirely by Chinese — down to and including the caretakers.

The Chinese loan has also financed some rice-growing projects, which have been suc-

cessful, and a sugar-growing scheme, which is having problems.

Nevertheless, in Zaire, as elsewhere in the Third World, China is the instigator of useful development projects.

Now Israel, as a much poorer Third World country, is seeking to make its own impression on Zaire, after the resumption of diplomatic relations. But, unlike the Belgians and Americans who have gone, sadly, before, its plans do not

include the commitment of large sums of government aid money.

Instead, the Israeli Government is, with some success, urging its private sector to launch irrigation schemes, fodder production centres and agro-industries — on a commercial basis but with government foreign trade risk insurance.

For its part, the Israeli Government has just signed an agreement to establish, in 1983,



Gazing into... what kind

a Zaire Centre for Agricultural Training in premises to be provided by the Zaire Government. It is also shipping in mobile agriculture and agro-industry staff training centres.

Ingeniously devised, accommodated in towable trailers and staffed by Israeli experts, the mobile centres are running one-month training courses, for 60 people at a time, aimed at taking development to all parts of the country. About 90

Zaireans are also being training in Israel.

An idea of the potential of the introduction of expertise to Zaire's agriculture can be gained from the of what has become a showcase — a 3 000 ha industrial estate at N'Sele from Kinshasa.

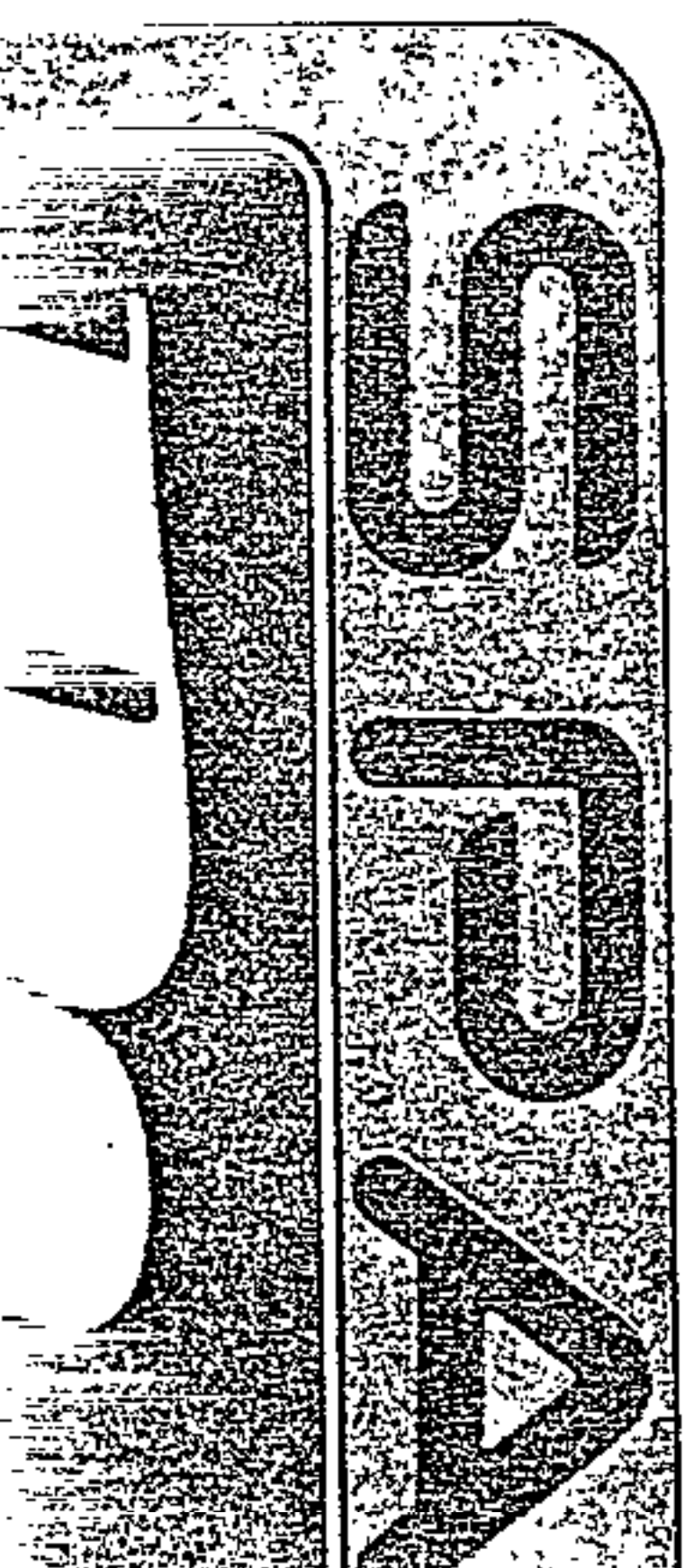
Formerly owned President, the estate was to the people and, fifty ago, its management

CAIRO — Child labour is considered by many to be an established fact of Egyptian life, but a recent increase in the number of children sent to work soon after learning to walk is worrying foreign labour experts.

The problem has attracted little attention from successive Egyptian governments.

It is exemplified by Toubha, a ragged eight-year-old boy, who climbs stairways in multi-storey buildings collecting rubbish. Sagging under

In Egypt, where half the 44-million population is under the age of 15 and where much of the male labour force has followed jobs to other Arab states, a need has been created for all available labour — including that of children. This situation is worrying foreign labour experts but the government is inclined to turn a blind eye to what is going on.



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Israel the plunge

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An idea of the potential of the introduction of Israeli ex- pertise to Zaire's agriculture can be gained from the history of what has become a national showcase — a 3 000 ha agro-in- dustrial estate at N'Sele, 50 km from Kinshasa.

Formerly owned by the President, the estate was given to the people and, five years ago, its management handed

over to a private, Belgian-Is- raeli company, DAIPN. Today, with a management staff of eight Israeli families, it is one of the country's largest food sources.

South African day-old chicks from the Tokai Corporation are satisfying Kinshasa's poultry needs. The N'Sele poultry divi- sion raises them and turns out 5 000 1.5 kg eight week-old broilers a day.

The farm's hatchery has a 240 000 egg capacity. Its flocks

of layers produce three million eggs a month.

Nearby, a man and wife from a kibbutz run a successful pig farm which imports its boars from Zambia, has between 5 000 and 6 000 pigs and, every month, provides 50 tons of pork, in the form of 600 porkers, to Zaire markets. Its factory also turns out sausages and pack- aged meat.

N'Sele has a tilapia fish pond section, large sections for fruit and vegetables, which it cans in its own factory, and herds of dairy and beef cattle.

An Israeli nutritionist pre- sides over a 1 400-tons-a-month capacity feed mill which meets N'Sele needs and those of many other farmers.

The N'Sele project has a large hotel, accommodating more than 3 000, and a congress hall and conference complex which are used for gatherings of the ruling MPR party.

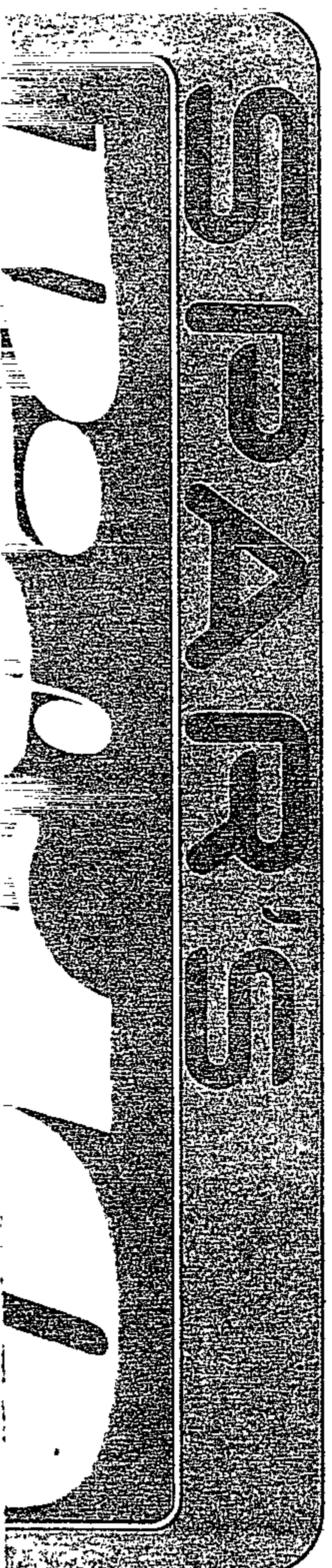
The complex has an Olym- pic-size swimming pool and is a popular public recreation centre.

A second project, modelled on N'Sele, has been opened in Lubumbashi and a third in Ori- ental Kasai, in implementation of a plan to establish them in every region of the country.



Gazing into . . . what kind of future?

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Legal dispute feared over Zaire switch to De Beers

By NEIL BEHRMANN

LONDON. — An international legal dispute is likely if Zaire abandons its previous agents, and markets its diamonds through De Beers marketing arm, the Central Selling Organization.

The previous agents insist that they have valid contracts with Zaire's minerals and diamond marketing agency Sozacom and that these contracts are only due to expire in three years' time.

Earlier this week, the Zaire authorities announced that "henceforth all direct production from Miba marketed by Sozacom, will be exclusively sold to the Central Selling Organization."

Miba is Zaire's main diamond mine which, according to De Beers' estimates, produces six million carats a year. De Beers said that a further six million carats are produced in alluvial diggings elsewhere in Zaire.

Two-year contract

"We have signed a two-year contract with Zaire, exclusively to sell the diamond production of Miba, Zaire's biggest diamond mine," said a spokesman of De Beers in London.

But the news has astounded Industrial Diamond Company in London and Caddi and Glasol in Antwerp. The three agents which have been selling Miba's stones independently since May 1981.

"I maintain that our contract is a legally binding agreement which we scrupulously honoured," said

Mr Jack Lunzer, managing director of Industrial Diamond Company.

"I am certain that the government of Zaire has acted without due consideration of the facts."

"We have a contract, during the past 22 months we have sold Zaire's diamonds and honoured our obligations," said Mr David Susskind, managing director of Caddi. He threatened to "go to the Belgium Government to defend myself".

Not informed

"We don't know what is happening — we have not been informed," said a spokesman of Glasol.

The contract with Industrial Diamond Company, dated April 23, 1981, states: "The present contract is concluded for a period of five years, renewable by tacit agreement."

"However, each party can terminate it, notice of six months being given to the other party by registered letter with acknowledgment of receipt from the post office before the expiry of the current five-year period."

All three agents insist that they were not given such notice.

"Any objection arising between the parties regarding the interpretation or execution of the present contract will be settled amicably as far as possible."

"If the difference still persists, it will be decided once and for all according to the rules of conciliation and arbitration of the International Chamber of Commerce by one or more arbiters chosen according to these rules."

The diamond agents believe that these provisions give them a very strong legal case.

Mr Lunzer maintained that the "force majeure" clause also covered his firm.

That clause states: "In the event of measures taken by government, war, fire, strike, lock-out, accident in the mines or plant outside the control of the parties, the present contract will be suspended throughout the duration of the said hold-up which will be speedily remedied."

"If this hold-up lasts longer than six months, each party can terminate the present contract without prior notice and without indemnity."

It is believed that all three contracts with Sozacom are similar.

In response to the firm's statements a De Beers spokesman said, "We have a contract to market the Miba production."

Besides diamonds, Sozacom markets copper, cobalt and other minerals.

Executives of metals dealings firms believe that any reneging of the initial contract with the three diamond traders could have much wider international implications.

At least one of the firms has been approached by metals companies for details of the contract.

Intrigue and mystery

As normal in international diamond dealings, there is intrigue and mystery surrounding De Beers' dramatic move to regain Zaire's contract.

"There is much more to it than meets the eye," said a diamond dealer.

In July 1981, the director general of Sozacom, Mr Muengula Lukusa, complained bitterly that from 1967 to 1978, De Beers' marketing costs amounted to 25 percent. From 1978 to March 1981, the costs were 20 percent.

At the time De Beers did not refute Mr Lukusa's public statement.



Neil Behrmann has been legal corporate negotiator for Zaire's minerals and diamonds.

Legal dispute threatens Zaire switch to CSO

By NEIL BEHRMANN

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Mr Lunzer says the force majeure clause also covers his firm.

The clause reads: "In the event of measures taken by Government, war, fire, strike, lock-out, accident in

the mines or plant outside the control of the parties, the present contract will be suspended throughout the duration of the said hold-up which will be speedily remedied.

"If this hold-up lasts longer than six months each party can terminate the present contract without prior notice and without indemnity."

It is believed that all three contracts with Sozacom are similar.

A De Beers spokesman said: "We have a contract to market the Miba production."

Sozacom also markets copper, cobalt and other minerals.

March 1981 the costs were 20%.

De Beers did not deny Mr Lukusa's statement.

Miba production is mostly low-quality industrial diamonds, known as boart. Mr Lunzer complained that De Beers had been dumping boart and the price had collapsed from \$2,80 in 1981 to 80c a carat.

Although De Beers executives retorted that they were "merely withholding support", Mr Lunzer said that De Beers recently offered 100 000 carats of boart at between 80c and 90c a carat.

Executives of metal-dealing firms believe that any abrogation of the contracts with the three diamond traders could have wide international implications.

At least one of the firms has been approached by metals companies for details of the contract.

In July 1981, the director-general of Sozacom, Mr Lukusa Mungula, complained that from 1967 to 1978 De Beers marketing costs amounted to 25% of Sozacom diamond sales. From 1978 to

Harmony
final
up 66%

By ADAM PAYNE

HARMONY Gold Mining Company has raised its final dividend by 66% from 90c to 150c, making 235c for the year compared with 210c in the previous year.

The payment more than matches the dividend prospects spell out by Mr D T Watt, the chairman, in his annual statement issued in September. The company's year-end is June 30.

Harmony benefited from the higher gold price in the past six months, particularly because of its fairly high gearing through a low grade and a comparatively small number of issued shares at 27-million.

The mine earned 93c after capital spending in the six months to September 30 and paid out 85c, carrying forward only 8c.

It earned 70c in the December quarter and it can be assumed that the mine's results in the March quarter will be at least equal to those in December. Earnings for the second six months should be at least 140c a share.

Bearing in mind the capital spending programme now under way, coupled with increased costs, any improvement in earnings a share in the March quarter over the December quarter is likely to be marginal.

Union
R8.5

By JOHN MUI

UNION & London investment company the Sage Holdir is raising R8 through its two rights issue.

The funds will be strengthened Union & capital base for development of its existing activities to enable the company to take advantage of opportunities as and when they become available.

Union & London reported an increase in distributable profits of R1 573 434 (R1 877; equity-accounted for 1982 from R1 392 82 increased to 96c from 1981's 85c.

The company's share capital is 1 222 200 shares; the offer of one share for every two shares will increase the total by 611 100 shares at the offer price of R1 50c each.

After the rights which will take the capital to 1 833 300 there will be a further split, which will take the capital to 7 333 200 25c each.

Union & London

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Soviets cut oil price

ROTTERDAM. — The Soviet Union has notified some companies holding contracts for its Urals crude oil of an official \$1.25 a barrel price cut. The new price is \$28 c/mf Mediterranean effective March 1 against \$29.25 which has been in force since the beginning of February. — Reuter.

Progress &
Patterson

Former valuator's charge

De Beers costly blunder in Zaire

By BRENDAN RYAN

Mining Editor

DE BEERS refused to lend \$2-million to Zaire in 1981 to improve the Miba mine, but may now be providing more than this after Zaire's return to the Central Selling Organisation fold, according to Mr Jacques Graubart, the former official diamond valuator to the Zaire Government.

Mr Trevor Tarring, managing director of the Metal Bulletin, read a paper by Mr Graubart to the Southern African metals and minerals conference in Johannesburg.

Mr Graubart wrote that he believed the commission terms for the CSO under the new deal were radically different from the 25% of the old deal.

"In 1983, if my information is in any way correct, the CSO has agreed to invest in the Miba mine to the extent necessary to restore its production to the 1974 level of 13-million carats over the next two years.

"I leave it to you to guess how much money the CSO will have to mobilise for that purpose."

Mr Graubart was asked not to attend the conference by Sozacom, the Zaire minerals marketing agency, because alongside the new deal with the CSO, Zaire has set up its own organisation for diamond valuation.

Mr Tarring said: "The new national body to serve as valuator does yet legally exist. This puts the situation somewhat in limbo and is, I believe, the principal reason Sozacom asked Mr Graubart not to come here."

Mr Graubart wrote: "The

Zaire Government had asked for financial help to save the mine, but after many meetings, for many months, the negotiations broke off.

"The London end did not give in as they were certain that Zaire would not be able to commercialise the Miba production without them.

"The demands of Zaire could have been satisfied and De Beers had the means to do so.

"The loss of Zaire proved to be disastrous for the negotiations with other producers, notably Australia, where for the first time De Beers had to modify its terms and sales rights covering less than total production exclusivity," Mr Graubart wrote.

"I must say their demands were logical and could have easily been fulfilled by the Diamond Trading Company. The psychological damage to the prestige of De Beers caused by this loss was severe."

Mr Graubart also alleged that De Beers threw huge quantities of industrial dia-

monds on the market to punish Zaire for not having renewed the marketing agreement.

Mr Tarring commented: "When Zaire broke away, a big fish was seen to escape the CSO's net. To an extent that fish has now been recaptured, but there remain some more significant exceptions to the rule than before.

"That, as Jacques Graubart has highlighted, undermines stability in the market and is to be regretted."

Asked to comment, a De Beers spokesman said: "Mr Graubart says that keeping the world diamond production under control is a very difficult task.

"He says that 'luckily' De Beers is around to stockpile and maintain stability during the bad times.

"He also says 'the situation would have been much worse without the CSO'.

"If any further comment is necessary the fact that Zaire has recently seen fit to rejoin the CSO speaks for itself."

Deportee problem

recurs
2011. 8/11/83
endlessly

Mail Correspondent

LUSAKA. — Zaire has refused to accept 33 holders of Zairean passports who have been deported from Zambia.

According to a report in yesterday's party-owned Times of Zambia, Zairean authorities say the passports are not valid.

The 33 were part of more than 1 000 aliens rounded up by combined police and army operations on the Copperbelt early last month.

This report comes in the wake of President Kaunda's admission that security forces were facing problems with some deportees because they keep coming back.

The President said there was nothing much the government could do, since these people could not be killed in this humanist state.

He confirmed that some refugees had petitioned him to stop their repatriation.

The repatriations were carried out to rid the country of illegal aliens who indulge in criminal activities.

A member of the central committee for the Copperbelt, Mr Alex Shapi, has also confirmed that the security committee, which had been formed in his area, was facing problems in repatriating aliens.

Border dispute: Lusaka appeals for calm

D. Disputes
23/8/84 (358)

LUSAKA — Zambian Prime Minister, Mr Nalumino Mundia, has appealed for calm in the face of a bitter border dispute with Zaire which has resulted in mass expulsions on both sides.

Mr Mundia told journalists that more than 1 500 Zambians had fled Zaire in the last few days, but added that the tension may now subside as a result of contacts between the two sides.

The latest flare-up started last weekend when Zambia started deporting 2 500 Zaireans and West Africans, many of whom are involved in illicit emerald mining and smuggling.

In apparent retaliation, Zaire rounded up Zambians living in its

territory. Many have alleged Zairean soldiers beat them and the Zambian news agency, Zana, said they had back wounds.

"The worst might have passed because of contact we have made with the Zairean authorities and the information which has been conveyed to Lubumbashi (the capital of Zaire's Shaba province on the Zambian border)," Mr Mundia said.

He said meetings had taken place in Lusaka, Kinshasa and Ndola, a Zambian town not far from the Zairean frontier. He declined to give details.

Mr Mundia also said 1 131 people had entered Zambia's north-western

province and 298 more had crossed the border into the neighbouring Copperbelt, adding that President Kenneth Kaunda, who is spending a working vacation at Iteshitezhi west of Lusaka, was being informed of the situation.

Diplomats expressed surprise at the latest flareup as the Zambian Foreign Minister, Mr Lameck Goma, visited Kinshasa a few days ago in an attempt to settle the long-smouldering dispute.

His visit followed talks between Dr Kaunda and the Zairean President Mobut Sese Seko in Lusaka in June after shooting incidents on the border earlier that month. — SAPA-RNS.

Roberto seeks aid as he rejoins the Angola fight

By Victor Ndovi

After some years in the political doldrums, Holden Roberto, the head of one of Angola's insurgent groups, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), is reviving his military campaign against the Angolan Government. He claims FNLA forces have relaunched their fight in northern Angola.

But Roberto says FNLA forces are ill-equipped and would welcome help from any source. Recently, he was in Miami, Florida, ostensibly to describe to Cuban exiles there the resentment Angolans have for Cuban civilian and military personnel in Angola. But it is understood the real reason for his trip was to seek financial and other material help from the Cuban exiles.

Much of the assistance FNLA has sought and obtained from the US has been channelled through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The American help began in 1961 and has continued throughout successive US administrations.

In all, the CIA is believed to have granted the FNLA an estimated \$15.3 million for political action support, propaganda activities, travel for its leaders, miscellaneous expenses, weapons and equipment, and communications gear. Some of the help was routed through Zaire.

With the Angola-Zairean accord of 1978, Roberto was harassed from Zaire and he became ensconced in Ivory Coast. Later, he was also bundled out of Ivory Coast and ended up in Europe.

In recent weeks, Roberto has claimed regrouping an estimated 7 000-10 000 FNLA insurgents, who are now prosecuting his "war of liberation" in northern Angola, presumably from bases in neighbouring Zaire.

Evidence suggests the five-year defence accord, signed by Israel and Zaire in 1982,

is aimed at Angola. Zaire's former Prime Minister, Nguza Karl-I-Bond, now based in Brussels from where he raised political decibels against Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, has claimed such designs against Angola.

A significant aspect of the accord involves Israeli retraining of the Kamanyola Brigade, based in Shaba province along the Zairean/Angolan frontier. Israel is also reorganising the Zairean secret service, which might be used to gather intelligence information for FNLA.

The chief beneficiary of the Israeli-Zairean military co-operation is claimed to be Roberto's FNLA. But Roberto has denied receiving help from Zaire and Israel. He has also denied allegations that South Africa is involved with his group.

Neither is FNLA involved in a joint military effort with the other known Angolan dissident group, Unita, led by Jonas Savimbi. — *The Observer*.

100 Years Ago

From The Eastern Star

There is likely to be some demand soon for white ostrich feathers, for it is stated that the followers of the Republican candidate at the forthcoming Presidential election in the United States have resolved to wear white ostrich feathers as the badge of their party.

It is stated that Miss Colenso, daughter of the late Bishop of Natal, is about to publish the first of two volumes entitled "The Ruin of Zululand", which is a terrible indictment of the policy of Sir Henry Bulwer.

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Links between President Mobutu Sese Seko and the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) have been mentioned openly for the first time in America by a former director of the agency.

In Harper's Magazine, Mr William Colby, CIA director from 1973 to 1976, says that, in the early 60s, the Bay of Pigs operation in Cuba was certainly a disaster.

"But consider our programme in the Congo ... the question we faced in the Congo was whether that country, which had just gained its independence from Belgium, would be run by some toadies of the old Belgian mining companies, or by men aided by Che Guevara and supported by the Soviet Union.

"The CIA found a midpoint between those extremes — it helped Joseph Mobutu, then a nationalist member of the Congolese forces, become the third alternative.

"Now, I concede that the Congo — or Zaïre, as it is now called — is no garden spot and that Mr Mobutu is not the most perfect man in the world," Mr Colby added. "But I think he has considerable advantages over the alternatives."

Mr Colby made the remarks during a panel discussion on "Should the United States fight secret wars?" The moderator of the lengthy discussion was Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, vice-chairman of

Mobutu ⁽³⁵⁸⁾ the CIA's third ^{16/10/84} alternative ^{D. Rockefeller}



A farewell handshake at the White House — Zaïre's President Mobutu and US President Reagan after a meeting last year.

the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

In addition to Mr Colby, other panellists included Mr Ralph McGehee, who served 25 years in the CIA and is the author of *Deadly Deceits: My 25 Years in the CIA*, and Mr John Stockwell, who directed CIA covert action in Angola in 1975.

Mr Stockwell denied Mr Colby's assertion that CIA intervention in the Congo was a success: "I grew up in the Congo and served there in the Marine Corps and as a CIA officer," he said.

"I know the country very well, and I can say that the CIA intervention there was an unmitigated disaster."

country into a debt of \$6.2 billion — money that was spent on the multi-national corporations, not on the people.

"In the Congo today, 25 per cent of the people are starving, while Joe Mobutu has a personal fortune of about \$4.5 billion.

"That is the result of what the CIA considers a successful covert action," Mr Stockwell said.

The panellists were about equally divided on whether or not the United States should fight secret wars through the CIA.

Several expressed sympathy for CIA efforts in Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Angola — and, because of close, previous involvement in the Angolan situation, some of Mr Stockwell's contributions to the debate will doubtless be read with interest in Southern Africa.

Among them: At the time of the

Public admission for the first time of the role played by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in helping Joseph Mobutu become head of what had been the Belgian Congo and is now Zaïre. LIZ VAN DEN NIEUWENHOF writes from New York.

Angolan civil war many people, he said, argued in support of American help for, and recognition of, the MPLA. Among them were the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Nathaniel Davis, the US Consul in Luanda, Mr Tom Killoran, the Gulf Oil Corporation, and the top American banker, Mr David Rockefeller.

"During the Angolan operation in 1975, CIA propaganda programmes were underway both here (in America) and abroad. We planted stories in US newspapers and in papers around the world about Cuban soldiers raping Angolan women, but there had been no Cuban rapists in Angola."

At one point during the discussion, Mr Stockwell said: "A man who has spent his life in the CIA lives in secrecy. That means cover stories, false identities, false information, lies.

"Everything I did during 12 years in the CIA,

everything Mr McGehee did during 25 years in the CIA — virtually everything we did, we had to lie about."

In his contribution, Mr McGehee cited what he said was another example of CIA deception. In 1981, he said, a deputy director of operations in the CIA planned to overthrow the government of Libya.

"Of course, you need some justification to sell such a programme to the American people. All of a sudden, the press was filled with reports of Libyan hit teams sent to the United States to assassinate President Reagan.

"The agency was simply creating a justification to overthrow the Libyan Government, but because the House Intelligence Committee protested, this particular CIA programme was never carried out, and the Libyan hit teams disappeared as suddenly as they came."

The question of "secret wars" is one that is in the forefront of American policy in relation to Central America at present. Opponents of the Reagan administration say it has no business to be involved in supporting the "contra" rebels seeking to overthrow the Marxist administration in Nicaragua and in helping El Salvador defend itself against Marxist rebel insurgents.

In the course of the Harper's Magazine discussion, the most cogent argument in support of intervention was given by Mr Leslie Gelb, who writes on national security affairs for the New York Times.

"I disagree with (the) proposition that we ought not to interfere in the internal politics of other societies. I believe that is exactly what foreign policy is. All Foreign policy is the extension of one's internal policies into the internal politics of another nation.

"I think the question is not 'should we have covert operations?' The question is, what is your policy? If you have a policy that makes sense, it seems to me that in principle you could conduct covert operations supporting that policy. That would make sense.

"In fact, it seems rather hypocritical to use the word 'covert' nowadays, when we are openly discussing covert operations all the time. Which puts us in an ironical situation — discussing what is, by definition, not to be discussed," Mr Gelb said. — SAPA.

Anti US-Unita aid lobby puts ease

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Covert military aid to Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Angolan rebel movement, Unita, would probably be routed to them through Zaire, a Congressional intelligence committee was told yesterday.

"The last time we did it through Zaire and I am sure is the way we are going to do it this time," said Mr Richard Moose, a former Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs.

He was giving evidence at a rare open hearing of the House's Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence which heard testimony from four witnesses on a Bill aimed at blocking covert aid to Unita by making all help publicly debated and congressionally approved.

On the question of how South Africa and apartheid would gain if the United States aided Unita, Mr Moose said South Africa had been continuously active in Southern Angola because "Afrikaners probably believe the frontline of their defences is in

Southern Angola". Every gun, every radio and every truck given Unita was one more South Africans could use to repress its population.

Sending arms would enlarge the conflict, perpetuating or increasing the Cuban combat presence, and would "entangle the US more than ever in South Africa's collapsing position in Southern Africa".

Mr Moose said it was no secret South Africans hoped to see the US involved in Angola. They liked to portray themselves as a bulwark against communism.

"In fact, the Afrikaner apartheid regime is a priceless policy asset of the Soviet Union — and it does not cost them anything. To the extent we equivocate in our opposition to apartheid, and to the extent we are perceived to be aligned with Pretoria, we will lose and the communists will gain."

Mr Moose warned US supplies routed through Zaire would run the risk of rekindling the Zaire-Angola border war.

Arguing for the Reagan Administra-

tion's covert military aid, Dr Dimitri Simes, Soviet foreign policy specialist at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, said the US had few interests rivalling the importance of disciplining Soviet power.

"And Unita fighters offer a unique opportunity to contribute to this management of the Soviet challenge without the risk of a direct superpower confrontation," he said.

He hoped US aid to Unita would either lead to its military victory over the Angolan MPLA government, or to meaningful negotiations. "But even if the only thing Unita could accomplish was to upgrade the costs of the Soviet-Cuban occupation, it would perform a most valuable service for the US and for the West in general."

Any real or perceived affiliation between South Africa and the United States was undesirable, he said in response to a widespread fear in Washington. But the alternative — failing to stand up to Soviet expansionsim — was worse, he added.

'We did it to spare the women and children'

Unita frees 170 foreign hostages

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18/3/86 STAR

LISBON — Angola's Unita rebels have freed more than 170 foreign hostages kidnapped two weeks ago in a raid on a diamond-mining town, a Portuguese Government spokesman said here yesterday.

The spokesman said the captives were in neighbouring Zaire in the care of the Red Cross and were expected to be repatriated by Sunday.

The hostages, including about 90 Portuguese, 80 Filipinos, four Britons, two West Germans, a Ca-

nadian and a Romanian, were all safe and in good condition.

The Portuguese Government had been informed by the Red Cross about the release. And Portuguese Prime Minister Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva had ordered a plane of the State airline, TAP, to stand ready to fly to Kinshasa to bring the hostages to Lisbon.

A Unita official said the rebels had sought the co-operation of the International Committee of the Red Cross in releasing the captives in Zaire.

US arms will reach Unita in time for mid-April offensive

STAR

18/3/86

LISBON — American-supplied arms would reach Angolan rebels in time to meet an expected government offensive in mid-April, a Unita leader said here yesterday.

He also said backing from the United States Administration was boosting the standing of the rebels with other African nations.

The Unita leader said the agreement of the American Administration to give the rebels R30 million worth of aid ensured the Angolan Government "can never achieve a military victory" in the country's 10-year civil war.

The rebels would be better equipped to face a Government drive against their southern bases. Last year Unita beat back a dangerous offensive by Soviet and Cuban-backed Government forces.

Angola said South African troops, based in Namibia, had intervened on the side of the rebels and saved them from defeat.

MILITARY MATERIEL NEEDED

The leader said he did not know what military materiel the US would supply but anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons were needed.

He said getting the arms into Angola was not a problem. Aircraft originating in several African and Middle Eastern nations regularly landed supplies at Unita bases inside Angola.

And he claimed the Angolan Government had been surprised by the impact of Dr Jonas Savimbi's visit to Washington where he met President Ronald Reagan and other top American officials. The Angolan Government was investing heavily in a public relations campaign to improve its own image in Washington.

He said the Angolan Government would be encouraged by the Soviet Union to concentrate its efforts on provoking divisions within Unita if the expected Government offensive next month was defeated. — Sapa-Associated Press.

The hostages were seized on March 1 when guerillas stormed the north-eastern town of Andrada, close to Angola's northern border with Zaire.

Sixty Government soldiers and 15 rebels were reported killed in the three-hour battle for the town.

The Portuguese ambassador to Zaire, Mr Alvaro Guerra, said the Red Cross was arranging the transport of the hostages from the Angolan border to Kinshasa where they were expected to arrive on Friday.

Hard bush trek

The rebels originally said they would march the hostages to their bush headquarters at Jamba.

But the Unita official said they had decided to free the hostages in Zaire to spare women and children the hardships of a six to eight-week trek through war zones.

He would not comment on whether the release was due to pressure from the United States.

Sources here had said the seizure of the hostages, less than a month after the US had approved R30 million worth of aid for Unita, could be embarrassing to the US Government. — Sapa-Associated Press.

Zaire opposition supporters killed

19/3/86 The Star's Foreign
News Service

LONDON — Opposition supporters in Zaire have been tortured and killed, according to Amnesty International.

Others have been beaten, starved or tortured.

A report released today said there were more than 100 arrests from October to December. Most are still in jail in Kinshasa or regional centres.

Amnesty had also heard of torture and executions in Shaba province during counter-insurgency operations last year.

Exprisoners said they were whipped with barbed wire, shocked, burned and starved.

Many detained in Kinshasa want a second political party.

141 1000

Unwilling Zaire gets more involved in Angolan war

STMP
358

The Star's Africa News Service

Zaire is becoming more deeply involved — unwillingly — in the Angolan civil war as Unita rebels establish logistical bases on its territory.

The authoritative, Paris-based *Africa Defence Journal* says in its latest issue that "logistical support camps working for Unita" have been established in Zaire's border provinces of Bas-Zaïre and Bandundu.

Last week President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire paid a short visit to Angola in an apparent attempt to defuse growing tensions between the two countries.

Earlier, Zairean authorities had denied allegations made by President Kaunda of Zambia that US military aid for the Angolan rebels was passing through Zaire.

But, says *Africa Defence Journal*, Zaire, which has a 2 600 km border with Angola, did serve as the transit route for the



President Mobutu Sese Seko...
tried to ease tension.

American aid which started as early as December 1985 with shipments of communications equipment.

The magazine said that the Stinger portable anti-aircraft missiles were sent to Unita along this route.

"At the same time there were already reports of another American missile being delivered — the somewhat less impressive Redeye," it added.

17/10/86 BUSDAY

SA curbs drive Zaire closer to Frontline fold

ABIDJAN — SA's response to Western sanctions is obliging Zaire to forge closer links with ideological foes among Southern Africa's Frontline states, say diplomatic sources in Abidjan.

Relations between the vast, mineral-rich nation and the Frontline group have in the past been strained by allegations that pro-Western Zaire supported rebels fighting neighbouring Angola's Marxist government.

Zaire has consistently denied the charge, but black African suspicions of President Mobutu Sese Seko have been compounded by his maverick foreign policy initiatives that are out of step with much of the continent.

The prospect of Pretoria making it uneconomic for central and southern African nations to use its ports to export and import goods is causing all countries in the region to put past differences behind and find a means of guaranteeing economic survival.

Mobutu meets Frontline leaders in

Zambia on Sunday and is expected to discuss how to ensure a flow of goods after SA's decision to impose tighter controls on trade with black southern African states.

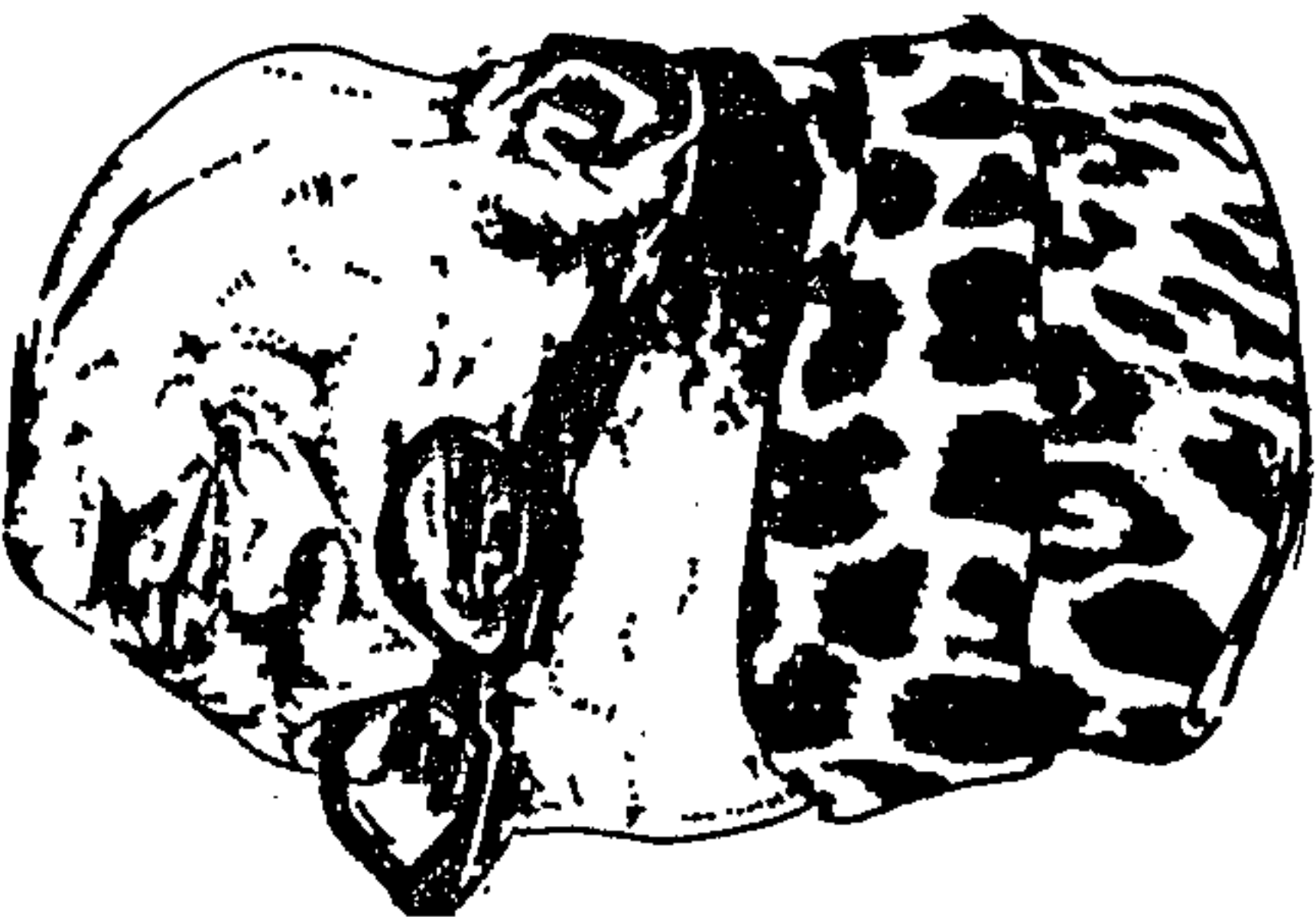
Zaire and Zambia are crucially dependent on SA ports to export copper, their main revenue earner.

Zaire exported about 200 000 tons of metals through Durban and East London last year.

About 274 000 tons passed through the Zairean port of Matadi and about 60 000 tons through Tanzania's sea-side capital Dar es Salaam.

With Matadi only able to handle about 300 000 tons annually, Zaire badly needs to reduce dependence on the increasingly costly and unpredictable SA export route.

In one of a series of diplomatic initiatives aimed at forging regional unity, Mobutu recently discussed economic affairs and border security with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda in the northern Zairean town of Gbadolite. — Sapa-Reuter.



Zaire's president Mobutu Sese Seko

A Frontline Wrist-slap for Zaire's Mobutu

THREE Frontline state leaders are due to meet President Mobutu Sese Seko at the weekend to warn him against continued Zairean support for Unita forces operating against the MPLA government in Angola.

The meeting is to take place in Lusaka on Sunday, according to Frontline state diplomatic sources. Presidents José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Samora Machel of Mozambique will warn Mobutu that failure to end support for Unita could mean neighbouring states cutting Zaire's transport routes to South African ports and railway systems.

A significant portion of Zaire's trade passes through South African ports, but must first traverse neighbouring black African states, notably Zambia and Zimbabwe. Mobutu's previous undertakings to

BY HOWARD BARRELL, Harare

end support for Unita have come to nothing, according to these diplomatic sources, and Zaire has continued to provide transit for Unita fighters, as well as American and South African aid to Jonas Savimbi.

Sunday's meeting represents a further attempt by the Frontline states to force renegade black African states into line in preparation for what is viewed as an impending major confrontation with Pretoria.

In mid-September, Kaunda, Machel and Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe visited Malawi to read the riot act to President Kamuzu Banda over his continued support for the South African-backed Mozambique national resistance forces (Renamo) fighting Mozambique's Frelimo government.



Prime Minister Robert Mugabe

They threatened a trade blockade of landlocked Malawi, much of whose trade with South Africa is transported by road through Zimbabwe and northwestern Mozambique, and Machel directly threatened war. Rehabilitation of the railway line to the northern Mozambican port of Nacala, which ironically serves

mainly Malawi, was one of the objectives behind this meeting. A second was to improve the security of the vital Mutare-Beira corridor, which carries road, rail and fuel pipeline facilities between Zimbabwe and the Mozambican port.

This Sunday's meeting between the three Frontline leaders and Mobutu will be designed to create conditions in which the Benguela railway line, which has been badly affected by Unita and South African military action, can be rehabilitated and brought back into full operation. The line starts at the Zambian copperbelt, passes through southern Zaire and emerges at the Angolan port of Benguela, just south of Lobito. It will be another of the Frontline states' vital transport arteries in what is viewed by those countries as an inevitable sanctions and trade war with South Africa.

SA denies closing two harbours to Zaire trade

Pretoria Correspondent

The Department of Foreign Affairs has "categorically denied" that South Africa has closed its East London and Durban harbours to trade from Zaire.

A spokesman for the department was asked to comment on reports from Kinshasa that Zairean officials — who declined to be named — said that country had decided to strengthen its links with the Frontline states following the South African decision to close the ports of Durban and East London to their trade.

Zaire took part in a summit meeting of the Frontline states last weekend for the first time, causing speculation that it was to align itself with Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

A second summit between Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Zaire has also been scheduled and one of the main topics is expected to be attempts to reopen the Benguela railway line.

The raillink was one of the main export routes used by Zambia and Zaire.

Youth to hold joint congress

The Inkatha Youth Brigade and Jeugkrug will hold a joint political congress at the Rand Afrikaans University this weekend.

The Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, will open the congress and Professor Willie Estherhuyse of the Department of Political Philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch will address the youth groups.

Other speakers at the congress will include the president of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Mr Musa Zondi, and the president of Jeugkrug, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk.

The theme of the congress will be "reconciliation" and, according to Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, a joint political statement will be made.

Pro wrestlers hurt in crash

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Pretoria Correspondent

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19/11/86
SPA 358

Anti-terrorist unit to be trained for Zaire

KINSHASA — President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire has announced the creation of a military intervention unit to counter terrorism and subversion.

A presidential decree yesterday announced the establishment of a Military Action and Intelligence Service whose activities could extend outside Zaire.

The decree did not say how many men would be assigned or make clear whether Israelis training special units of Zaire's 100 000-strong armed forces, including Mr Mobutu's personal bodyguard, would be asked to train the unit.

Zaire is one of a handful of African countries which has restored normal diplomatic relations with Israel.

Mr Mobutu's tough, at times brutal, measures against dissi-

dents have almost silenced political opposition in his one-party state.

The decree said the new unit would "seek out and exploit all information concerning Zaire's military security and seek to destroy any core of sabotage and subversion".

It was also ordered to "foresee any danger threatening the territorial integrity of Zaire and to counteract and crush any action by a potential enemy and his internal or external allies".

Official sources said the unit would act against "internal troublemakers, terrorists and enemies of the Zairean revolution".

Brigadier General Mahele Lieko was named as chief of staff and will be assisted by three senior officers. — Sapa-Associated Press.

Leaders sign to get Benguela line going

Kaunda — dependence on SA to ease

LUSAKA — The leaders of Angola, Zaire and Zambia signed a "declaration of intent" yesterday to rebuild the strategic Benguela railway, closed for 10 years by Angolan rebels, in a bid to ease dependence on South African ports.

The President of Zambia, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, flanked by the Angolan President, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and Zaire's Mr Mobutu Sese Seko, said the mini-summit, was "a giant step forward in the region's quest for better communications facilities".

The three men had discussions at State House, in Lusaka.

The Benguela line once carried most Zambian and Zairean copper exports to Lobito.

The Benguela line is also of potential interest to Zimbabwe.

The 1340-kilometre rail route to Angola's port of Lobito is due to be re-opened within two years.

Diplomatic sources said the project had been under discussion for about 12 months.

At a similar meeting two weeks ago in Luanda, Angola's capital, Dr Kaunda said it would cost \$280 million to rebuild the route.

Yesterday's communique, however, did not clarify who would pay to rehabilitate the railroad, which is 90 per cent owned by the Belgian company Societe General de Belgique.



DR SAVIMBI

The director of the Belgian company, Count Etienne d'Avignon, who was in Lusaka for the meeting, said his company would help raise money for the railroad.

The communique did not mention another subject which was probably discussed — rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), whose sabotage was responsible for closing the railroad.

Until now, the major obstacle to re-opening the railway has been a civil war between Angola's Marxist government and guerillas of the United States and South African-backed Unita.

But last month Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, said he would allow the line to re-open, provided it was not used for military purposes.

Why Savimbi should have changed his mind after 12 years is not clear, but diplomatic



MR KAUNDA

sources said the United States appears to have brokered a deal between Unita and the government in Luanda which would enable the line to operate safely.

Transport ministers of the three countries and senior officials of Societe Generale, also met yesterday in Lusaka to prepare for the summit.

Dr Kaunda said at the time that the line could be reopened to light traffic in six months.

However, the diplomatic sources and sources in Societe Generale said such estimates were premature.

No technical study of the line has so far been conducted and some sections of the track are believed to be heavily damaged, they said.

"We are really at a very preliminary stage," said one European diplomat closely connected with the rehabilitation project.

"We don't know if the

political guarantees are there. We do not know how much the repairs would cost.

"There are some areas which are just not accessible," he added.

At the moment, trains only run 40 km inland from Lobito at the Atlantic end of the line, while traffic in Zaire stops at Kolwezi, 400 km east of the Angolan frontier, the sources said.

However, a preliminary approach for aid was made to the European Community (EC) in Brussels last week and EC officials in Lusaka said the request was received with sympathy.

Community funds could be made available from allocations to Southern Africa in the Third Lome Convention, a trade and aid pact linking the EC with many of the world's developing countries, they said.

US officials were reluctant to discuss Washington's role in the Benguela Railway project, but they stressed that the idea of reopening the line was an African and not an American initiative.

"Just like Nacala (in Mozambique), we have favoured the reopening of these railway networks.

"We have also said that we believe the Savimbi statement gives a basis for addressing the political security issues involved in reopening the Benguela Railway," one American official said. — Sapa-RNS

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Lumumba loyalists attack Zairean government troops

KAMPALA — Zairean dissidents loyal to the late President Patrice Lumumba have set up a guerilla movement in eastern Zaire and have started attacking government troops, a spokesman for the group said in Kampala today.

The movement, which calls itself the Mouvement Nationale Congolais (MNC), has a military wing called the Armee Lumumbiste Patriotique which has up to 18 000 men, the spokesman told reporters.

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Gem deal ditched

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KINSHASA — One of Zaire's major government-owned mining operations has unilaterally suspended a multi-million dollar diamond sales agreement with the British Diamond Organisation (Britmond).

Britmond represents the Central Selling Organisation.

A mining official said the agreement for Britmond to purchase the output of the mine at Bakwanga had been suspended since last February. He said a new ar-

rangement had been negotiated with the Belgian firm, Glasol, which had already purchased 569,566 carats of the mines production since February.

The Glasol agreement calls for the same purchase price as that specified in the Britmond contract.

Zaire is one of the world's largest producer of industrial grade diamonds. Its annual sales exceed \$220 million. — Sapa-AP

PW set to meet Mobutu, says radio

29/9/88 358

JOHANNESBURG.

President P.W. Botha is scheduled to meet Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko at Gbadolite this weekend, according to Radio France Internationale's correspondent in Brazzaville.

However, both the Department of Foreign Affairs and a spokesman for the State President's office have declined to comment on the issue.

Reports from Brazzaville, where South Africa is attending talks aimed at ending the Angolan conflict, said President Mobutu had been in the forefront of African attempts to stage a summit of Southern African leaders, with the aim of achieving national reconciliation in Angola.

But indications from the latest round of talks are that it is unlikely that many African leaders would attend a summit hosted by President Mobutu if South Africa were on the guest list.

Mr Botha said he was in favour of visiting other African states.

He said he is accustomed to receiving African leaders secretly in South Africa and is prepared to continue his visits to other African states, if necessary.

Political Correspondent and Sapa

Cheers in Zaire, but . . .

PW'S PARTY

CAUGHT ON

THE HOP!

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GBADOLITE (Zaire).— The State President, Mr PW Botha, and a top-level South African delegation, were greeted warmly by large crowds upon their arrival here today.

The chartered Safair Boeing 707 landed first at Zaire's capital, Kinshasa, for refuelling, before flying on for a further 90 minutes to Gbadolite, the birth town of Zaire's President, Marshall Mobutu Sese Seko.

Mr Botha, accompanied by Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, and several other senior officials, is on an official visit to Zaire as the guest of President Mobutu.

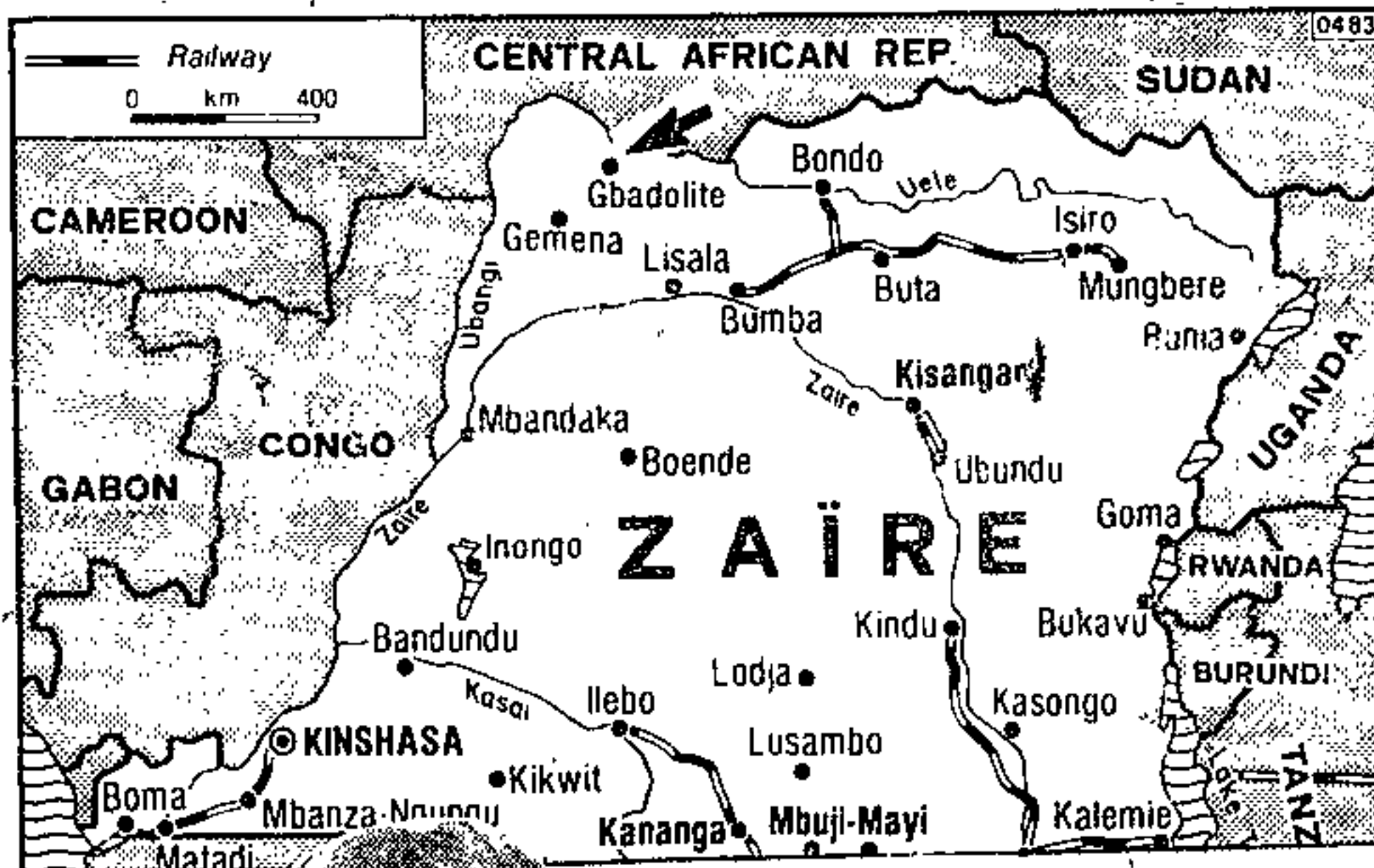
Peace

The purpose of the visit is to discuss regional peace, including national reconciliation in Angola and independence for Namibia, as well as bilateral relations.

President Mobutu greeted Mr Botha with a full honour guard.

The two leaders went inside the terminal building where they posed for pictures.

Marshall Mobutu said the talks today were about peace in Africa.



by DAVID BRAUN

Political

Correspondent

He said a list of subjects would be dealt with.

Mr Botha and Marshall Mobutu were then driven in the Zairian leader's limousine to a Government guest house for talks.

Earlier, at the Kinshasa stop, an unscheduled Zairian recep-

tion caught the South Africans completely unawares.

According to the programme, the stop was supposed to be a technical one and no person was to leave the aircraft.

The Boeing was, however, instructed to taxi about N'djili Airport for a few minutes in

order to give the welcoming officials time to get ready.

Most of the South Africans were still wearing track suits and were unshaven, believing they would have the opportunity to freshen up on the last leg of the journey to Gbadolite.

The State President and the Ministers dressed in record time so as to be ready when the Boeing rolled up at a long red carpet and an honour guard.

Mr Botha was met by Zaire's Minister of the Interior, Mr Mandungu Buha Nyati and several other Zairian officials, including the Governor of Kinshasa.

Sapa reports that the talks between the two presidents started immediately after their arrival at Gbadolite.

Earlier Mr Nyati told Sapa that neighbouring countries fully supported the talks and that they were essential for peace in the region.

Congo-Brazzaville sent a senior cabinet representative to the talks to report back to his government on any progress made while his president Gen Denis Fassinou Nguesso and the president of Angola, Eduardo Jose dos Santos held talks with President Bongo of Gabon in his capital Francoville to the north of the Zaire summit.

PW meets Zaire's President Mobuto

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SF 11/10/88

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, and a top-level South African delegation flew deep into Africa in the early hours this morning for a meeting with President Mobuto Sese Seko of Zaire.

Mr Botha, accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, is on a mission of peace.

He has been invited by his Zaire counterpart to discuss an African initiative to facilitate national reconciliation between the MPLA and Unita in Angola, independence for Na-

mbia and enhancing prospects for prosperity and stability in southern Africa.

Also on President Botha's chartered Safair Boeing 707 today were Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Kobus Meiring, director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, several senior officials of the Office of the State President and the ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence, and a small contingent of political journalists.

The South African party was expecting to fly directly to Gbadolite, a jungle town in the

DAVID BRAUN

north of Zaire.

President Mobuto, who was born in the district, was to have met President Botha at the airfield.

President Botha has taken two gifts for the Zairian leader: a set of Protea gold coins worth more than R4 000 and a Musgrave 375, South Africa's prestige heavy-calibre hunting rifle. Mr Pik Botha will present his counterpart with other gifts.

The South Africans are sche-

duled to be on Zairian soil for more than 12 hours.

From the airfield at Gbadolite they were to be taken to a government guest house for breakfast, after which there were to be several rounds of talks between the two leaders.

An afternoon tour of Gbadolite has been scheduled for about an hour before the South Africans leave on their return flight.

Mr Botha's visit to Zaire follows closely on his recent successful trip to Mozambique and Malawi.

Diplomatic sources have indicated further Africa trips could be in the pipeline.

The trip to Zaire took months of secret negotiations to set up, involving several visits of South African officials to Kinshasa, Zaire's capital.

As with the State President's visits to Malawi and Mozambique, preparatory work was done at senior official and Ministerial level in advance of this trip.

News of the meeting between the heads of state was

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PW meets Mobuto

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first announced by President Mobuto, who told *The New York Times* last month South Africa, Zaire and other African countries had agreed to hold a meeting to discuss regional peace and national reconciliation in Angola.

Mr Mobuto has been a supporter of Unita and he has expressed concern to his African neighbours and to South Africa about the 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

He has claimed the Cuban government has warned him that unless he stops his support for Unita, Zaire could be invaded.

Angola was previously a source of trouble for Zaire when Zairean dissidents based in Angola tried to stage an uprising in Shaba province in 1977. Zaire, rated among the five poorest countries in the world, is surrounded by nine neighbours, including the Central African Republic and Sudan in the north, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Tota in the east, Zambia in the south, and Angola and the Congo in the west.

There have been substantial clandestine trading links between South Africa and Zaire for several years now.

More than three-quarters of the country's 31 million people work on the country's agricultural sector.

Botha 'flexible' on releasing Mandela

From DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

BADOLITE (Zaire). — President Botha has given Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko a clear indication that he is flexible on the release from prison of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

And he has assured President Mobutu that he has an open mind on the death sentences for the Sharpeville Six.

This emerged in the formal joint communiqué by the two African leaders after more than four hours of talks at President Mobutu's country

palace at Gbadolite, his birth town.

The communiqué said they had discussed four topics:

● The Brazzaville peace talks and national reconciliation in Angola;

● Namibia's independence;

● Development of central and Southern Africa after Namibia's independence; and

● The position of Mr. Mandela and the Sharpeville Six.

The communiqué said "President Botha's flexible approach concerning the release of Nelson Mandela was a source of

encouragement to President Mobutu."

On the Sharpeville Six, who have been sentenced to hang for their complicity in the mob-killing of a Lekoa civic official, the communiqué said: "President Botha indicated that this question would be examined after judicial processes which had not been resolved had come to an end."

On the other three points dealt with the communiqué said the South African delegation had told the Zairean delegation of the present state of the peace discussions in Braz-

zaville. They exchanged views on national reconciliation in Angola.

The communiqué said Zaire reiterated its support for United Nations Resolution 435. The South African delegation told its Zairean hosts of the contents of the recent discussions that South Africa had with the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

It is reported from London that President Botha's African foray and the renewed speculation on the status of Mr. Mandela have been featured prominently in newspapers and on television.

The London Times, in an analysis by its Johannesburg correspondent, Michael Hornsby, says that if Mr. Botha can persuade other African heads of state to meet him around the conference table it would put pressure on the ANC to drop its armed struggle and negotiate.

Sapa-AP reports from Johannesburg that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. P. W. Botha, said yesterday he would neither confirm nor deny reports that President Botha has promised the unconditional release of Mr. Mandela.



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Mobutu, dictator, and survivor

Stew 3/10/88



President Mobutu Sese Seko
... stability in chaotic times.
By KEN VERNON,
The Star's Africa
News Service.

In the 23 years that he has ruled Zaire, President Mobutu Sese Seko, who met President Botha this weekend, has been called many things — despot, dictator, murderer, corrupt, spoiler of the country's wealth. But he is also called a survivor, something rare in the often short-lived, bloody and turbulent world of African politics.

His greatest achievement in his unusually long rule has been to bring a much needed measure of stability to a country with a history of chaos and bloodshed.

Mr. Mobutu was born near the small river town of Lisala in November 1930, attended local missionary schools and then dabbled in journalism until he joined the army at the age of 19.

From an early age he was interested in politics, joining the ANC of Patrice Lumumba and rising to head the army when Lumumba led the country after independence in 1960.

The same year he took power in a bloodless coup, keeping it for five months before handing it back to a civilian government.

But in 1965 he again took the reins of power, this time keeping them.

He formed his own political party, the Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution (MPR), now the only legal party, and consolidated a grip that has only been seriously threatened by two invasions by Katangese exiles in 1977 and 1978.

The meeting with President Botha will be the culmination of many years of alleged business and military contacts between Zaire and South Africa.

Key issues at Zaire summit

THE four-and-a-half-hour weekend summit in Gbadolite between Zaire and SA covered a wide range of topics of vital concern to both countries.

The range of topics discussed was reflected in the Gbadolite communiqué issued at the conclusion of the talks at the steamy tropical jungle retreat.

One of the major longer-term issues dealt with was the "development situation" in Central and Southern Africa "after peace had been restored to Angola and independence to Namibia".

The communiqué noted: "As arch-future developers in the Southern and Central African region of the continent, the two delegations expressed the hope that they will see all the states of this part of Africa maintain peaceful relations in order to promote economic, social and cultural development."

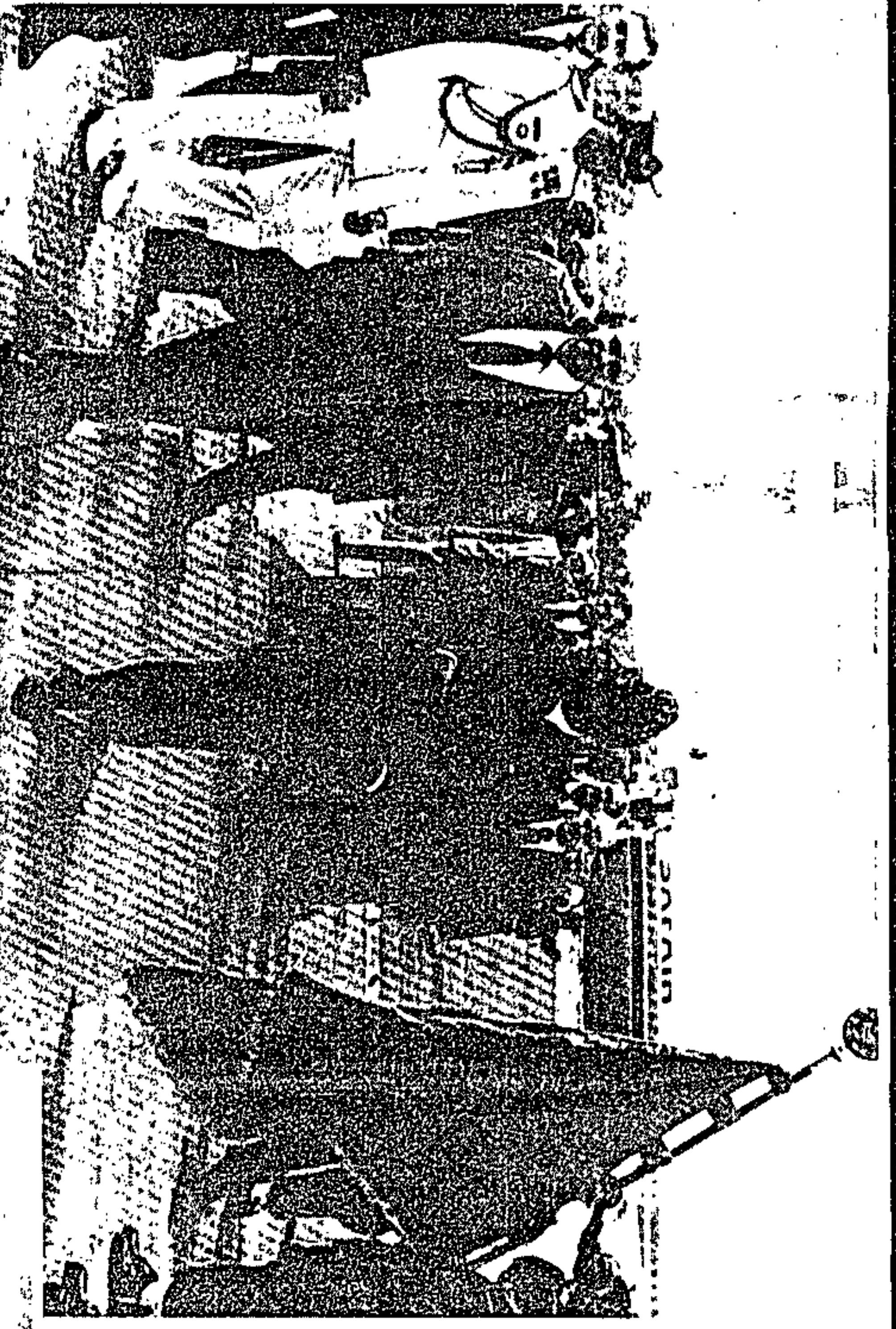
Another theme that received attention was the peace negotiations and national reconciliation between the ruling MPLA and UNITA in Angola.

The South Africans informed their Zairean counterparts about progress at the tripartite negotiations being conducted at Brazzaville.

The third major topic concerned Namibia. Zaire reiterated its support for UN Resolution 435, while the South Africans informed their Zairean hosts on the contents of recent talks with the UN Secretary-General in Pretoria.

The fourth major topic area concerned the situation surrounding Mr Nelson Mandela and the Sharpeville Six.

"The talks between the two delegations were conducted in a frank and calm fashion, the communiqué said in conclusion."



RED CARPET TREATMENT... President P W Botha and President Mobutu Sese Seko leave the airport for the first summit meeting at the Zaire leader's mansion in the jungle.

Mobutu jungle palace a shrine to opulence

black, red and white, is a monument to opulent living. It is little wonder that this country retreat has been dubbed "the Versailles in the jungle".

Although a man of considerable means, the president insists on driving his own vehicle, on one occasion with a clearly steeled President P W Botha sitting next to him.

Among the president's collection of cars are dozens of late-model Mercedes Benzes.

The president's hospitality was replete with various gifts from the South African party, including some gold medallions worth an estimated R4 000.

Among the other South African gifts was a colourfully wrapped present containing ammunition — for the hunting rifle the president who has everything, in material terms anyway.

African 'breakthrough'

PRESIDENT P W Botha's latest flurry of summits with African leaders is just the tip of the iceberg — and a major breakthrough in relations with Africa, including more high-profile visits and co-operation agreements, appears to be in the pipeline.

The South African government believes that this new era in diplomacy can help "liquidate" sanctions drives, and appears fully prepared to forego the traditionally closer links it has historically had with the West in favour of closer contact with African states.

Speaking on his way back from his highly cordial summit with President Mobutu Sese Seko — which produced the promise of a reciprocal visit to SA — Mr Botha said the next step in the Africa outreach programme was a summit conference of heads of state of the subcontinent.

And highly-placed sources at the Gbadolite meeting disclosed that Mr Botha had undertaken at least four "secret summits" with African leaders in recent years — two with President Omar Bongo of Gabon and two with President Felix Houphouët Boigny of the Ivory Coast.

Reports from Zaire summit by ANTHONY JOHNSON Political Correspondent



MPLA and UNITA, will be attended by Angola, Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, Zaire and Zambia.

Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, Mali and the Organization of African Unity will attend as observers.

A senior South African diplomat said at the weekend that South Africa would not heighten African sensitivities by insisting on attending all regional peace initiatives, but would instead follow a parallel track of concentrating on regional meetings focusing principally on development, aid and trade issues.

President Botha described the meeting with his Zairean counterpart as "a further step in the restoration of good relations between South Africa and its neighbours."

"But this is a very important step, because Zaire is a key country and President Mobutu is a respected statesman with influence."

Mr Botha told journalists on the way back to South Africa that the Republic would pay further official visits to African states this year and again next year, but he would not be drawn on details.

"I always said... that South Africa has something to convey to Africa."

"It seems that Southern Africa is coming to grips with this..."



Use of the names of organisations or U.I., U.G., E.I., E.G.

Just a little place in the country

Star 3/10/85

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GBADOLITE (Zaire) — Not even the most sumptuous of Sol Kerzner's sun palaces can compare with the country pad of President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.

Field Marshal Mobutu, President and founder of modern Zaire, as he is officially called, lives in the sort of splendour that belongs in the Arabian Nights.

Yet this President of an important African country twice the size of South Africa and a quarter that of the United States, rules over what is reportedly the fifth poorest country in the world.

South Africans who accompanied the State President, Mr P W Botha, on an official visit to Zaire at the weekend had the opportunity of seeing at first hand the many splendours of the court of Field Marshal Mobutu.

Stark contrast

The luxurious lifestyle of the Zairian leader contrasted starkly with the manner in which President Botha travelled to the summit.

Mr Botha, setting an example of financial austerity, used an ancient chartered Boeing 707, used normally as

a troop transport. Although on-board service was good, the airconditioning was ineffective and the seating most uncomfortable.

Once in Zaire, the South African party entered a different world.

It was entertained at President Mobutu's country palace at Gbadolite, the village where he was born.

The presidential compound is a sprawling complex of what must be scores of hectares of lush and lavish gardens, reportedly laid out and planted by South African Keith Kirsten.

Within this tropical paradise are the many buildings and structures which make up the palace.

Peacocks strut across the lawns and giant futuristic sculptures dot the landscape.

Currently under construction is a gargantuan edifice which towers at least four storeys above this paradise. It is, we heard, to be the new residence of the President.

In front of the new structure is a vast construction of pools and fountains, linked with bridges and marble piazzas.

A staff member sits discreetly in a

By DAVID BRAUN,
Political Correspondent

Zaire is reported to be the fifth poorest country in the world but its President, Mobutu Sese Seko, in contrast to the rest of the population, lives in a splendour that belongs to the Arabian Nights.

distant building with an elaborate keyboard contraption which he uses to control the height and volume of the dozens of fountains.

In one section of the huge complex is a children's playground, complete with a life-size wooden toy train which trundles around the gardens.

There are various swimming pools and, in one spot, a large white gazebo.

At one end of the grounds, President Mobutu has put several hectares under rice — huge paddies which are apparently being cultivated by hired Chinese experts.

All over the complex are armed guards and uniformed security personnel with intercoms.

The service staff wear gaily col-

oured tunics and one particularly imposing gentleman is dressed in a floral print jacket.

Everyone wears lapel buttons with a picture of the President.

Womenfolk wear fabric printed with the likeness of the Founder. Several large female bottoms were to be seen adorned with the President's face.

In the driveway of the presidential palace is a fleet of at least two dozen Mercedes Benz limousines.

One of them, a stretched Mercedes 600, is so new it has not yet got number plates. It has a window in the roof.

The President's current limousine is a huge black job, complete with the Zairian and presidential standards on the fenders.

The lunch hosted by President Mobutu for the South Africans was a splendid feast.

There, in the very heart of Africa, a few degrees north of the equator and about equidistant from the two great oceans which wash Africa's shores to the east and the west, President Mobutu served crayfish, salmon and a variety of fish as well as stuffed doves and several types of meat.

The wines and bottled water were

French.

At the main table, President Mobutu and his guests were served from gold and-crystal carafes. The crockery, with a Chinese motif, was expensive. Like the silver and glassware, it was all embellished or engraved with Field Marshal Mobutu's initials.

The adjacent reception rooms were decorated in Chinese style, with large expensive vases dotted about the place a massive gilt statue of a nude male and a two-metre-tall hi-fi set.

Primitive huts

As we drove to and from the luxuriously appointed airport terminal the South Africans could not help noticing that the ordinary Zairians lived in primitive huts, made of thatched leaves and wood.

The average income per head, we were told, was R340 a year (compared with South Africa's R5 000).

President Mobutu is said to be worth something like R10 billion.

He has magnanimously offered to build a R750 million hospital adjacent to his country palace "from his personal funds".

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3/10/88

President Botha and President Mobutu at the Gbadolite palace.



Jail to end for Mandela?

Cape Times 3/10/88

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New era for Africa

Mobutu's plea met with 'promise'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

NELSON MANDELA will probably never return to prison.

But the ANC leader, currently under police guard at a luxury Cape Town clinic, is most unlikely to be granted unqualified freedom as a political actor to mobilize his huge personal following in South Africa.

These disclosures surrounding the changing status of Mr Mandela emerged at the jungle summit between President P W Botha and Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko at Gbadolite at the weekend.

President Mobutu made an earnest plea to Mr Botha to release Mr Mandela and appeared heartened by his response.

A joint communique issued shortly before the SA delegation to the talks jettied out of Gbadolite on Saturday evening noted: "President Botha's flexible

Full summit reports

See PAGE 5

approach concerning the release of Nelson Mandela was a source of encouragement to President Mobutu."

According to a report in the Washington Post, Mr Botha vowed to free Mr Mandela after the ANC leader recovers from TB.

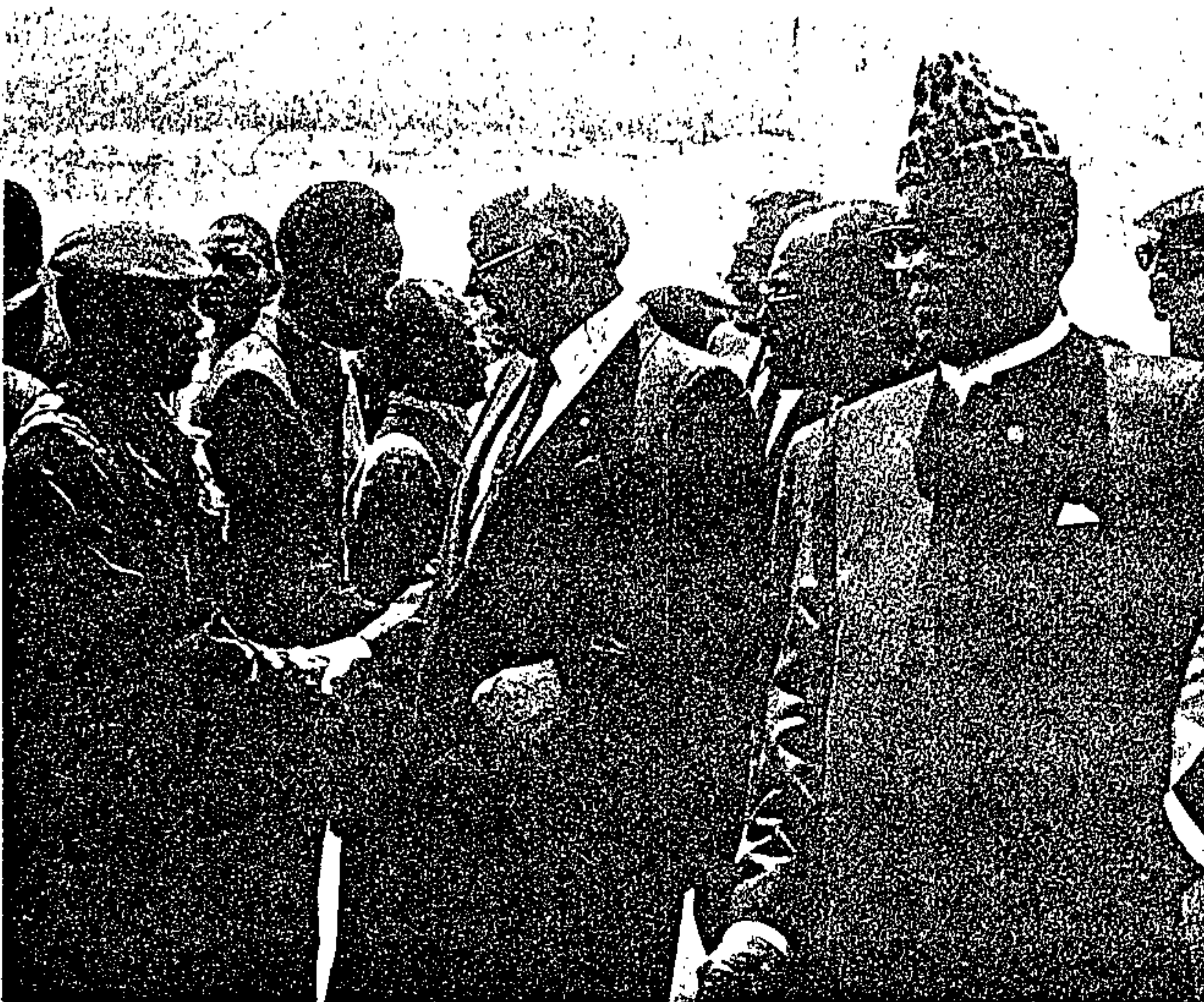
The weekend report, based on a telephone interview with the Zairean president after the South African delegation had left for home, stated: "Mr Mobutu said the SA president gave him a solemn promise that he will not send Mandela back to prison on regaining his health in a Cape Town nursing home."

It added: "I obtained from Botha a firm commitment that Mandela will soon be freed without any condition and he will be allowed to return home without any constraints."

However, well-placed conference sources indicated that Mr Botha had pointed out to his Zairean counterpart the risks Pretoria faced in allowing Mr Mandela to operate as a free political agent and the popular backlash that could result if the government felt bound to imprison him once again.

Leading members of the SA security establishment have also stressed repeatedly in recent months that the government could not risk giving Mr Mandela unconditional freedom.

And being released into a South Africa under a state of emergency in any case precludes normal



PRESIDENT BOTHA, I PRESUME . . . A Zairian military official greets President P W Botha on his arrival at Gbadolite, north-western Zaire, on Saturday. Next to Mr Botha is President Mobutu Sese Seko. The weekend summit between the two leaders is a prelude to further talks between SA and other African states on regional issues. Full report on summit, PAGE 5

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A favourite
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Boyatino,
person, was a

length away in third just ahead of an English runner, Unfuwain, the mount of Willie Carson.

Mtoto, unbeaten this year and considered the best middle-distance performer in Europe, was slowly away in the 12 furlongs (2 400 metres) event and when the 24-strong field turned into the home straight he was still nearer last than first.

Roberts's worst fears were realized when he was unable to get a clear run through beaten horses and although he made up several lengths in the final 200 metres he could not haul back Tony Bin and Reid.

Strike at Karos hotel: Police hold 43 workers

Staff Reporters

MORE THAN 40 striking hotel workers were arrested yesterday for trespassing after the management of the Karos Arthur's Seat Hotel in Sea Point allegedly "broke an agreement and called the police".

A police spokesman confirmed that 43 people had been arrested for trespassing at the hotel yesterday afternoon.

Six of the Karos group's hotels have been affected by industrial action since the dismissal of a number of workers following the June 16 stayaway and a deadlock in wage negotiations.

The Liquor and Catering Trades Union (LCTU) claims that Karos Hotels dismissed 122 workers at the Karos Wilderness Hotel for commemorating

To page 2

To page 2

P.T.O

IT has been roses; roses all the way for State President P W Botha in his diplomatic ventures into Mozambique, Malawi and Zaire.

Now comes the hard part: maintaining the momentum among African states that may be more difficult to win over.

South Africa's diplomatic drive in black Africa needs another breakthrough if it is not to be in danger of running out of steam.

Whatever happens next, nothing can detract from the significance of the three visits Mr Botha has made in the past month.

By simply making them he has broken a gaping hole in the wall of official ostracism that has for decades separated South Africa from most of black Africa.

It now becomes much easier for other states that have been dealing with Pretoria under the counter to bring these dealings out in the open and for states that have had no direct dealings to begin them.

This is what South African diplomats have been aiming at in their patient and skilful efforts to widen Pretoria's relations in the continent.

The hope is that if enough states start treating openly with South Africa others will be encouraged to follow, creating a snowball effect.

But the going is likely to be much harder from now on.

Mr Botha's meeting with President Chissano in Mozambique was a breakthrough in that it was the first meeting at this level since the Nkomati Accord was signed in 1984. But its significance was lessened by the fact that it was a meeting between leaders whose countries already had trade, labour and semi-diplomatic ties.

The meeting with President Banda of Malawi was in much the same sort of category.

President Mobutu's lavish reception for Mr Botha at Gbadolite last weekend was much more of a breakthrough, for even though Zaire has long relied on South Africa's transport and supply resources the two countries have never

conducted open diplomatic exchanges.

Now Mr Botha needs another summit to keep up the momentum and the most promising country is Zambia.

It, too, relies heavily on South Africa for trade and transport. President Kaunda, while maintaining the stiff posture befitting a member of the frontline states grouping,

has repeatedly offered to play an intermediary role in black Africa's efforts to persuade South Africa to drop apartheid.

And he has already had one meeting with Mr Botha at the "Marula Summit" on neutral ground on the Botswana border in 1982.

There has already been speculation about a meeting soon between Mr Botha and Mr Kaunda. If it were to come off it would do a great deal to maintain the momentum of the South African diplomatic drive.

After that Pretoria would logically turn its eyes to the Francophone states, mainly Ivory Coast and Gabon, with whom it has long had covert or tentative dealings.

In the meantime, Pretoria will be working

SOWETAN Africa News Service

to consolidate the new relationships established with Mozambique and Zaire. The presidents of both countries have accepted invitations to visit South Africa and a visit by President Chissano is the most likely next move.

Delighted

The South Africans would be delighted if Zaire agreed to follow the example of Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe and open a trade office in the Republic.

Given the considerable volume of Zaire's trade passing through or coming from South Africa, this would be a logical move.

Whether it will be

made remains to be seen, but it would do much to increase South Africa's acceptability in black Africa.

Despite their deep-seated objection to the South African pariah, many African states have almost as strong an incentive to deal with South Africa as the Republic has to deal with them.

Pretoria hopes to achieve several things: wider acceptance of gradual rather than revolutionary dismantling of apartheid, the denial of bases and transit routes to African National Congress insurgents, the undermining of the international sanctions campaign, the promotion of trade, the ending of conflicts in Southern Africa and the opening of new development opportunities.

For the black states, one of the incentives is the chance to tap into the South African industrial and transport infrastructure and draw trade and development benefits not obtainable elsewhere.

In addition, African states hope that through South Africa a peaceful solution may be found to the wars in Namibia and Angola, ending their fears of the conflicts spreading wider in the region.

A growing number of African states see political reconciliation between the MPLA government and the Unita rebels in Angola as the only way to achieve a lasting peace there.

Some think it might also hold the key to independence for Namibia, so closely linked are the two issues now.

South Africa's close association with the Namibian and Angolan peace initiatives has almost certainly provided the lever for the new diplomatic breakthroughs.

Particularly effective was the impression of good faith that was created by South Africa's troop withdrawal from Angola and its offer to implement the United Nations independence plan for Namibia from November 1.



PRESIDENT Botha meets President Mobutu during his visit to Zaire.

LUSAKA LIKELY TARGET

Botha's drive into Black Africa

FOCUS

88QWETAN, Thursday, October 13, 1988

TUTU TO VISIT ZAIRE

Invited by President Mobutu

KINSHASA — South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu will visit Zaire shortly, President Mobutu Sese Seko said.

Mobutu said the visit resulted from his meeting with South African President P W Botha in northwest Zaire on October 1.

He did not say how that meeting with the head of the Pretoria government should lead to a visit by the Anglican clergyman, one of its most famous opponents.

Tutu would come to Zaire before the end of the month, President Mobutu told a meeting of his Zaire state party. President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria would also visit the central African state, he said.



ARCHBISHOP Tutu

"At first . . . the meeting (with President Botha) did not spark enthusiasm everywhere in Africa," Mobutu said. But the results it brought "have swept away all reservations," he said.

He did not elaborate. The regional summit which Mobutu announc-

ed after meeting President Botha never took place. Also the statement he made that President Botha had promised the unconditional release of anti-apartheid activist Nelson Mandela was later denied by Pretoria.

— Sapa-Reuter.

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Pik said they're coming, but no Zaire VIPs arrive

Capt Tinkles 21/10/80 *358*

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The planned visit of a Zairean delegation to SA yesterday was called off because of media speculation about Angola's Unita movement switching its logistical supply lines from SA to Zaire, according to informed sources.

However, Reuter reports that Zaire's official press agency, Azap, expressed surprise yesterday at reports that the visit to SA had been postponed and said no such trip had been scheduled.

The agency published its report after Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha announced that a Zairean delegation headed by Mr Nguza Karl-I-Bond was due in Pretoria yesterday. Mr Botha's office later said the visit had been postponed but gave no rea-

sons.

The Azap report said that nothing was known of the visit which was to have been headed by Zairean Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Karl-I-Bond.

In response, Mr Botha later said that he would not like to comment further beyond saying that "there must be some misunderstanding".

Earlier this month, President P W Botha met President Mobutu Sese-Seko of Zaire as part of South Africa's diplomatic offensive in black Africa.

Plans for a state visit later this year by the Zairean president are, however, apparently still under way.

According to sources yesterday, an overnight BBC news report — prepared by the BBC's

West Africa correspondent — speculated that Unita was currently in the process of reducing supply lines from SA and was favouring military dependence on Zaire.

This report, together with what was believed to be a similar French radio report, led to the cancellation of the visit of the Zairean delegation to SA, the sources said.

● The Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday that Mr Pik Botha will pay a one-day visit to Maputo on Tuesday.

A spokesman said the reason for the visit was to open the building which will house the SA mission and also to attend a service at the memorial to Louis Trichardt on the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek.

Tutu ponders Zaire 'invitation'

Own Correspondent

358

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu is still considering an "apparent invitation" from President Mobutu of Zaire to meet on the recent talks between the two governments.

The Anglican archbishop, who is president of the All Africa Council of Churches (AACC), has postponed a separate visit to Zaire, Angola and Zimbabwe scheduled for this week.

He will still travel to Nairobi next week for a meeting of the AACC's executive.

President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, who had asked the AACC to arrange a meeting with Archbishop Tutu, was also unavailable during the time he was scheduled to be in his country.

Star 26/10/88

Referring to the reported invitation from President Mobutu, Archbishop Tutu said: "I have had no direct invitation. Someone calling himself an adviser to the president has contacted my staff from New York and there has been a press report saying I am to hold talks in Zaire."

CNN-Trans 3/10/88
Monday, October 31, 1988

Mobutu 'to make state visit to SA'

Own Correspondent

LISBON. — Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko is planning a state visit to Pretoria early in the new year as South Africa makes unprecedented advances in diplomatic breakthroughs to black countries in the region.

According to Mr Xavier de Figueiredo, editor of a Lisbon newsletter on Southern Africa, the Mobutu trip may also be marked by the formal release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

President Mobutu has expressed interest in taking Mr Mandela back on a visit to Zaire immediately thereafter.

South Africa's growing political and diplomatic détente with Africa is said to be worrying Cuba, for whom it represents a

setback. Cuba has always portrayed South Africa as the main enemy in the region and its diplomacy with African countries has been geared to this.

Earlier this month a senior Cuban official, General Henrique Montero, made several visits to countries in the region. He was seen in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania and the Congo and may have been in others.

His mission, according to reports here, was to pressure governments to back away from their growing relationship with South Africa.

This pressure was directly responsible for derailing Congolese President Sassou Nguesso's plans to welcome President P W Botha on the South African leader's recent overseas trip,

which included a stopover on the way home in the Ivory Coast.

Reports here say Cuba torpedoed a planned summit between Mr Botha and his Angolan counterpart, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Mr Dos Santos had initially reacted favourably to the idea suggested by Mr Botha.

Cuba also regards Mozambique's moves to restore good relations with South Africa as poorly timed and aligning Maputo unnecessarily closely to Pretoria.

Nevertheless, in a clear indication of how Cuba's influence is waning in the area, Maputo has ignored Havana's strictures and President Joaquim Chissano is planning a formal visit to South Africa later this year.

● Soviets 'tired of aiding liberation' — Page 7

Belgian press jibes infuriate Mobuto 358

Star 6/12/88

By DAVID USBORNE

Stung by criticism about corruption after a summit with Belgian Prime Minister Mr Wilfried Martens, President Mubuto of Zaire is threatening an exodus of Zairis from the nation that was once his colonial overlord.

BRUSSELS — A newspaper cartoon of President Mobutu of Zaire and Belgian Prime Minister Mr Wilfried Martens prancing semi-naked to the beat of a jungle drum against a backdrop of mud huts and natives may have something to do with the latest crisis in relations between their two countries.

Editorial columns comparing the African leader to former President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines definitely do.

These greeted Mr Martens on his return from a trip to Belgium's former colony a month ago, during which he agreed to reschedule a large part of Zaire's debt.

The press comments did not go down well in Kinshasa. Six days ago, the Foreign Minister, Mr Nguza Karl-I-Bond, flew to Brussels to throw Mr Martens's offer back in his face. But that is not all.

Such is the pique of President Mobutu — at the Marcos references in particular — that he seems now to have put out a per-



President Mobutu



Mr Martens

sonal order that all Zairean nationals living in Belgium should return home by December 31, liquidating all local assets.

This has spread alarm in the Belgian government and in the 15 000-strong Zairean community here. If Mr Mobutu is serious, then Belgium and Zaire, locked in an exhausting love-hate relationship for 25 years, face a bust-up of historic proportions.

"This is an extremely worrying situation and terribly delicate," Mr Martens's press office said last night. "Is this just another of Mobutu's grand gestures or does he mean this to be a serious and deep political action?"

The Belgians are all the more confused because news of the president's decision has only come through the Zairean state news agency and still has not been confirmed at official level.

It was Mr Martens's offer to reschedule and partly write off R2 500 million of debt that started the trouble. Much of the Belgian press, his political opponents and even his socialist coalition partners, criticised the move, suggesting that Mr Mobutu's one-party regime was corrupt and unworthy of support.

The reference to Mr Marcos came in a Flemish regional daily, *Het Belang Van Limburg*, which wrote: "The Marcos-style fortune of the head of state of Zaire leads one to question the origin of his country's debt."

If all the Zaireans in Belgium were to return home, Brussels would alter dramatically. Many of the city-centre night clubs and shops would close and nearly 2 000 students would leave the university. The latter have at least been given until the end of the academic year to go home or to move to other countries.

Among those who may have to go are President Mobutu's own children. Perhaps it is the fact that they witnessed the adverse press comment at first hand that has made their father so angry. — The Independent News Service.

No quorum for municipal union

Municipal Reporter

WHITE municipal employees of Cape Town called a meeting yesterday to depose committee members who voted to accept the council's annual pay increase offer — but not enough members turned up to form a quorum.

Mr Peter Rist, chairman of the Cape Town branch of the South African Association of Municipal Employees (non-political) (SAAME) said at the meeting that 423 people, or 10% of the membership, had to attend to make up a quorum.

Only 389 members came, according to the attendance register, so after half an hour the meeting was postponed to next week.

At next week's meeting, any number of people will constitute a quorum, in terms of the constitution.

In response to a question from the floor, Mr Rist said 1 305 members of SAAME had signed a petition rejecting the council's pay offer.

Yesterday's lunch-time meeting had been called to discuss a motion of no-confidence in the negotiating team members who had voted to accept the council's offer, and demand their resignations.

On September 12 a majority of SAAME members rejected the pay offer, which started at 7,5%, and demanded that SAAME take the matter to court.

Conciliation took place, and the offer was raised to 9% (though departmental heads got 20%). The 1 305-signature petition was then handed to the SAAME team, but it accepted the council offer.

Members felt betrayed, according to a written motivation.

Last night another meeting was held. Two items on the agenda were the removal of the words "non-political" from the union's name, and the opening of its ranks to all regardless of race.

Ch/Dr News 7/12/88 (3/8) (3/27)

Pik silent over Pastoors reports

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, declined to comment on reports yesterday that Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko was negotiating for Helene Pastoors' release.

Pastoors, a Belgian and Dutch national, was sentenced to 10 years' jail in Johannesburg in 1986 for smuggling weapons for the ANC.

Mr Mobutu said in Kinshasa he had raised the issue with Mr Botha at the weekend and that Mr Botha had as-

sured him that Pastoors' case would be re-opened.

If she was released she would be handed to Zairean authorities who would release her to the Belgian government.

Mr Botha said: "As a rule I decline to comment on what the press says about another head of state."

Pastoors' attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, said he knew nothing of reports claiming that Mr Botha had said her case would be re-opened. — Sapa

UCT live-in workers told to move out

ARGUS 9/12/88 355

Labour Reporter

ABOUT 60 live-in workers at the University of Cape Town have been told they will have to move out as the space is needed for student accommodation.

A spokesman for the UCT workers, who are members of the Transport and General Workers Union, said this was one of the points on which annual wage negotiations were nearing deadlock.

Wage increases for non-academic staff were another item in dispute.

She said that academic staff had been promised increases of about 23 percent, but other staff administration had been offered 17,5 percent.

The union had asked for a five-percent increase in December and a further 17,5 percent from January.

UCT registrar Mr Hugh Amore said a 17,5 percent increase would bring the present R720 a month minimum, in-

cluding a 13th cheque, to R845 a month.

The union spokesman said the live-in workers were mainly kitchen staff.

Although the university had promised financial help for them to buy homes the workers had several objections to being asked to leave.

There was a shortage of housing so they would have problems finding a home to buy; travelling to work each day would create extra expense and add several hours to their day, and some had homes outside the Cape Town area and did not want to buy a second home here.

Zaire's cash problems frighten Unita — journal

APR 14/72

The Argus Foreign Service reports from London



President Mobutu Sese Seko

ZAIRE'S financial problems are frightening Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi and his supporters, including South Africa, according to the Economist.

In a leading article on the Angola-SWA/Namibia talks, it points out that South African supplies for Unita will have to stop when South Africa withdraws from the Caprivi Strip, leaving Unita dependent on American supplies received through Zaire.

But Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko is deeply in debt and in default on his foreign loans.

"The Americans have long held their noses and subsidised his erratic regime," says the magazine. "Last week Mr Pik Botha found Mr Mobutu more unsettled than usual because of a row with his main European supporters, the Belgians.

"Belgian newspapers have been saying that Mr Mobutu is a dictator, which he is, and that he pockets aid money, which may also be true. The enraged president therefore refuses to service his Belgian debts.

"If he stops paying, Ameri-

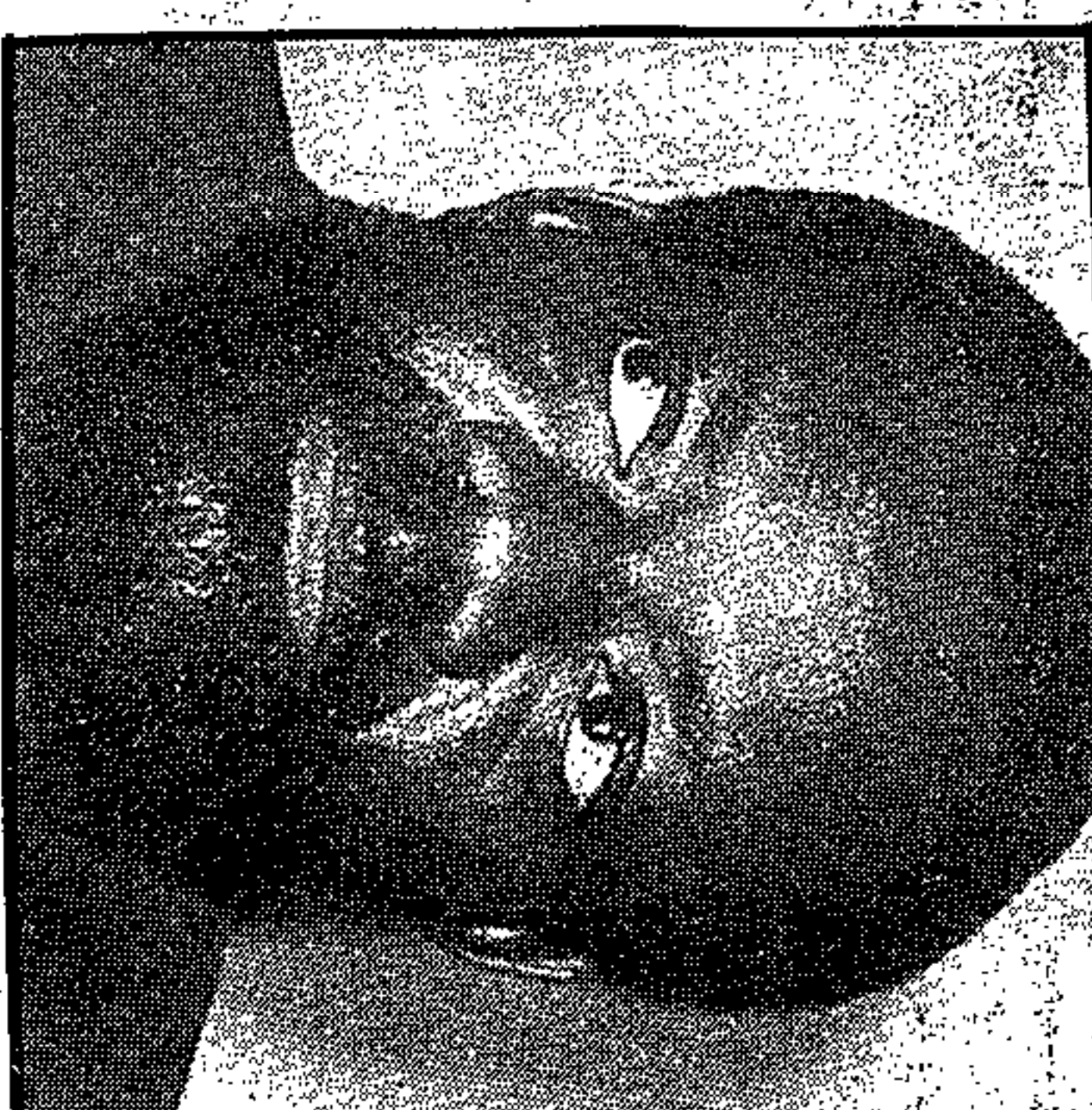
ca's aid rules will disbar him from further American aid. If he were not paid, Unita's guns would not get through Zaire. That scares Dr Savimbi and his supporters, especially South Africa."

The journal adds that Dr Savimbi has been getting American help since 1974 and is liked in America's Congress. Recent visitors have noted that fewer of his supplies are South African and more American.

On the wider issue of peace in Southern Africa, it concludes: "The South Africans

can hardly stay in Namibia, for fear of a tightening of American and European sanctions against them. Fidel Castro may think Mikhail Gorbachev a wet liberal: but the Cubans cannot run their African adventure alone, and the Russians want them out. South Africa and Cuba are over-extended.

"The United States and Russia want to show that cooperative peacemaking can be pulled off in this part of the world. Namibia can yet be free of South African soldiers, and all Southern Africa of Cuban ones."



Dr Jonas Savimbi

Signing is 'best news in a long time'

THE signing of the Brazzaville protocol is "the best news I have heard in a long time", said the chairman of the Cabinet in Windhoek's transitional government, Mr Andreas Shipanga.

Mr Shipanga, Minister of Mines in the administration, said he believed independence for SWA/Namibia was closer now than at any other time in the past.

The Finance Minister and DTA leader, Mr Dirk Mudge, said Namibians should be under no illusions that resolution 435 was not going to happen.

In Washington, the signing has been hailed by the United States government as a choice for peace.

Officials made a point of praising Moscow's help in clinching the peace deal — and expressed the hope that the Russians would help reconcile Angola's MPLA regime and the Unita movement.

The officials also sought to reassure conservatives in Washington that they would not end military support for Unita as long as the Soviet Union continued to send huge arms supplies to the MPLA.

"It has been a long and often frustrating effort, but the reward — peace in south-western Africa — has been worth the extraordinary effort and dedication of those who have brought this

negotiation to a successful conclusion," said a spokesman, Mr Charles Redman.

The Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, sent a message of congratulation to the chief American mediator, Dr Chester Crocker, stating that Dr Crocker and his "superb negotiating team" achieved the agreement through creativity, energy and patient persistence.

Mr Shultz is expected to attend the ceremony in New York next Thursday when a formal tripartite agreement is signed by South Africa, Cuba and Angola, and a separate agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops by Angola and Cuba. — Argus Africa News Service.



Argus 14/12/88 Picture: PETER MOREY, The Argus
FLOWER POWER: Posing with bouquets after the signing of the Brazzaville protocol are, from left: General Magnus Malan, South African Minister of Defence; Mr Pik Botha, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs; Dr Chester Crocker, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa; Mr Ricardo Alarcon, Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister; and General Antonio dos Santos Franca 'Ndaluvu, Angolan Minister of Defence.

All systems go — UN man

ALL outstanding obstacles to the implementation of resolution 435 on SWA/Namibia independence have been resolved and the plan is ready to swing into action on April 1.

This is view of the United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, who said the April Fools' Day start to the job for which he has waited

10 years did not worry him.

"I'm not superstitious," said the ro-tund Finn at yesterday's signing of the Brazzaville accord, which will activate his long-postponed role.

His view was later echoed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who said any delays would not come from South Africa. — Argus Africa News Service.

Bid to salvage Zaire links

BRUSSELS — Belgium is scrambling to salvage its post-colonial links with Zaire, in tatters since President Mobutu took exception last month to Belgian press claims of corruption in his government.

Mr Leo Tindemans, the Belgian Foreign Minister, has the unenviable task of trying to repair the damage already done during talks in Kinshasa, which began yesterday.

The Prime Minister, Mr Wilfried Martens, said in a television broadcast that he hoped Mr Tindemans's mission would put an end to a quarrel which threatens to explode more than 25 years of close, if often fractious, post-colonial relations.

For the moment, this seems an empty hope. Three weeks ago, Presi-

dent Mobutu ordered the 15 000 Zairean nationals living in Belgium to liquidate their assets and leave the country by the end of this month. Only students were given a few months' grace to complete the academic year.

This has been followed more recently by a series of other diplomatic affronts. All Zairean companies based in Belgium, including Air Zaire and considerable mineral interests, have been instructed to relocate elsewhere in Europe, and Belgian firms advertising in newspapers not considered favourable to President Mobutu have been threatened with a blanket boycott by Zairean companies.

As yet, there is little evidence that any of these actions will become reality. — The Independent News Service.

By TOM HOOD
Business Editor

CAPE manufacturers are being urged to work extra shifts to use idle plant in their factories and export the additional output.

A campaign by the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) is gradually being adopted by a number of industrialists elsewhere, said general manager Anne Moore, who visited Cape Town this week.

Many exporters have warned that soaring inflation in South Africa has offset the advantage of the rand's low exchange rate and that they are being priced out of overseas markets.

But Safto believes the inflation factor could be countered by reducing unit costs through shift working in factories.

"This year's export award winners, Firestone, were able to build up their exports because they were running multiple shifts, including weekend shifts. Without it they would not be able to make their exports pay," she said.

Major obstacles were travel problems for staff, training additional labour and stretching management.

"Those additional shifts have to be managed and it is not easy," she said.

Some companies have given

up in the face of these difficulties but a number in several industries have coped successfully and expect to see increased profits from exports.

"You must take the interest of employees to heart. If you are able to improve their take-home pay, they will usually go along with shift working," said Mrs Moore.

"You cannot compensate people entirely in terms of pay so they must be given other privileges."

Additional leave benefits, flexible shift rotations and promotion opportunities must be spelt out clearly

Some companies got round travel problems by providing transport — and the employees benefited by not having to pay to get to work.

Full support was needed from trade unions to ensure that they saw this as a progressive way of creating more employment.

"We will be holding seminars and talking to interested groups next year," added Mrs Moore. "We will be working with anyone who feels this is worthwhile to promote."

Safto's chief executive, Mr Wim Holtes, said too many exporters were shooting themselves in the foot.

"Several hundred export traders and their thousands of associates abroad are experiencing frustration because South African producers are not supplying foreign market requirements now that the domestic market has improved," he said.

Stop-go exporting of some South African producers could be far more damaging than export losses through sanctions, he said.

(See Page 3)

'Step up nightshifts'

(From Page 1)

"There is puzzled criticism from abroad that in some product areas South Africa is actually reneging on its export commitments because production is being diverted to the home market.

Several public companies have openly admitted this; either apparently proud of the fact or endeavouring to pacify impatient local customers."

He said many excuses were given why South African companies in general were not more export dedicated.

These issues ranged from politics to exchange rate fluctuations, from distance from world markets, and transport costs to sanctions and boycott threats.

However, many highly successful South African companies had overcome all those arguments against exports and were today referred in stock exchange terms as an "export hedge", meaning they were perceived to have a cushion against local market vicissitudes.

In many manufacturing industries a huge increase in exports could be achieved by establishing export-dedicated production through a second or third shift — and at the same time provide many more jobs.

"It may take up to two years to get the full support of staff and to reduce overhead costs to desirable levels," said Mr Holtes.

"But after that substantial rewards were enjoyed in the form of increased volumes and margins."

W/L 4264 10/12/88
10/12/88
355
Step up nightshifts

Safto

SATURDAY DECEMBER 10 1988

Star 12/12/88 (358)

Zaire could be major stumbling block for Unita

LONDON — Zaire's financial problems are frightening Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi and his supporters, including South Africa, according to *The Economist*.

In a leading article on the Angola-Namibia talks published on Friday, it points out that South African supplies for Unita will have to stop when South Africa withdraws from the Caprivi Strip, leaving Unita dependent on American supplies received through Zaire.

But Zaire's President Mobutu is deeply in debt and in default on his foreign loans.

"The Americans have long held their noses and subsidised his erratic regime," says the magazine. "Last week Mr Pik Botha found Mr Mobutu more unsettled than usual, because of a row with his main European supporters, the Belgians."

"Belgian newspapers have been saying that Mr Mobutu is a dictator, which he is, and that he pockets aid money, which might also be true. The enraged president therefore refuses to service

his Belgian debts.

"If he stops paying, America's aid rules will disbar him from further

The Star's Foreign News Service

American aid. If he were not paid, Unita's guns would not get through Zaire. That scares Mr Savimbi and his supporters, especially South Africa."

The magazine adds that Dr Savimbi has been getting American help since 1974, and is liked in America's Congress. Recent visitors have noted that fewer of his supplies are South African and more American.

On the wider issue of peace in southern Africa, *The Economist* says the double withdrawal is still in prospect despite the snag encountered at the recent Brazzaville talks.

It concludes: "The South Africans can hardly stay in Namibia, for fear of a tightening of American and European sanctions against them. Mr Fidel Castro might think Mr Mikhail Gorbachev a wet liberal. But the Cubans cannot run their African adventure alone, and the Russians want them out. South Africa and Cuba are over-extended."

"The United States and Russia want to show that co-operative peacemaking can be pulled off in this part of the

world. Namibia can yet be free of South African soldiers, and all southern Africa of Cuban ones."

Mount Nelson staff get a raise

Staff Reporter

WORKERS at the Mount Nelson Hotel have been given an average 27,5% salary increase, with their minimum wage going up to R500 a month.

A spokesman for the Liquor and Catering Trades Employees' Union said yesterday the settlement with the hotel management had been reached on Friday and was reported back to workers yesterday.

"The workers are happy with the settlement — but next year we negotiate again," he said.

Hotel spokesmen were not available for comment.

The lowest-paid workers will receive a 44% increase — from R346,40 to R500 a month — by next month, while the highest-paid workers' salaries will be increased from R822,70 a month to R900 a month — a 9% raise.

The average increase for the nine categories of workers is 27,5%.

Hours of employment were also changed from 53 hours a week to 48 hours a week.

During the wage negotiations workers downed tools for about two hours, disrupting lunchtime service on November 29.

Reported by [unclear] in the Cape Times

CH 7/11/88 12/12/88
**Extra pay hike for
top civil servants**

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Top management personnel in the public service are to get increases from December 1 in addition to the 15% across-the-board increases for all public sector workers from January.

Top management includes directors-general, deputy directors-general, chief directors and directors. According to sources, the December-January pay hikes combined will exceed 20%.

The Public Servants Association president, Mr Colin Cameron, said the PSA had no official notification of the December increases.

A Commission of Administration source said it was firm policy that earnings packages in the service should be kept "moderately" competitive with the private sector.

Earlier this year the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, revealed in parliament that a director-general in his department earned about R178 000 a year.

LABOUR
AFFAIRS
DICK
USHER



35 Studied
case for
rational
relations

*THE Demand For a
Living Wage* by Ian
Newall, Zebra Publica-
tions, R29,95.

THE South African in-
dustrial relations system
has borrowed liberally
from models in Europe
and the United States,
but remains unique be-
cause of distortions cre-
ated by our particular
political situation.

These distortions, in
which the workforce is
largely drawn from a
voteless majority, intro-
duce special complex-
ities into industrial rela-
tions which too many
South African managers
are ill-equipped to deal
with, mostly because of
their traditional attitude
towards black workers.

Basically, they are
stuck in the "baas" mode,
which does not render
them receptive to unioni-
sation and demands from
the workforce.

This short book, subtitled *A Primer For South African Managers*, takes the living wage question as the foundation on which to build a concise examination of the complex tissue of issues which face business people in their relationship with the workforce, setting a base for understanding their aspirations and the deprivations from which these arise.

Mr Newall, an industrial relations consultant with the Contact Group, explains the history of trade unionism and industrial legislation, outlines the ways in which living levels are assessed and union arguments against such measurements, and the reasons why the demand for a living wage is inextricable from political considerations.

In this he makes a studied case for rational relationships between employers and representative worker organisations as being in the best interests of both parties and, ultimately, for the country as a whole.

An eminently fair book which deserves to be read and absorbed by all employers.

Zaire 'is ready for grid'

ESKOM MD Ian McRae has returned from a visit to Zaire confident that country is prepared to cooperate in establishing a southern African power grid.

That meant good news for SA suppliers of electrical transmission equipment, he said.

McRae said last week's Brazzaville peace accord had brought about a more positive attitude among Frontline states towards cooperation with SA.

McRae called Zaire the potential "powerhouse" of sub-Saharan Africa. Its Congo River had potential to produce over 45 000MW of electricity, more than twice Eskom's total capacity in SA.

He said discussions with officials of Zaire's state-owned electricity company Snel had helped "open their eyes" to the possibility of exporting energy.

CHRISTOPHER TUCHER

The Inga project on the Congo River had an installed capacity of 1100MW and generated 600MW, enough to meet domestic demand. Its only constraint was Zaire's ability to export the power.

McRae said the peace accord in Brazzaville would greatly enhance security for the power grid through Namibia and Angola.

"It's difficult to transmit power through a country engaged in war — as we've experienced in Mozambique."

Eskom and Snel have signed co-operation agreements for technology transfer and staff training.

McRae said initial talks with Snel indicated considerable new markets for SA manufacturers of powerlines, conductors and transformers, motors, switchgear and metering equipment.

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358 B Aug 21/12/88

CH. 1-15 22/12/88
Eskom will

353 pay workers
extra R10m

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Eskom's 24 000 general workers are to receive an additional R10m in wages for the 12 months to June 1989 in terms of an arbitration award, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) said yesterday.

The deal arose out of a disputed 10% increase granted by Eskom to those employees last July.

The arbitration panel ruled Eskom should backpay the workers an additional 2% effective from July 1, and ordered a 5% wage hike from January 1.

Eskom management could not be reached for comment.

Eskom, Zaire in power talks

22/12/88

The Star's Africa News Service

Eskom managing director Mr Ian McRae has returned from a visit to Zaire where he saw officials and discussed the possibility of linking South Africa, Zaire and other countries in a southern African regional power grid.

He said initial contacts had also been made with Tanzania about joining such a network.

He had spoken to officials of the Zairean electricity supply authority and they had shown keen interest in the possibilities of the regional grid and about the possibility of Eskom technical teams assisting the country in solving electricity supply problems.

He added that a team from Zaire would be coming to South Africa in February to continue the discussions and inspect Eskom training and repair facilities.

Mr McRae said Zaire was in a strong position to sell power in southern Africa. It had vast hydro-electric potential but a small domestic market. The long

distances that power would have to be transmitted posed no technical problems, but he conceded that political realities would have to change before any scheme could get off the ground.

"However, that is what the visit was all about — about opening doors and making contact, and political change is happening faster than we all think.

"Eskom has already made contact with seven southern African countries about the possibility of the regional power grid, and if southern Africa is to develop it must have an energy base to develop upon."

He envisaged that hydro-electric power from the mighty Zaire River could be exported to South Africa via twin lines running through Angola/Namibia and through Zambia/Botswana, supplying projects along the way.

Referring to the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme in Mozambique, Mr McRae said the project was important for all of southern Africa, and had to be made to work.

ZAIRE - GENERAL

1989 - 1990

Kaunda talks to IMF on recovery

3/11/89 (358)
LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda had met IMF officials studying his nation's economic recovery programme, officials said on Saturday.

They said Kaunda held a first round of talks with a delegation headed by Sen Gupta, special advisor to the IMF, on Friday.

Gupta expressed the hope the IMF would soon resume its assistance to the heavily indebted southern African nation during the talks.

In May last year, Kaunda severed ties with the IMF, abandoning its recovery plan involving severe currency devaluation, cuts in state spending and an end to subsidies on basic commodities.

Kaunda introduced a softer economic salvage programme, but in the last six months he has axed some food subsidies and price controls, apparently preparing the way for a rapprochement with the IMF. — AP-DJ.

UK offer to
write off loan
to Zambia

LUSAKA — Britain has offered to write off its development loans to Zambia if the International Monetary Fund (IMF) accepts the country's go-it-alone economic recovery programme, a newspaper reported yesterday.

Zambia jettisoned an IMF recovery plan in May 1986 after the fund's recommended fund price rises sparked riots.

The Times of Zambia quoted a British High Commission spokesman as saying the offer included the resumption of balance of payment support.

After the rift with the IMF, Zambia's donors withheld R460 million of balance of payment support pending agreement with the fund.

Zambia is moving closer to IMF demands, including devaluation of the kwacha. 3/1/89

AIDS IN ZAMBIA, ZAIRE HITS WORLD COBALT SCENE

358

ZAMBIA and Zaire, which together produce about 70% of the Western world's cobalt, have labour problems because of the spread of AIDS across the Copperbelt, the latest SA Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs' Minerals Bureau bulletin says.

A report in the bulletin said there were signs that cobalt output would fall sharply in 1989.

The incidence of HIV infection appeared to be more widespread than originally estimated and should this trend continue, the price of cobalt would be affected.

DIANNA GAMES

Gecomines, the Zairean state mining company, and Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines, raised their producer price by 12% on November 4 last year.

The report said the European free market price had risen in response to the producer price increase.

However, a recent report in London's Financial Times said the spread of AIDS in these areas was unlikely to have any major impact on world supply in the foreseeable future.

Quoting an analyst with London-based financial services group, Warburg Securities, the report said there were no share investments significantly geared to the cobalt price.

It said land-based reserves were sufficient for at least 100 years' supply, while seabed sources were immense.

UK financial analyst Tim Williams, of London stockbroking firm James Capel, said even under a super-optimistic, world AIDS scenario, the total collapse of the economies of several mining nations was inevitable.

B/Dan 5/1/89

Belgium condemns Zairean move

BRUSSELS — Belgium condemned Zaire's renunciation of friendship and co-operation treaties between the two countries on Saturday, and said it would fund no new development projects in its former colony.

Prime Minister Wilfried Martens said Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko's decision on Friday to cancel the accords and halt payments on its \$1.2bn debt to Belgium was unjustified.

Mobutu also said Zaire would turn elsewhere to refine its copper exports.

The row was sparked late last year by Belgian media criticisms of Mobutu's alleged corruption — pocketing aid money — and lavish lifestyle.

358
The Belgian response, which Martens described as firm and honest, was the toughest yet by his government, which up until now has tried to defuse the row through diplomatic means.

The row worsened in spite of Mobutu's acceptance last week of Belgian proposals for a joint high-level conference in Kinshasa in April to set guidelines for future relations.

Belgium provides development aid worth \$130m annually to Zaire.

Martens also said Belgium would take legal action against Zaire for violating a bilateral air accord, after it told the Belgian state-owned airline, Sabena, to halve its four weekly flights

from Brussels to Kinshasa.

Apart from cutting back Sabena's flights, Mobutu also ordered Zaireans living in Belgium to leave and told state-owned firms to pull out.

Martens said these measures would hit international confidence in Zaire, which has total foreign debts of more than \$7bn.

Mobutu said future relations between the two nations would have to be renegotiated entirely.

Officials said the more important of the two treaties he abrogated was a 1976 co-operation convention, which was the framework agreement for all civil co-operation. — Sapa-Reuter.

down," she said. Lawson, insisting inclusion of mort- towards the middle of the year.

ZAIRE SEEKS HOME FOR IDI AMIN

KINSHASA — Zaire has begun looking for a home for Idi Amin, the deposed Ugandan dictator who slipped out of exile in Saudi Arabia last week and is now without a country.

President Mobutu Sese Seko's government said Amin's presence could threaten its relations with Uganda.

Amin, deported by Zaire on Thursday after leaving his exile home in Saudi Arabia, flew back to Kinshasa on Friday when the Saudis apparently refused to accept him back.

Uganda, which wants to question Amin about massacres and human rights abuses, wants him returned to Kampala. Zairean officials have so far ruled this out, citing the lack of an extradition treaty. (358)

Amnesty International estimates that between 50 000 and 300 000 Ugandans disappeared during Amin's rule, dubbed a "reign of terror" by the International Commission of Jurists. — Sapa-Reuter.

Rift widens as Belgium cuts aid

star 17/1/89

358

BY DAVID USPORNE

The rift between Belgium and its former colony deepens as Brussels cuts aid to Zaire.

BRUSSELS — Belgium has hit back at its former colony Zaire, with which it has been locked in a dispute for almost two months, by refusing to sponsor any new development projects in the country. Only those already underway will be supported.

The decision to toughen a hitherto diplomatic approach to the crisis was taken at an extraordinary Cabinet meeting on Saturday.

"This government deplores the unilateral changes made by Zaire to its ties with Belgium," Prime Minister Mr Wilfried Maartens said.

The Cabinet gathered hours after the conclusion of a week-long meeting in Kinshasa of Zaire's ruling MPR party, at which Belgium was the sole item on the agenda.

Among moves agreed was the abrogation of two friendship agreements on which post-colonial relations between the two countries have rested.

The MPR, with the backing of President Mobutu, also decided to halt repayments on its R2.9 million debt to Belgium and to demand the re-opening of a dispute about terms under which the Zairean government nationalised Belgian interests in the country on independence in 1960.

Jeopardise

This last demand, more than any other, appears to have stung Belgium, which considered the issue settled in a deal agreed in 1965.

Its refusal to consider it being reopened is likely to jeopardise an inter-governmental conference in Kinshasa in April, proposed by the Belgian government two weeks ago as the only way to settle the dispute.

The crisis began during a visit to Zaire by Mr Maartens in November, during which he offered to reschedule a large part of its debt to Belgium.

This was met with criticism in the Belgian news media, which intimated that the R324 million of aid given to Zaire each year was going to line the pockets of Mr Mobutu.

The president then ordered all Zairean nationals and companies out of Belgium by the end of last month. Only students were given a few months' grace.

Earliest victim

The Belgian airline, Sabena, which claims to have the biggest African network of any European carrier, was one of the earliest victims of the dispute.

Two weeks ago, it was told to halve its four flights a week to Kinshasa and has been forced to comply.

On Saturday, the Belgian Cabinet formally accused Zaire of reneging on air transport agreements and threatened to launch a legal challenge.

Yesterday, the Zairean transport Minister hit back, threatening to withdraw all the airline's landing rights in Kinshasa and suspend Air Zaire flights to Brussels.

Thus all air links between the two countries would be severed.

Behind the diplomatic stand-off is a bitter undercurrent of post-colonial guilt on the one side and bitterness on the other. — The Independent News Service.

UGANDA IS PRESSING ZAIRE FOR EXTRADITION OF AMIN

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, January 17 1989

3

NAIROBI — Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni has confirmed that his government is pressing Zaire for the extradition of former Ugandan dictator Idi Amin, to stand trial for human rights abuses.

But African governments appear embarrassed about what to do with Amin, who suddenly left Saudi Arabia — where he lived in exile for almost 10 years — on a forged Zairean passport, two weeks ago.

Since then, what may have been a bizarre attempt by Amin to meet guerrilla forces in Uganda has become an international fiasco — and Saudi Arabia does not want him back. After travelling through Nigeria,

Own Correspondent

Amin pitched-up in Kinshasa. On Friday, Zaire made a futile attempt to deport him back to Saudi Arabia via Senegal. This was thwarted because, after landing in Senegal, Amin was not permitted to board a flight for Saudi Arabia. He was sent back to Zaire.

Uganda and Zaire have no extradition pact, but Museveni said the legal implications "could be solved".

Amin's fate now seems to hang in the balance. Much depends on the

whim of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese-Seko, once an ally of Amin. Uganda's current, diplomatic relations with Zaire are stable, but in terms of domestic policy, Museveni and Mobutu are poles apart.

Museveni's move to extradite Amin is considered by African experts to be surprising. Amin is genuinely regarded as a non-issue in Ugandan politics, and many Ugandans feel that his return — even under the most ignominious circumstances — would conjure up unwanted spectres of the past.

Museveni himself played a key role in Amin's downfall during Tanzania's 1979 invasion of Uganda, which ended Amin's bloody eight-year rule.

Zaireans want to study in SA

POTCHEFSTROOM — It is possible for Reformed ministers for central African countries to be trained at the Hammanskraal Theological School (HTS) of the Reformed Churches of South Africa, according to the 1989 almanac of the RCSA.

The almanac says the HTS has just received the applications of two students with tertiary qualifications from Zaire, who want to study in the Reformed theology. (358)

The applications resulted from the efforts of the Rev Kayayan, of Chicago. The students were reached by means of the radio service of the Christian Reformed Church in the US.

The almanac says that the RCSA has 114 586 members, comprising 35 958 children and 78 628 confirmed members. The 299 churches (congregations) are served by 286 ministers, 11 more than last year.

Seventeen professors are associated with the two theological schools, the HTS and the Potchefstroom Theological School. — Own Correspondent.

Star 19/1/89

Zaire is one of major customers — survey

SA trade with Africa is on the increase

By James Tomlins,

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — South Africa increased trade with Africa in 1988, with only one state not doing business with Pretoria.

This trade had risen from 6,5 percent of SA's exports in 1984 to 10 percent in 1988.

The state which does not trade with South Africa is Guinea-Bissau, a former Portuguese territory.

A special survey on "Business with Pretoria" in Paris ranked South Africa as Africa's seventh trading partner.

It said South Africa's exports to France in 1987 totalled R3,2 billion, and for the first seven months of 1988, according to the most recent available figures, already totalled R4,2 billion.

Ivory Coast, which has formally adopted an open dialogue with Pretoria for the past 17 years, publishes its trade statistics with South Africa. All other African states use the formula "unknown origin" when referring to SA imports.

Zaire was one of South Africa's major customers, the survey noted, mainly because of its immense transport problems.

It uses SA railways and ports for 15 percent of its copper exports, 60 percent of tin and 40 percent of cobalt.

Fifty-seven percent of its imports, including 75 percent of its petrol needs, take the same routes.

"Zaire's wealth is at the mercy of Pretoria," the survey said, noting that in 1987, 3,6 million tons of Zairese goods were transported by SA facilities.

It added that Zaire had recently purchased two second-hand Boeing 727s from South Africa and "fasten your seatbelt" signs were still written in Afrikaans at the time of delivery.

SA diamond mine machinery is imported and Zairese technicians attend study courses in South Africa.

Ivory Coast was listed as South Africa's second African trading partner, after Zaire, with fruit and meat imports worth R80 million.

Other countries trading with South Africa include Ghana, one of Pretoria's fiercest opponents, Kenya, Somalia, Togo, the frontline states, Tanzania and Uganda.

Representatives from these countries use the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg, as their main base, the survey said.

Seychelles has South Africa as its third trading partner after France and West Germany, while Mauritius is described as having a flourishing "special relationship".

The survey noted that the members of the SADCC were forced to trade because of their geographical situation. "They are dependent on exporting minerals and agricultural products but they possess only seven of the region's 15 harbours.

"Other ports like Beira, Dar-es-Salaam, Maputo and Nacala have small capacities, function poorly and are not easily accessible to SADCC states."

It pointed out that since 1980, SA had replaced Britain as Malawi's main trading partner.

The survey noted: "South African products have the advantage of being made, and adapted, for African conditions."

The survey said there was no real will to join in sanctions.

6/15/89 31/1/89
**Zaire's row
with Belgium
hits banks 358**

KINSHASA — The Zairean government has ordered state companies to withdraw accounts from two Zairean-based banks in which Belgians have large interests.

The two banks are Union Zairoise de Banques and Banque Commerciale Zairoise.

Banking sources in the Zairean capital said the two banks stood to lose substantial portions of their deposits because of the government move which was prompted by the rift in relations between Belgium and its former colony.

Relations deteriorated after Belgian Press criticism last year of Zairean president Mobutu Sese Seko.

He then halted repayments on a \$1,2bn debt to Belgium, cancelled two co-operation treaties and moved Zairean companies out of Belgium. — Reuter.

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Zairean officials shun Press on city visit

By JOHN YELD
Staff Reporter

PUBLICITY — and especially publicity with South African connections — is bad for business.

That was the only conclusion to be drawn after the cold-shoulder treatment of the Press at a business function attended by top Zairean officials at the Mount Nelson last night.

The officials, who included President Mobutu Sese Séko's aide, Mr Seti Yale, and General Kikunda Ombala, were guests at the launch of an international air leasing company's operations in South Africa.

The company is Sicotra-Sopex-Aeroleasing, a recent merger of Sicotra-Sopex, a commercial and industrial undertaking operating in Africa, and Aeroleasing, a private air leasing company based in Geneva. Mr Yale is the executive chairman.

BLUNT REFUSAL

The group also operates large storage and distribution depots in Zaire for imports and exports and owns a fleet of road vehicles, a fleet of river steamers, a diamond processing centre in Zaire and extensive farms and estates.

However, attempts to photograph and interview Mr Yale were met with a blunt refusal from the executive managing director of the group, Mr Paulo dos Santos.

Mr Yale was on a private visit that was strictly business and he had nothing to say to the media, Mr dos Santos said firmly. Nor would he be photographed.

"I didn't want to invite the Press anyway — it was only because the public relations people insisted," he added.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Kobus Meiring was luckier — at least he got to meet the Zaireans.

Tutu warns oppressors

KINSHASA (Zaire) — He was addressing a crowd estimated at 15 000 at an open-air church service at the end of a three-day visit to Kinshasa, according to an Anglican Church statement.

He visited Zaire at the invitation of local churches and in his capacity as president of the All-Africa Conference of Churches.

He was given the freedom of Kinshasa during his visit and saw a representative of President Mobutu Sese Seko. The

Zairean President was in Japan at Emperor Hirohito's funeral.

Archbishop Tutu said in his sermon that Africa was being exploited by neo-colonialism, it suffered a heavy debt burden and was still afflicted by poverty, ignorance and disease.

He warned: "All unjust rulers everywhere" to "beware, watch it", adding: "You look out in South Africa... we have no doubt that we shall be free". — Sapa.

KINSHASA (Zaire) — Cape Town's Archbishop Desmond Tutu on Sunday told a crowd in Zaire that in many parts of Africa, the only change there had been since the colonial era was in the skin colour of "oppressors".

"In colonial times the oppressor was a different complexion," he said. "Sadly, today the complexion of the oppressor is the same as the complexion of the oppressed."

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Zaire to halt aid to Unita says Kaunda

YK 29/3/81 (358)

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Zaire has agreed to stop letting its airspace be used to supply arms to Unita, says President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

The Africa News Organisation, ANO, reported that President Kaunda said he had raised the question of military supplies reaching the Angolan rebel group across Zaire at a recent meeting with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Sekou.

President Mobutu had agreed to stop letting his country's airspace be used by the United States to aid Unita.

President Kaunda was speaking during a meeting with American representatives of the Educational Fund for Refugees in Africa. He said he could not see President Mobutu succumbing to US pressure to change.

There has been no Zairean confirmation of the move.

It has been widely reported that American planes regularly fly from Zaire to Unita-held territory with military hardware.

The Frontline states have long been trying to force Zaire to halt the aid.

President Kaunda said Zaire's decision would create enormous problems for the rebels.

"Supposing elections in Namibia go well, and South Africa stops aiding Unita, how will the United States deliver these weapons?" he asked.

Pyiama-clad

Unita bases
in Zaire to
be discussed

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — The presidents of Angola, Zaire and Zambia are to meet to discuss Unita bases in Zaire.

The outgoing Angolan ambassador to Zambia, Mr Luis Neto Kiambata, said that during the meeting Angola will formally ask Zaire to dismantle five bases which Unita has there.

Yesterday reports from Lusaka quoted President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia as saying that President Mobutu Sese Sekou of Zaire had agreed not to let his country's airspace be used for flights carrying arms for Unita.

President Kaunda is chairman of the frontline states and recently met President Mobutu to discuss the Angolan issue.

It has been reported that American military supplies to Unita-controlled areas in Angola are being ferried through Zaire.

Mr Kiambata yesterday also rejected Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's latest peace plans, describing them as "the work of the United States government".

Dr Savimbi proposed a ceasefire followed by the formation of a government of national unity in which he would not take part. After two years there would be general elections in Angola.

SAA launches service to Zaire

9/11/73 Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — South African Airways has launched a regular flight service to Lubumbashi in Zaire.

The inaugural flight, by way of Lusaka, departed for Jan Smuts Airport yesterday with little fanfare.

SAA declined to comment on the new service when approached yesterday, but sources in the travel industry said the flight was fully booked as far as Lusaka, and there appeared to be a big demand for subsequent flights.

They said one Wednesday flight a week had been scheduled for the new route.

Quietly, so quietly SAA starts flights to Zaire

By Dan Side

Without fanfare or official announcement, an historic scheduled air route was launched by SAA from Jan Smuts this week. The regular Wednesday Boeing 737 flight to Lusaka in Zambia will now connect with Lumbimbashi in Zaire.

Your travel agent will sell you a ticket on SAA to Zaire on any Wednesday you prefer, but the airline and the Department of Transport will at the moment only issue terse "no comments" on whether the historically important flight actually exists.

It is believed that, due to the political sensitivity of new landing rights in a black African state, the South African authorities involved are waiting for their Zaire to make the announcement.

SAA has had landing rights in Zambia and Zimbabwe for about three years. Now it appears that the regular Lusaka flight has been extended.

A travel agent said the flight departs Jan Smuts every Wednesday at 9.30 am, arrives in Lusaka at 11.30 am and sets down at Lumbimbashi Airport at 12.30 pm. It takes off for the return journey at 1.15 pm.

St 6/16/89 (48)
(358) (48)

Zaire sends message on Upington 14

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The plight of 14 people recently sentenced to death in the "Upington Trial" has been taken up by the President of Zaire, Général Mobutu Sese Seko.

The country's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Karl i Bond Nguza, yesterday told journalists at Jan Smuts Airport that he had conveyed a message from President Sese Seko regarding the 14 people to President P W Botha at a meeting in Cape Town on Sunday.

He refused to reveal details of the message before reporting back to President Sese Seko, saying: "I cannot play with human beings' lives."

However, he had received a "very clear answer" from President Botha, and regarded his short visit to South Africa — the first follow-up on the historic meeting between the two African statesmen in October last year — as very successful.

Other issues discussed with President Botha and South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha had been the position in southern Africa following the implementation of the regional peace plan and "some problems concerning (South Africa's) internal politics".

'EVOLUTION IN MENTALITY'

Mr Nguza said he had been encouraged by the "evolution in mentality" which was taking place in South Africa, particularly National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk's viewpoint that the time had come for meaningful negotiations between white and black on the future.

Although he did not have a mandate to talk on behalf of banned organisations such as the ANC and PAC, all Africans shared the same attitude towards apartheid.

More could be achieved through talks than through efforts to isolate South Africa internationally. The settlement in Namibia and Angola had illustrated what could be achieved through negotiation.

He welcomed Mr Pik Botha's recent suggestion of a Marshall Plan for southern Africa. Mr Nguza said national reconciliation in Angola was of great importance to all in the region.

"We cannot discuss security and peace in the region without the Republic. Whether one likes South Africa's internal politics or not, one has to talk to South Africa."

Asked whether ANC leader Nelson Mandela's release had been discussed, he said South Africa should find solutions to its internal problems.

However, he hoped President Sese Seko had "contributed in this field".

African leaders in bid to end Angola war

Zaire talks could pave way to peace

LISBON — A summit of African leaders to be held in Zaire this week could pave the way for an end to Angola's 14-year civil war by setting terms for negotiations between the Marxist Luanda government and Unita rebels.

According to diplomatic sources and media reports yesterday, the meeting of almost a quarter of Africa's leaders in the Zairean capital Kinshasa or in north-eastern Gbadolite will decide on a timetable for a ceasefire and to set up contact groups between the Angolan government and Unita, under the mediation of President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast.

10-man commission

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has agreed to stay out of a 10-man commission that will be involved in the talks, a Unita spokesman said, but he rejected news reports that Dr Savimbi had accepted exile.

Angola's official state news agency Angop said the summit would "legitimise internationally" the government's attempts to bring about peace in Angola's 14-year civil war.

Leaders from Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome e Principe, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe met in Luanda in May to discuss Angola's "internal problems."

The summit, which supported Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' proposal for a peace plan excluding Dr Savimbi, has been followed by a whirlwind of diplomatic activity and exchanges of messages.

South African news reports yesterday said President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, a staunch ally of Dr Savimbi, was the

principle architect of the talks.

Unita spokesman in Lisbon Mr Alcides Sakala was quoted by the weekly *Tempo* as saying that preliminary talks could result in a transitional Angolan government as early as July and that Dr Savimbi had "agreed to withdraw to New York for some time."

In Washington, Unita spokesman Mr Manuel Mundombe said Mr Sakala had been misquoted and "it was just a rumour that Dr Savimbi would accept exile."

"We know from sources there is some sort of rapprochement which means it would be unnecessary for Dr Savimbi to go to New York ... things seem to be going in the right direction."

Spokesmen at the State Department and the White House said they had heard nothing of a US exile for Dr Savimbi.

Diplomats in Lisbon suggest the charismatic rebel leader could accept a two-year exile in Morocco, the Ivory Coast or the United States, before returning to Angola to stand for presidential elections following a period of transitional government.

Diplomatic pressure

Previous attempts to negotiate a unified government in Angola have been blocked by Dr Savimbi's refusal to sit out the peace process, despite diplomatic pressure from South Africa and black African nations.

The rebels still receive US assistance but lost South African support after Pretoria signed regional peace accords in December with Angola and Cuba.

South Africa agreed to halt aid to Unita and allow Namibia to gain independence. Cuba pledged withdrawal of its estimated 50 000 soldiers, who supported the Luanda government in its fight against the rebels.

Unita declared a unilateral four-month cease-fire in March and Mr Sakala was quoted by *Tempo* as saying it would extend the truce to July 24.

By then, Mr Sakala said, talks between the rebels and the government would be concluded and a transitional government formed. — Sapa-AP.



Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi ... willing to step aside in the interests of peace.

358

11 states to talk in Zaire on Angola peace plan

Star 20/6/89
KINSHASA — Eleven southern African heads of state will meet at Gbadolite in Zaire on Thursday to discuss a political settlement in Angola.

Government sources revealed this yesterday, and said they did not rule out participation in the meeting by rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi of Unita.

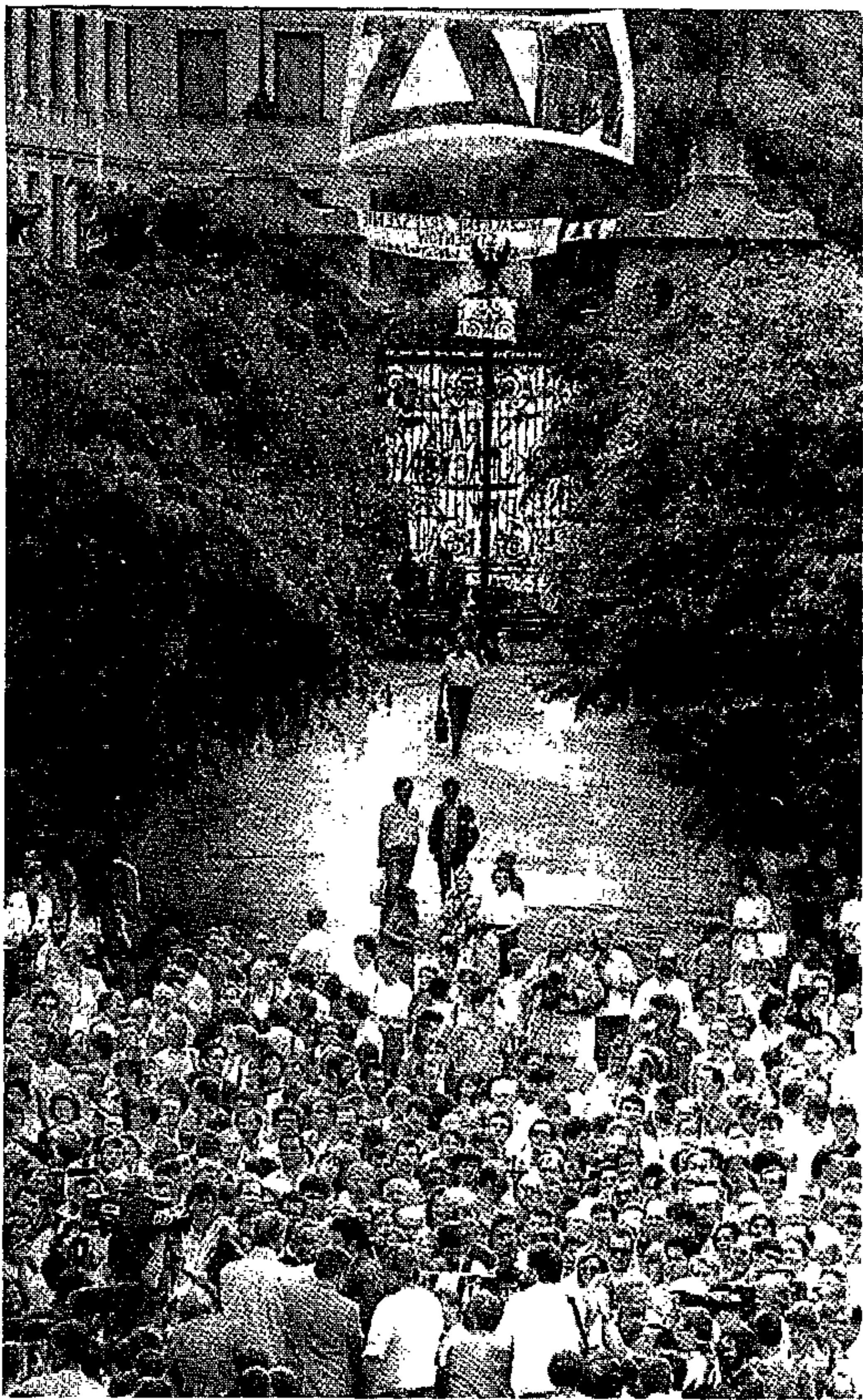
The summit could pave the way for an end to Angola's 14-year civil war through negotiations between the Marxist government in Luanda and the Unita rebel movement.

The talks are expected to be mediated by President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast.

Gbadolite is the hometown of President Mobutu Sese Seko, who has covertly supported Unita.

Besides President Mobutu, other leaders expected are those from Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Zambia, Tanzania, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau and Mali.

The Unita spokesman in Lisbon, Mr Alcides Sakala, has been quoted as saying the preliminary talks could lead to a transitional government as early as July. He added that Dr Savimbi had "agreed to withdraw to New York for some time". — Sapa-AP.



Supporters in Warsaw flock to a Solidarity election rally

How long will Peking take to grasp the lessons of Warsaw?

ONE day we may look back on the first week of June 1989 as a turning point in European history. What did not happen in Warsaw on that Monday was as dramatic as what did happen in Beijing the day before.

The defeat of every Communist Party candidate in the Polish elections was a far more fundamental, clear-cut and decisive challenge to that country's establishment than the demonstrations in Beijing. Yet no tank moved out on to the streets, no troops emerged from barracks. All the government did was to invite the opposition to form a coalition. In Moscow, meanwhile, the mood among reformists was relaxed.

Nothing could better illustrate the distance which the reformist wings of Europe's two largest communist parties have moved towards recognising that force and repression are not the way to handle political conflict. At the end of the week there were two more bits of similar news. The Hungarian party did a deal with the opposition under which it renounced its monopoly of control over the army. In Uzbekistan, Soviet troops behaved with impeccable restraint in not using firearms even against rioters who themselves were armed.

Eight years ago, the Polish General Jaruzelski sent in the troops against the independent trade union, Solidarity. Backed by Moscow, he acted with the kind of swiftness and bloodless efficiency which were lacking in Beijing. Now Jaruzelski and his col-

Eight years ago, Poland sent the tanks in against striking workers. Now the unionists are partners in government.

Similar patterns are to be found in Hungary and the Soviet Union. How long will it take the Chinese to learn the simple lesson: one-party, authoritarian rule is on the retreat
By JONATHAN STEELE



General Jaruzelski

leagues have accepted Solidarity as political partners. And it happened with the connivance and encouragement of a new leadership in Moscow.

Throughout the communist world the issue now is how to manage the decline of one-party authoritarian rule. How long will it take the Chinese Communist Party to understand the lessons of the Polish experience?

In the Soviet Union itself the process is complex and contradictory. Gorbachev is trying to reform virtually every aspect of the economy and society without, as yet, touching on the party's monopoly of power. But while remaining in charge, the party is meant to change its role. Soviet society is moving towards an extensive dispersion of power from the centre and the establishment of new decision-making institutions.

The Congress of People's Deputies and the full-time legislature, the Supreme Soviet, will create an open forum for drafting laws and questioning government ministries for the first time in Soviet history. Next spring, elections to comparable local legislatures will be held. They are likely to produce as many shocks for old-style party leaders in the regions and cities as did this year's elections.

Gorbachev is keeping the party's monopoly for several reasons. First, he believes that the degree of change he is asking his colleagues to accept is massive enough already. While maintaining lip service to Leninism, and describing everything he does as "socialist renewal", he is opening the way to an unprecedented experiment, to which no-one has an answer. He is trying to combine a variety of forms of property — individual, leasehold, and co-operative — to replace the nationalisations of the past. He is hoping to marry methods of market management to the central plan without knowing where this will lead, or whether it can work.

Secondly, he is afraid to dismantle the party, or open it to challenge from other parties in case this removes the last piece of cement in a system which is already under strain. The discipline of "democratic centralism" by which every member has to adhere to Central Committee directives is meant to be the "integrating" factor which holds the system together.

It is hard to see how long this can be delayed. Democratic centralism managed to function at last week's Congress when it came to lining members up behind appointments. Gorbachev got the Central Committee to endorse himself as candidate for president, and Nikolai Ryzhkov as prime minister, so party members had to obey the Central Committee line. On other issues, where the Central

Committee's line is obscure and general, the differences between reformist and conservative party members were sharp and clear.

Beyond Soviet borders Gorbachev's openness to experimentation and his abandonment of ideology are dramatic. Tankless in Warsaw, Polish admission that the party no longer has a divine right to rule could not have happened without them.

Internationally, Gorbachev is shifting the ground in ways that go deeper than his arms control unilateralism. He is arguing not only for removing ideology from inter-state relations. He wants to remove ideology from inter-system relations.

It would be naive, however, to think that Gorbachev and his colleagues are opting out of the ideological competition, or that they "admit" socialism is bankrupt and are conceding defeat. They are doing two things. First, they are changing the rules of the game. They now say that there are certain common values of humanity which override the contradiction between the ideologies of capitalism and socialism. Ending the nuclear threat to humankind, dealing with ecological crises, enhancing the role of the United Nations as an embryonic world government, recognising the equality of nations, and overcoming the debt crisis and the maldistribution of the world's income, outweigh the old-fashioned East-West competition.

Although the Gorbachev team couches their message in non-competitive terms, it is obvious that subliminally the idea is to recapture the moral high ground which the Soviet Union has lost internationally by its economic failure and foreign blunders such as Afghanistan.

Gorbachev's theorists, like Professor Georgy Shakhnazarov, writing in the journal *Kommunist* earlier this year, also argue that the mixed economy to which they now aspire was a Leninist invention. It was the October revolution, with its goals of social justice and its dramatic promise of state intervention to liberate people from raw capitalism, which forced Western governments in the 1920s and 1930s to modify their electoral appeals. Keynesianism owed more to Lenin's New Economic Policy than it cared to admit.

Even now, conservative governments in the West have been reprivatising their economies, the role of state intervention remains high, and the mixed economy survives.

Does this mean that in the Gorbachev conception, communist parties are becoming social-democrat? In one sense, yes, as they begin to accept the need for societies based on law, for respect for the individual, for a combination of plan and market, and for a mixture of forms of property.

What then is the difference? According to Shakhnazarov, one thing only. Both groups are social engineers but communists have a more precise view of their goals and are less willing to leave things to chance. Social-democrats tend to be more pragmatic, looking for concrete solutions to concrete problems.

What the Gorbachev team leaves out is the issue of political competition. Multi-party democracy, acceptable in Poland and Hungary, is not yet allowed in the Soviet Union.

The crisis of the command-administrative system has exploded. While the Chinese party turned itself into a military dictatorship, the Polish party made an epoch-making shift towards consensual politics and the recognition that it may soon have to accept a minority role. This dramatic change has become possible largely because the kind of rational and humanist "third way" which independent socialists looked for in Prague and Paris in 1968 is happening before our eyes in Moscow itself. — The Guardian, London.

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SPICERS BARLOW RAND METAL BOX SA BARLOW RAND NATAL CANE BY-PRODUCTS BARLOW RAND BARLAN FORMS BARLOW RAND
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SACO SYSTEMS BARLOW RAND BARLOW RAND WRIGHTTECH BARLOW RAND AIROMATIC BARLOW RAND FLORTIME BARLOW RAND
BARLOW RAND PLASCON-EVANS PAINTS BARLOW RAND MARINE OIL REFINERS BARLOW RAND LOTZABA FORESTS BARLOW RAND
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a "Paris Club" meeting of Zaire's bilateral creditors, tentatively scheduled for today.

Mobutu's strategy may not convince those in Washington who know him best.

"Mobutu can't be reformed," said a former senior official in the US State Department, though "he is a great con artist, one of the greatest."

Bush has reason to be especially skeptical. In 1976, when Bush headed the CIA, Mobutu pocketed \$1.4-billion in US aid he was supposed to pass on Jonas Savimbi's Unita and Holden Roberto's FNLA. Mobutu left his erstwhile allies "desperate, hungry, their debts still unpaid", according to the former CIA man who headed that covert operation, John Stockwell.

But administration officials don't have to be convinced. Some share the views of William Pascoe, a former Heritage Foundation official who lead that conservative group's campaign for increased aid to Zaire.

"It may be true that Mobutu steals, even from our covert aid programmes," says Pascoe. "Nonetheless, significant amounts of money got to Savimbi through Mobutu and that's what really matters." Where the new image can help is in the Democratic-dominated Congress, where Mobutu has been un-nerved by Congressional Black Caucus chairman Ron Dellums' Bill which would sharply end most aid to Zaire. Many US Congressmen would have trouble finding Zaire on a map, let alone keeping track of his past misdeeds. For their benefit, Mobutu can be expected to aggressively deny corruption charges, as he has often done in the past.

Questioned last year by former Black Caucus chairman Mervyn Dymally, Mobutu insisted his personal fortune totals "less than \$50-million" and asked the Congressman "what is that after 22 years as the head of state of such a big country?" This February, in the German magazine *Der Spiegel*, Mobutu insisted he is fully accountable for everything he spends.

"Each year our parliament adopts the budget, and thus also the president's budget."

Yet the same old Mobutu, the man who backed Roberto and Savimbi militarily but took their money, still lurks behind the new image. Mobutu's descriptions of his own finances were inaccurate, according to statistics pieced together from confidential documents and dozens of interviews with international finance experts, World Bank and IMF insiders, Western diplomats and Zairean officials in Washington, London and Brussels.

Last year, somewhere between \$300-million to \$400-million was secretly diverted from Zaire's export revenues, say sources at the IMF and World Bank. Much of this money may have gone into Mobutu's multimillion dollar project to turn his home "village" of Gbadolite into Zaire's only modern city, complete with its own hydro-electric plant and a runway large enough to accommodate the Concorde. Mobutu routinely leases from Air France for his own international trips and to bring honoured guests to his palace.

"I cannot sleep at all on a plane and I am terribly scared of sleeping pills," was Mobutu's explanation when *Der Spiegel* asked in February why the leader of so poor a country needs such an expensive plane.

The missing earnings came largely from the state-owned copper and cobalt mining company, Gecamines, source of most of Zaire's foreign earnings. The money that disappeared represents virtually the entire Gecamines gain from a copper price boom which increased the firm's foreign revenue from roughly \$900-million in 1987 to \$1.3-billion in 1988.

The biggest chunk of the money appears to have been absorbed by the Zairean presidency, the Mama Mobutu Foundation, the ruling Popular Revolutionary Movement and other "political" institutions personally controlled by Mobutu with no outside accountability.

In 1986, the last year for which detailed figures could be obtained, the political institutions spent at least \$150-million — six times the money officially allocated to them and more than 20 times the government's education spending. The real impact of corruption may be larger as so much of Zaire's economy is "off the books".

When the World Bank deployed a team of anthropologists to monitor "the underground economy in Zaire" they found, in a preliminary study circulated last year, that:

- Illegal gold exports are "several times the [official] national production".

- Massive ivory poaching and smuggling "will soon result in the annihilation of one of Zaire's great natural resources".

- The theft and smuggling of cobalt "is primarily carried out by some of the most powerful individuals in the country".

- 30 to 60 percent of Zairean coffee production is smuggled out, along with half the cinchona and papain, and at least 10 percent of tea.

Europe's unwanted: The unseen millions of 'wet-back' refugees

With varying degrees of reluctance, Europeans are awaking to the sobering fact that some 10 to 15 million immigrants, many illegal refugees or 'wet-backs', have shaped a very different, multi-cultural, multi-religious continent

By TYLER MARSHALL

THEY come at night, braving the treacherous strait in leaky six-metre fishing boats called *pateras*.

Paying a small fortune for the 14km illegal crossing to Europe's southernmost tip, many Moroccans ante up their life savings, gambling on a brighter future in a land rich beyond their dreams.

Occasionally, winds and currents in the Strait of Gibraltar swamp the overloaded boats, tipping their human cargoes into the sea and to almost certain death.

Occasionally, the Moroccans are caught by Spanish authorities and returned.

But with luck, they reach the shadowy networks that smuggle them to Madrid, to the French border and to menial black market jobs in the inner cities of northern Europe.

Algeciras Police Chief Javier Fernandez calls them *espaldas mojadas* literally, those with wet backs — and says it is almost impossible to stop them completely.

"The coast is too wide and we are too few," he said, shrugging.

Their numbers — hundreds each week, according to most estimates — are small compared to the 850 000 Mexicans caught attempting to cross illegally into the United States last year.

But for a continent where people already feel overwhelmed by a rising tide of immigrants, refugees and asylum-seekers, they add a worrying dimension to a serious problem.

Western Europe's social democracies are only now digesting the sober fact that most of the estimated 10-million to 15-million foreigners among them are no longer foreigners but part of a new multicultural, multi-racial, multireligious Europe.

The presence of these outsiders, the majority of whom arrived legally and by invitation, represents one of the most fundamental and deep-seated social changes in Europe since World War II.

Certainly Europe is accustomed to immigrants and refugees. Its catalogue of wars, revolutions and persecutions has seen to that. But the resettlement of large numbers of non-Europeans is a new and unsettling phenomenon.

Consider, for example, that:

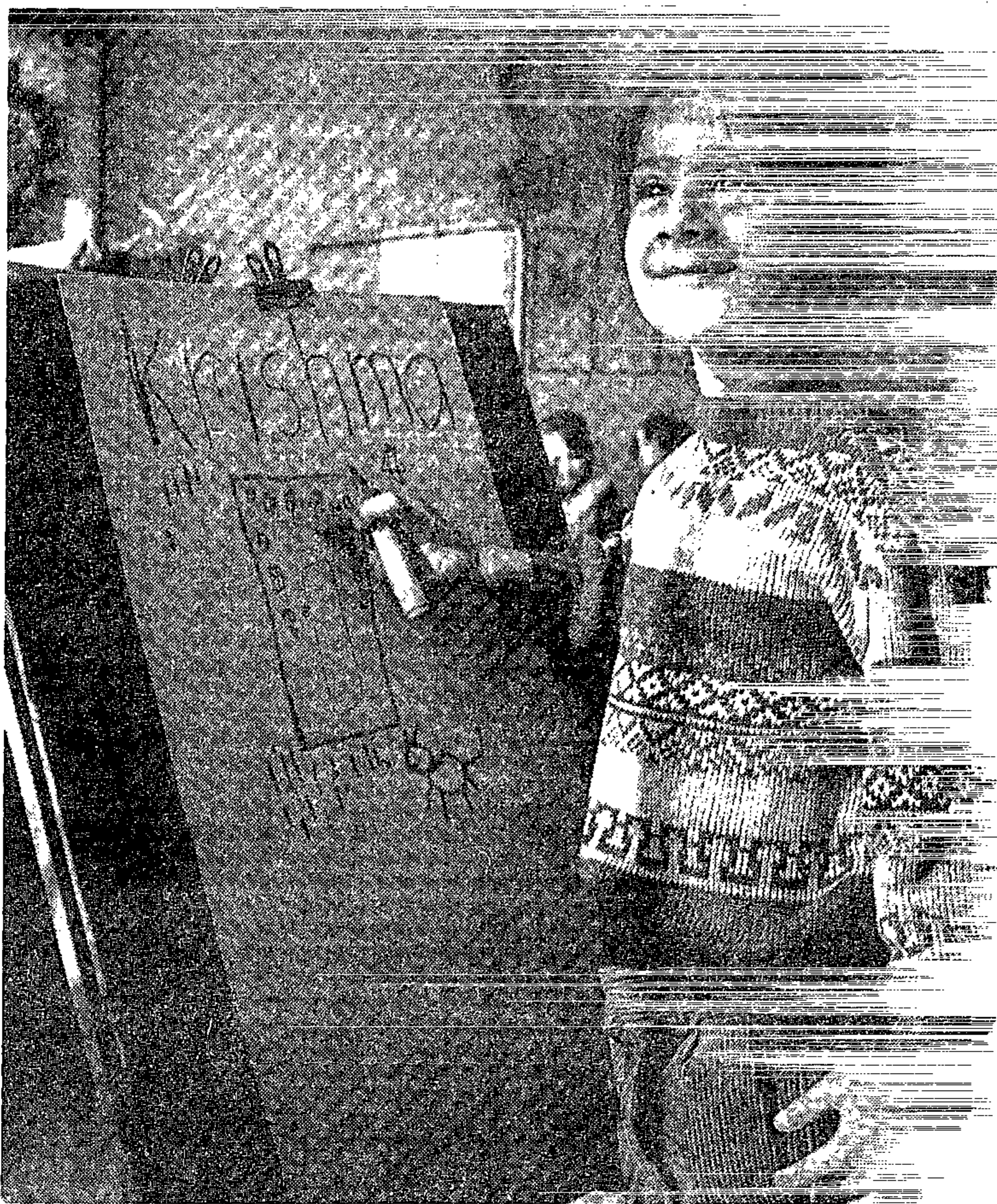
- By 1995, every second child born in Brussels, the self-proclaimed capital of Europe, will be Arab.

- Twice as many Britons speak Urdu, Punjabi or Gujarati as Welsh, the native language of Wales.

- In France, an estimated 700 000 Arabs will be eligible to vote in the next presidential election, a number nearly twice as large as the margin that separated the candidates in the 1974 presidential election.

- In West Berlin, three of the city's television stations now broadcast in Turkish.

- In Spain, road signs have ap-



The new Britons: At a London school, the daughter of Arab refugees learns her ABC

peared in Arabic to ease confusion among the estimated three-quarters of a million Moroccans who cross the country every summer on vacation trips from cities to the north.

For a part of the world whose principal experience with non-Christians has been in religious wars and colonial exploitation, the ramifications of this population shift are considerable — and occasionally disquieting.

Protests surrounding Salman Rushdie's novel *The Satanic Verses* and the subsequent assassination of a leading Moslem clergyman in Brussels sent shock waves across the continent.

"The Rushdie affair," Britain's Home Secretary Timothy Renton commented in an interview, "is a new dimension for a lot of people who haven't really thought about ... the idea that a distant prophet, a religious leader, can lay down a fiat, a law that Moslems throughout Europe can take as a binding commandment"

Aside from adding to social tension, what West Europeans call "the foreigners issue" has complicated European attempts at unity, tilted the political equation in several countries, raised questions about the future role of the continent's generous but hard-pressed welfare states, influenced demographic trends and begun to change the way Western Europe views itself as a society.

Paradoxically, Europe's problem is rooted in its post-World War II economic recovery. To ease crippling manpower shortages that threatened to strangle the boom of the late 1950s and early 1960s, governments and large corporations recruited cheap, unskilled labour abroad.

With the lure of a quick fortune, Turkish "guest workers" arrived to sweep the streets of Geneva or build Volvos in Goteborg at wage levels they had only dreamed of. Moroccans and Tunisians came to dig coal in French Lorraine or stoke the coking ovens of West Germany's Ruhr region.

Leaders of Britain's textile industry, in order to remain competitive, did

not buy costly machines but recruited cheap Pakistani labour to work the old ones. Jamaicans answered advertisements in Kingston newspapers and took jobs driving London's buses, trains and subways.

In more recent years, large numbers of illegal labourers, mainly from North Africa, slipped into Spain and Italy and found work picking grapes and in construction.

Adding to the influx, war and unrest in formerly colonial areas brought in hundreds of thousands of additional refugees in the 1960s and early 1970s.

By the time the oil crisis pitched Europe into recession in the mid-1970s, many guest workers had established roots, brought wives and started families.

Gradually, dreams of going home began to fade. And only then did the long-term implications of Europe's massive recruitment begin to dawn on its policy makers.

Today, in an atmosphere where individual countries are desperately trying to close their doors to more outsiders, "the foreigners issue" has complicated European Community efforts to dismantle by 1992 the checkpoints on borders dividing its member nations.

"There are few issues in Europe more challenging," said C D de Jong, a senior official in the Dutch Ministry of Justice. "We're doing a lot of thinking."

So are many others. Right-wing parties that appeal to anti-immigrant sympathies have sprouted in several countries, including West Germany, France, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway and Belgium.

In recent West Berlin municipal elections, a party headed by a former member of the Nazi SS shocked political observers by taking advantage of an anti-immigrant backlash and winning seven percent of the vote, enough to topple a coalition headed by Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats.

A few weeks later, an election in Frankfurt produced a similar result.

In a country that recently coined the word *ueberfremdung*, which means "overwhelmed by foreigners," the same issue could decide who will be chancellor after next year's national elections.

In France, Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front revived the country's extreme right with the simple message that France's five million residents of foreign origin must either become completely assimilated or go.

Le Pen collected more than four million votes in last year's presidential election on that theme, and from his hillside chateau on the western outskirts of Paris he recently launched, with the same idea, his party's campaign for June's European Parliament elections.

"The call for Europe is to defend the historical, ethnic, cultural and spiritual identity of the European people," he declared.

The idea that 350 million West Europeans could feel overwhelmed by a minority population representing barely four percent of their total number seems a puzzling over-reaction. Ethnic and racial minorities make up roughly five times that percentage of the US population.

But in Europe, the concentration of minorities in large urban areas, together with intense competition for social services and jobs, makes for a potentially volatile political cocktail.

In a region where indigenous populations have begun declining, high birthrates among minorities inject additional fears of being overwhelmed.

"Europe is subjected to a threat from the demographics of the Third World and Islamic expansionism," Le Pen said.

But most important, Europe, unlike the United States, has developed no melting pot to immerse new arrivals in its culture. Its instinct has been to isolate rather than absorb new minorities, and in most European countries birth does not automatically convey the right of citizenship. — Los Angeles Times

OK America, go ahead and burn

AFTER its recent rightward shift on civil rights, the Supreme Court surprised liberals and conservatives alike this week by ruling that Americans have the constitutional right to burn the American flag.

By a 5-4 vote, with one of President Ronald Reagan's conservative appointees joining the majority, the court overturned the conviction of a political protester for burning the Stars and Stripes during the 1984 republican convention in Dallas. Gregory Lee Johnson was sentenced to one year in jail and fined \$2 000 for burning the flag outside the city hall as part of a peaceful demonstration against Reagan.

But the Supreme Court reversed the conviction on the grounds that the Texas law — which makes it a crime to desecrate the flag by "defacing, damaging or

otherwise physically mistreating it" — violated the Constitution's free-speech guarantees under the First Amendment.

Writing for the majority, Mr Justice William Brennan said Johnson's conduct clearly involved speech protected by the Constitution.

"The government may not prohibit the expression of an idea merely because society finds the idea offensive or disagreeable, even where our flag is involved."

He concluded the Supreme Court would not make an exception to the country's free speech principles, even for the American flag. Mr Justice Anthony Kennedy, who has formed part of the majority in the court's recent restrictive rulings on civil rights, went along with his liberal colleagues, albeit reluctantly, on this occasion. He said constitutional

principles compelled certain decisions even though the results may be distasteful.

"It is poignant but fundamental that the flag protects those who hold it in contempt."

The Stars and Stripes has been subjected to further indignity lately, with one artist using it as a doormat to his exhibition in Chicago. Flag lovers retaliated by using an image of the artist as a doormat at their protest.

The Supreme Court's most eagerly awaited ruling before it adjourns for the summer will come on abortion. Missouri, joined by the Bush administration, has asked the court to reverse the 1973 landmark Roe vs Wade ruling that legalised abortions. — The Guardian, London.

Despite pleas, China speeds executions

ON Wednesday China ignored pleas for clemency from around the world and publicly executed three men in Shanghai accused of burning a train which had smashed through a barrier, killing at least six people.

And yesterday seven more people were executed in Beijing. The death sentences were handed down for stealing and torching military equipment and attacking soldiers.

Death sentences were also announced for 17 other protesters in Jinan, Shandong Province, and sentences ranging from death to life imprisonment were announced for 45 others in Beijing.

There was immediate worldwide condemnation of the executions. France, Spain and the Netherlands said the European Community would take up the question of its relations with Beijing at next week's EC summit in Madrid.

In London, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said she was "utterly appalled" and called on the Chinese authorities "not to persecute those who are merely trying to have better arrangements for democracy". The United States government vigorously condemned the executions.

"It is an ordinary event," a representative for the People's Intermediate Court said in Shanghai after the three workers — Xu Guoming, Xie Hanwu and Yuan Xuerong — were shot before a crowd of 3 000 in the suburb of Putu on Wednesday afternoon. "We had one or two public executions last year," he added.

China dismissed the appeals for amnesty as "interference" in its judicial affairs "by countries with ulterior motives".

Sources quoted by the New China News Agency (NCNA) said the "11 thugs have been sentenced to death according to China's criminal laws because they committed heinous crimes of beating, smashing, looting and burning".

Eight other men are appealing against death sentences for their part in the incident, which took place after troops shot their way into Tiananmen Square, in Beijing.

To speed up the arrests and sentencing, the Supreme People's Procuratorate has sent out "emergency notices" to security organs advising them that in cases where circumstances and evidence are clear, action should "not be hamstrung by details". Police should "expedite the process of arrests and prosecutions".

Vice-president of the China Law Society Wang Shuwen said "in order to uphold national stability and unity, the handful of rioters who wantonly violated the Chinese constitution and laws must be severely punished".

The Supreme People's Court called for immediate trials for people involved in the "counter-revolutionary rebellion" and said "all citizens must be handled equally before the law".

According to official figures which are thought to be artificially low, 1 600 have been taken into custody.

In Shanghai, 65 "counter-revolutionary rebels" have given themselves up to the police, including 42 members of illegal student and

China has dismissed appeals for clemency and speeded up prosecution and execution of what it calls 'thugs who committed heinous crimes'
By JASPER BECKER
in PEKING

workers' organisations, just before a deadline set on June 15 expired.

The Shanghai newspaper, *Wen Hui Bao*, said the suspects "regretted their criminal behaviour" that "led to chaos" and had volunteered the names of others when they asked for clemency.

Authorities in the Philippines confirmed yesterday the arrival of 21 Chinese who said they fled by sea to escape persecution.

Premier Li Peng said the government "will be lenient in dealing with most of the people who took part in parades and demonstrations, sit-ins and hunger strikes, even if they had extremist views".

He was addressing Pakistan's Foreign Minister Hamayun Khan, making the first high-level foreign visit since China suppressed the protests. "When China is in difficulties for the time being, it sees clearly who are true friends and who are false ones," Li said.

China's propaganda campaign to justify its actions was stepped up with the publication of a detailed account of the events leading up to the bloodbath on June 3.

The report to be published in the *Peking Review* on Sunday claims that the demonstrations were planned from last year and orchestrated by a minority seeking to seize power. — The Guardian, London



Great expectations turned to grief...thousands of Vietnamese boat people have been streaming into Hong Kong's overburdened detention centres in recent weeks. But Hong Kong's governor has made it clear that they will be forcibly repatriated. For more about refugees, see PAGE 19

Pentagon fears as Gorbachev cosies up to Teheran

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev, bidding farewell to the first top-ranking United States military officer ever to visit the Soviet Union, declared this week that relations between the two superpowers were moving from "the notion of enemy to the notion of partner".

The Soviet leader's comments about the improving relationship between Washington and Moscow came at the end of a remarkable 11-day tour of the Soviet Union by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe. The admiral struck a similarly upbeat note by telling Gorbachev that he had discovered that Americans and Soviets were "very much alike".

But rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union was underscored by the visit of the powerful speaker of the Iranian parliament, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani. Within hours of seeing Crowe, Gorbachev concluded new accords with Rafsanjani on long-term political and economic co-operation between the two countries that may enable Moscow to expand its influence in the Gulf region.

The delicate nature of the new relationship between the two superpowers and Iran became apparent when

On the same morning, Mikhail Gorbachev said goodbye to a US general and hello to the most powerful man in Iran.

The Americans are unhappy at the close Moscow-Teheran ties
By MICHAEL DOBBS

the chief of staff of the Soviet armed forces was asked at Crowe's press conference whether Moscow intended to conclude an arms deal with Tehran. General Mikhail Moiseyev indicated the issue was under discussion, saying that "a decision will be taken on the political level".

He has been trying to persuade Crowe that the Soviet Union does not represent a military threat to the US.

US officials have expressed concern over reports that Moscow is planning to sign a multi-billion dollar arms deal with Iran that could include tanks and aircraft. Iran would like to rebuild its air force, which is relying on ageing American-made F-14s and F-4s supplied by the US before the 1979 Islamic Revolution.

Under political pressure at home because of ethnic unrest and mounting economic problems, Gorbachev

has been able to use foreign policy to win some manoeuvring room both for himself and the Soviet Union. His show of revolving-door diplomacy on Wednesday demonstrated Moscow's growing importance in the Middle East and Gulf areas, but he also has stressed that good relations with the US can foster major cuts in defence spending.

During his meeting with Gorbachev, Crowe dropped much of the political caution he has displayed during the earlier stages of his visit, expressing admiration for the Soviet armed forces.

Crowe said the "the most overwhelming impression" he had received was an understanding of the "searing" impact of World War II on the Soviet psyche.

"The US had the luxury of not being invaded. The war was not as much a part of our everyday life as it has been for this country. This trip has given me an idea of the tremendous sacrifices made by the Soviet Union (during the war)," said Crowe, who toured sites of the turning points of the war at Leningrad and Stalingrad (Volgograd) where over a million Soviets were killed. Over the past month, Gorbachev

has restored normal relations with China after a 30-year break, galvanised enthusiastic crowds in West Germany and set the seal on improved relations with Iran. Crowe's visit suggests that the Soviet president has also blunted the skepticism of the US military about the Kremlin's new doctrine of self-sufficient defence.

While these successes on the world stage have generally been well-received at home, they are overshadowed by Gorbachev's continuing domestic problems. Foreign policy is of marginal significance to most Soviet citizens when balanced against everyday difficulties such as the lack of food and basic consumer items and the slow pace of economic reform.

The new agreement on long-term co-operation between Iran and the Soviet Union until the year 2000 envisages the completion of a 160km rail link between the Soviet town of Tedzhen and the city of Mashhad in north-eastern Iran. This will effectively provide the Soviet Union with an outlet to the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, a long-term goal of Soviet foreign policy. — The Washington Post

Iran's new leader: PAGE 21

THE WORLD

WHETHER it brings Angola closer to peace, yesterday's Gbadolite summit will be remembered as a masterfully manoeuvred triumph of one of the world's shrewdest politicians, Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko.

For Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos and his allies in the frontline states, the meeting in the lavishly refurbished home village of their most hostile black African adversary represented the penultimate step in a complex peace process.

Frontline leaders aim to hold Mobutu to his promise to stop letting the United States arm Unita through Zairean territory. They also hope to work out the details of a tentative peace agreement, the subject of last month's Luanda session, between the MPLA and Unita which would end the Angolan war by bringing Unita leaders into the Luanda government.

For Mobutu, however, the summit was part of a far more complex game which will culminate a week from now when he travels to Washington to visit his old friend, President George Bush. The Zairean leader aims for nothing less than a new image as peacemaker, respecter of human rights, and a fiscally responsible manager of his country's vast but largely undeveloped resources.

This may be an unlikely ambition for America's most disreputable Third World ally, the man former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance aptly referred to as "a source of consistent if sometimes embarrassing political support".

Mobutu has been widely condemned — by former International Monetary Fund officials, by the scholars who know his country best, in the past even by the one-time exile who now

The looter of Zaire patches his image

The Angola summit offers Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko the opportunity to remake his image as a man of peace and upholder of human rights.

With a little luck, the world may forget his previous image: looter of his own people, tyrant and conman.

STEVE ASKIN reports

represents him to the world as foreign minister, Nguza Karl-I-Bond — for having systematically looted his nation's export revenues ever since he took power in a 1965 CIA-backed coup.

Some have called his regime a "kleptocracy", a government of thieves. Among educated Zaireans, it often evokes comparisons with Belgian King Leopold II, the profit-mad colonial monarch who ruled the land now called Zaire from Brussels in the late 19th century. Leopold's misnamed Congo Free State (later the Belgian Congo) was a machine for extracting the territory's wealth and shipping it to Europe, initially through forced cultivation of rubber.

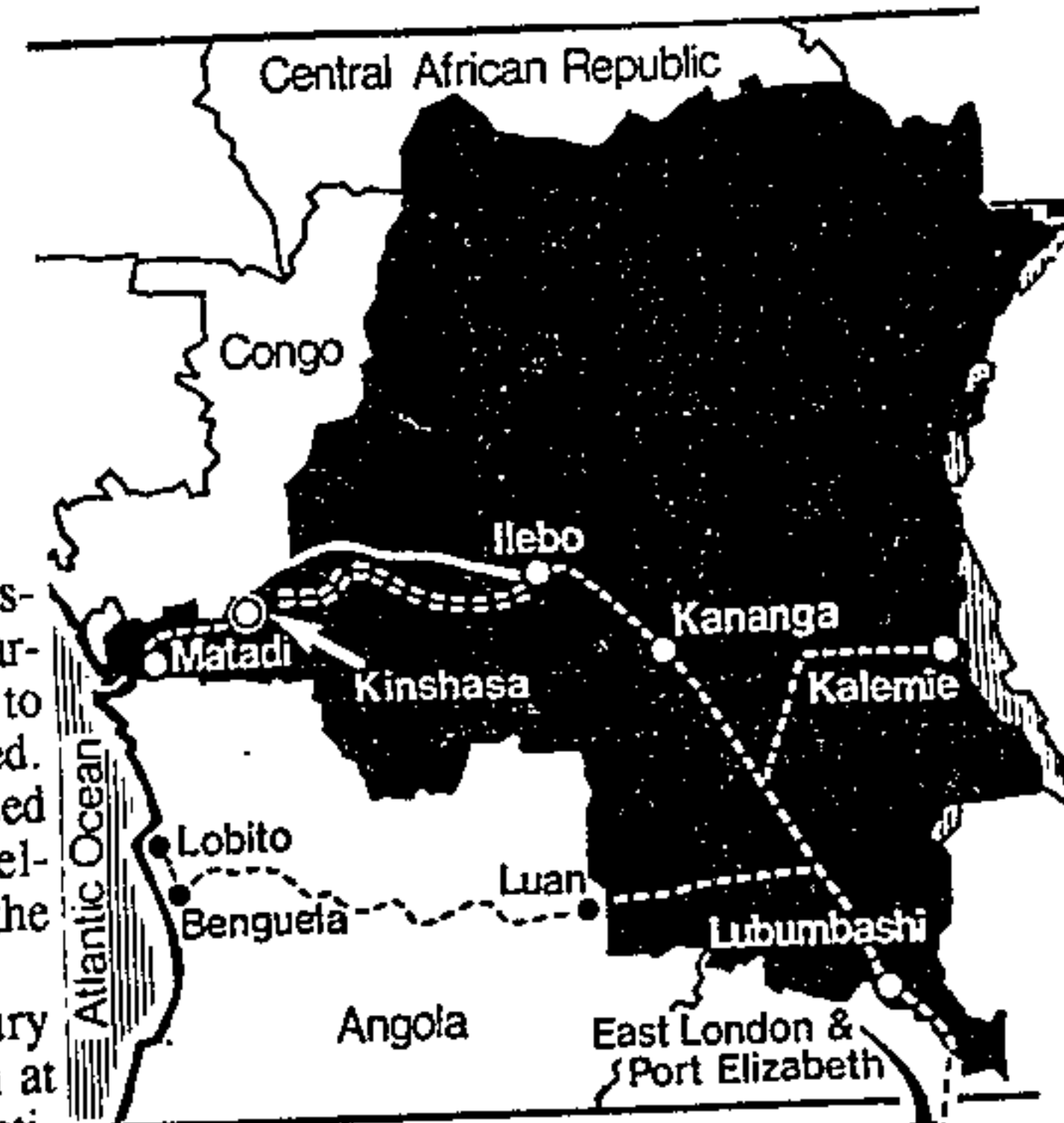
Communities were slaughtered for refusing to collect rubber, with the soldiers who carried out these massacres sometimes ordered to bring back a human hand for every bullet fired.

Through this brutal system, Leopold amassed a multi-million dollar fortune before the Belgian parliament took away his right to rule the colony personally.

Mobutu never matched the 19th century king's brutality, but is more than his equal at self-enrichment. The most authoritative estimates of Mobutu's wealth — compiled in the early 1980s after major splits in the Mobutu regime sent Nguza and other insiders into exile with briefcases full of secret financial documents — placed Mobutu's wealth at \$5-billion, a figure roughly equal to Zaire's gross domestic product.

Nonetheless, Mobutu may pull off the image remake. To show himself a peacemaker, he pushed at the May regional summit to hold a second meeting in Zaire, and to time it for just before his US trip. He has offered to bring Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Vandunem (Loy) with him to Washington for joint meetings with top US officials.

To undercut charges that he routinely impris-

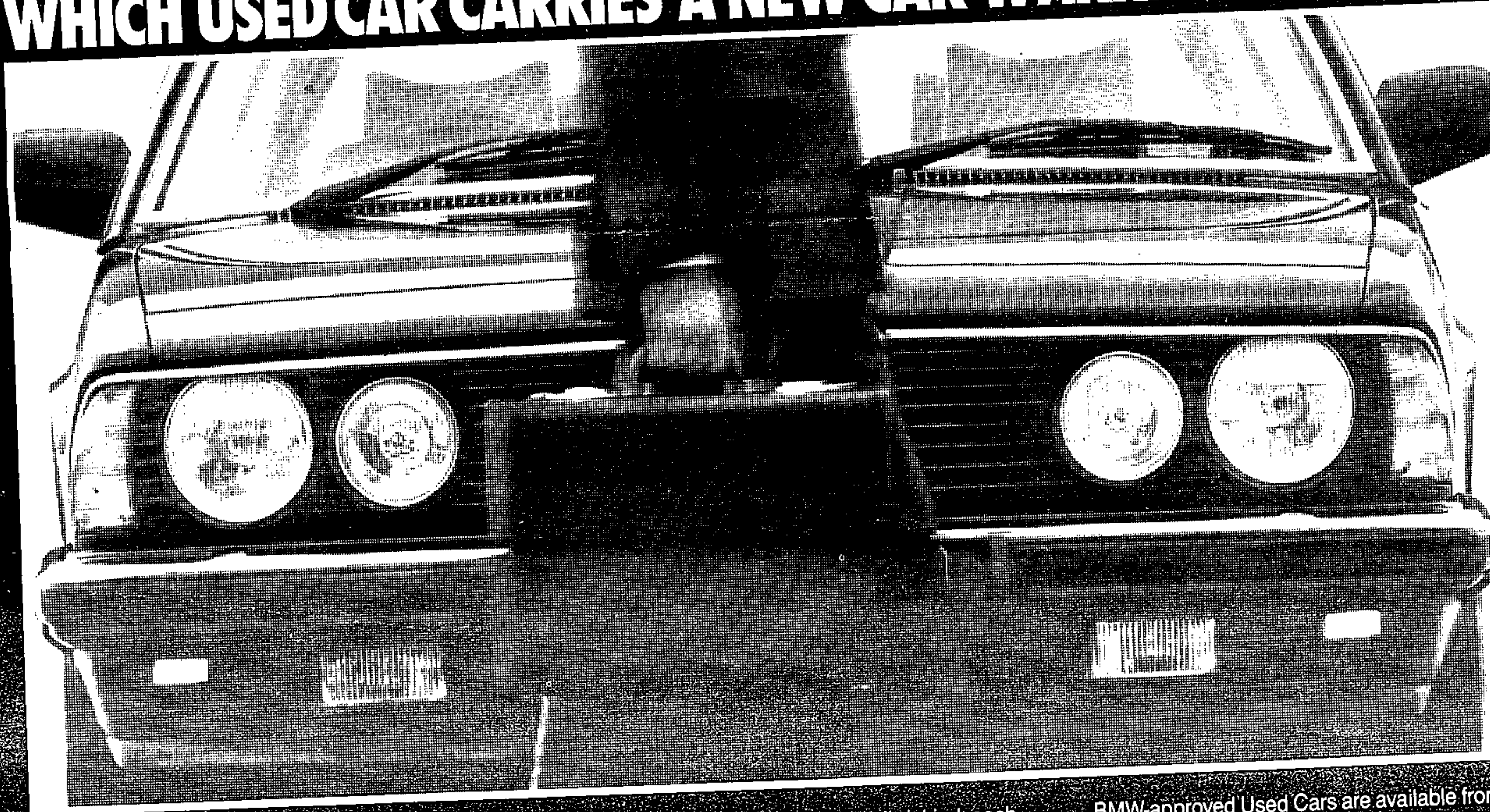


Zaire ... a country looted by its president

ons and tortures political foes, Mobutu sent his deputy prime minister on a tour of Kinshasa prisons on June 7. The official emerged expressing shock at the abuses and promising to end them. Mobutu will probably go one step further before he visits America, freeing jailed foes "so he can say there are no political prisoners", predicts Filip Reyntjens, a Belgian legal scholar and African human rights expert.

On the crucial economic front, Mobutu will point to a structural adjustment agreement approved by the IMF on June 9 as proof that he has been certified "fiscally responsible". And he may get an additional stamp of approval for

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Savimbi ready for peace - Sese Seko

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LUANDA — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said that Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko had told him Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi (top right) might be ready to accept in principle an Angolan Government peace plan.

But Dos Santos told diplomats in Luanda that the peace plan could only

be implemented if Savimbi's Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) stopped its war against the left-wing government.

The president was speaking on the eve of a summit hosted by Mobutu in Gbadolite, Zaire, in which more than a dozen African heads of state are expected to launch a

peace process for Angola.

Mobutu "told us that the plan could begin sooner than we had previously thought because it may be possible to obtain its acceptance in principle by Savimbi," Dos Santos said.

But he added: "This programme can only be

implemented when the elements of Unita stop their military hostilities all over the country and all their propaganda against the legitimate authorities of Angola."

He said that while Unita continued its military activities, the government would fight the rebels.



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B/day 20/7/89

Tekere men held by CIO in Zimbabwe

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — Two members of Edgar Tekere's opposition party, the Zimbabwe Unity Movement, have been detained by the Central Intelligence Organisation in the south-eastern town of Chipinge.

ZUM spokesman Davison Gomo said Chipinge party chairman Mike Musamirapamwe and an ordinary member, Ralph Kurehwa, were picked up by CIO officers on Tuesday and were being held at an undisclosed place.

Gomo said the two were detained the previous day and cross-questioned about ZUM activities in the Chipinge area.

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MPLA 'cannot dictate'

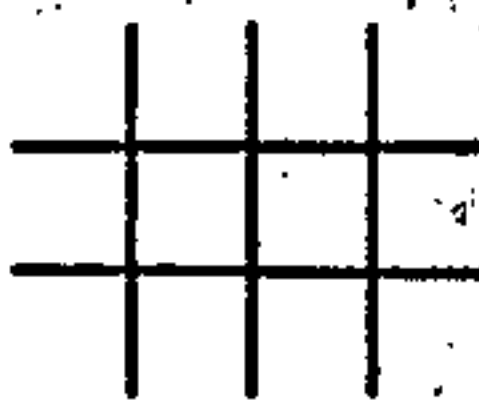
LISBON — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has said his rebel movement does not have to make concessions in talks with the Marxist government aimed at ending the country's 14-year-old civil war.

Savimbi said the only solution to the Angolan conflict was for Unita to share power with the MPLA.

"The MPLA cannot dictate conditions, because Unita is stronger and does not belong to the MPLA," Savimbi said in an interview from his headquarters in Jamba, televised in Portugal on Tuesday night.

Meanwhile, the official Zairean News Agency AZAP reported yesterday Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko would set up a group to monitor the Angolan ceasefire.

AZAP, quoting reliable sources, said an observation commission would be set up without delay to spell out how the ceasefire should be enforced and ensure strict compliance. — Sapa-Reuter.

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FW holds talks with Zairean president this week

KINSHASA. — President F W de Klerk will meet Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko this week.

Zairean state radio said yesterday that Mr Mobutu, who met former president Mr P W Botha in Zaire last October, was to meet Mr De Klerk in Goma, a north-eastern tourist town near the Ugandan border, today.

The radio said Mr Mobutu planned to discuss with Mr De Klerk the future of apartheid in South Africa.

The Cape Times Political Staff reports that the meeting was confirmed last night by the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden.

But he said that the meeting would take place tomorrow.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman could last night not confirm the venue for the meeting, nor comment on its possible agenda, but added that Mr De Klerk will be accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

The meeting comes some four days before Mr De Klerk is scheduled to meet Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, a strong foe of the apartheid system.

Dr Kaunda will formally present the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) position document on negotiations to Mr De Klerk on Monday, African National Congress sources said in Harare yesterday.

The OAU's special ad hoc committee on South Africa adopted the document as Africa's "common negotiating position".

Meanwhile, Tanzania's ruling party leader and former president Mr Julius Nyerere yesterday sharply criticised states seeking contacts with South Africa, saying Pretoria's racial policies remained unchanged.

Mr Nyerere called for intensified international pressure, including economic sanctions, against South Africa to try to force it to dismantle apartheid. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

Foxy faux pas

ATHENS. — A Greek hunter looking for foxes shot two farmers in the buttocks when he mistook them for his quarry, police said yesterday.



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FW jets out to Mobutu

IN A surprise move, acting State President F W de Klerk jets to Goma in northern Zaire, near the Ugandan border, tomorrow for talks with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The visit, three days before Mr De Klerk's talks with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda in Livingstone on Monday, was made known on Zai-

rian state radio late last night and subsequently confirmed by South Africa's department of foreign affairs.

A senior spokesman confirmed yesterday the venue for tomorrow's talks would be Goma, a tourist town in northern Zaire near the Ugandan border.

"They will be one-on-one talks between De Klerk and President Mobutu, although both men will, of course, be assisted by senior advisers," the spokesman said.

De Klerk is to be accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pk Botha, and senior officials, and a large party of journalists.

The visit will further enhance De Klerk's image as an emerging states-

man in Southern Africa, and give the NP general election campaign a boost.

It is his second foray into black Africa to meet a leader of an African state since becoming leader of the National Party earlier this year, and his first since becoming acting state president last week.

In July he had talks in Maputo with Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano.

Although officials are mum at this stage on the exact agenda for tomorrow's talks, it can be expected that President Mobutu's role in trying to help broker peace between Angola's MPLA government and the UNITA rebel movement will feature prominently.

It will also be a useful getting-to-know-you exercise for both men.

President Mobutu is an established African elder statesman, while De Klerk is generally expected to become South Africa's state president after the September 6 general election.

Reports yesterday said President Mobutu also wants to discuss the fu-

ture of apartheid in South Africa with De Klerk.

President Mobutu is considered well-disposed towards South Africa.

Last year he invited then President P W Botha at Gbadolite in northern Zaire, and subsequently Pk Botha and General Magnus Malan visited him in Kinshasa.

(News by Dirk van Zyl, 514 First National Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria)

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Monday August 28 1989



Two leaders held three hours of closed talks in the lakeside town of Goma.

Pic: ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

ed up, 358 o say

return to their corner of the palace lawns. The equatorial heat became unbearable. Pik Botha's personal secretary got restless. He strutted over to the bar and ordered the first drink of the day, the pack of journalists followed him and two hours later there was merriment on the palace lawns.

Leaders

Still we waited ... then while nobody was watching the leaders left the lawns and went into the palace. Journalists rushed about - still in the dark. Shortly thereafter the South African Foreign Minister and his Zairean counterpart walked out of the building and read a

his counterpart who said he had nothing else to say.

By now the men with moustaches and wires in their ears came closer, while all the journalists had given up I followed the foreign ministers to the door of the house. Finally I managed to convince the Zairean Foreign Minister: "Just listen to my question then," I pleaded.

"You entertained the South African Government's opinion of developments in the region, will you so eagerly listen to extra-parliamentary opposition's opinion," - I asked.

Journey



A photo opportunity - Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko bids acting State President, FW de Klerk goodbye after the two leaders held three hours of closed talks in the lakeside town of Goma.

Pic: ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

All dressed up, nothing to say

Sowetan 28/8/89

358

WHAT MAKES TWO Cabinet Ministers - one of whom is the acting State President and the second the Minister of Foreign Affairs - fly deep into Africa to meet an African leader less than two weeks before what could be the most significant election in South Africa since Republic was declared?

A weekend poll revealed the mass disapproval of FW de Klerk and Pik Botha's talks with President Mobutu Sese Seko at Goma in Zaire last Friday. The majority of the opinions expressed were firm: "Speak to local leaders first."

One person, Mr Tim Groom of Windsor in Johannesburg said: "Negotiations should be ongoing and not an election ploy."

On last Friday's trip to

FOCUS

Zaire a brood of hungry journalists were stuck in a Boeing 737 along with a small diplomatic corps and a noticeable amount of men in grey suits, moustaches and wires hanging from their ears.

Safe

A safe landing at Goma airport provoked a comment from the pilot: "We didn't invent it, we just perfected it," crackled the intercom. A Beeld journalist with the National Party sticker on his briefcase was beaming. Could the pilot have been referring to the landing or detente ...?

Upon arrival there was a frenetic photo opportunity with De Klerk, Botha and Mobutu strutting down a red carpet along a guard of honour

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

and a military band playing a monotonous tune with lots of loud bangs.

And that was it. De Klerk was whisked away in the de rigueur black Mercedes, the rest of the diplomats were squeezed into smaller Mercedes', the men with the moustaches and wires in the ears were squeezed into even smaller French saloon cars and Pressmen were packed into a bus.

The talks were held at Mobutu's new Summer Palace on Lake Kivu across from Burundi and approximately 2000 kilometres from Kinshasa. Under big umbrellas on the edge of the lake the leaders and a South African military intelligence person sat talking for almost three hours with the Press on the far side of the lawns waiting and wondering.

Talks

"Why the hell did they fly us all the way here if they're holding closed talks," an American correspondent asked. "All they wanted was a few pictures to show the electorate," another said.

What were they talking about, we wondered? Photographers with long lenses and correspondents - arms akimbo - were prancing about on the tiny beach between the leaders and the water's edge trying to steal a picture of the leaders.

A refined Zairean aid politely asked the Press to stop taking pictures and

return to their corner of the palace lawns. The equatorial heat became unbearable. Pik Botha's personal secretary got restless. He strutted over to the bar and ordered the first drink of the day, the pack of journalists followed him and two hours later there was merriment on the palace lawns.

Leaders

Still we waited ... then while nobody was watching the leaders left the lawns and went into the palace. Journalists rushed about - still in the dark. Shortly thereafter the South African Foreign Minister and his Zairean counterpart walked out of the building and read a glib 142-second joint statement and refused to entertain any questions.

The talks, Botha said, were "wide ranging" and the "delicate situation in Angola" was among issues talked about. Also on the agenda was the peace process in Namibia and De Klerk gave Mobutu a review of all the "important developments in Southern Africa stressing the importance of regional co-operation."

Botha said: "The two heads of state agreed that peace and stability are prerequisites for economic development of the region."

Vague

At the end of the very vague joint statement the Foreign Ministers rushed back into the house. I was adamant and needed but a single (burning) question answered by the Zairean diplomat. My request was first turned down by Botha and then he asked

his counterpart who said he had nothing else to say.

By now the men with moustaches and wires in their ears came closer, while all the journalists had given up I followed the foreign ministers to the door of the house. Finally I managed to convince the Zairean Foreign Minister: "Just listen to my question then," I pleaded.

"You entertained the South African Government's opinion of developments in the region, will you so eagerly listen to extra-parliamentary opposition's opinion," I asked.

Journey

"The joint statement is all we have to say," the Zairean diplomat said. The journey back revealed a bit more. A South African diplomat spent two hours of flying time with the Press in informal discussion and we learnt that the "new war" in Angola was high on the agenda.

If the "new war" was so high on the agenda and Unita only announced it on the day before De Klerk left for Zaire then it is difficult to believe that he went there to discuss the war.

Which brings us back to the "election ploy" and the naivete of the Zairean government.

De Klerk needs to be seen as the emerging African leader who will lead the subcontinent to peace and prosperity. His electorate needs confirmation that their future is safe, then they'll vote for him.

De Klerk has to please Europe and America by proving his commitment to peace and stability as Botha read in the joint statement, that way he'd beat sanctions, and the white electorate will vote for him.

All the voters have to do, is look at pictures of De Klerk with an African leader then they'll vote, hence the photo opportunity at Goma Airport and closed talks.

Suddenly everyone is smiling - that's if you're a voter.



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Tholoe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Zambia, Zaire sign treaty

LUSAKA - Zambia and Zaire have ended a 10-year-old dispute by signing a treaty demarcating the border between the two countries. (358)

According to the Eams news agency, the new treaty was signed at Nzele in Zaire on Monday by Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and the Zairean leader, Mobutu Sese Seko. - Sapa

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\$160 000 WCC grant for Swapo

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — In spite of growing controversy about brutality to its own prisoners, Swapo is to be the biggest single beneficiary of substantial new grants from the World Council of Churches' (WCC's) special fund to combat racism in southern Africa.

The WCC's Uruguayan general secretary, Emilio Castro, said he hoped a grant of nearly \$160 000 to Swapo would be the last it received from the WCC fund, since after independence it would become ineligible for "special fund grants".

Castro faced hostile questioning on the WCC's failure to act on reports of Swapo brutality to prisoners. He said the WCC had been saddened by the turn of events, and today demanded from Swapo a clear commitment to the upholding of all human rights.

The ANC was awarded a grant of \$100 000.

Castro said it was up to bodies seeking a WCC grant to apply for it. Asked why some leading US black rights campaigners or Tibetan groups fighting Chinese domination had not received grants, he said they simply had not applied.

Oilmen reckon Zaire looks rich

KINSHASA — Zaire may never have the hydrocarbon prospects of neighbouring Angola and the Congo, but Western oilmen reckon this mineral-rich central African state still has considerable oil resources to uncover.

Current production, both on and offshore, is estimated at 27 000 bpd, a figure which should rise to about 34 000 bpd by 1991. Output of high grade crude is all exported.

Five small offshore fields operated by Zaire Gulf Oil, a subsidiary of Chevron of the US, are producing 18 000 bpd.

The country's entire 36km long offshore zone, covered by a single 1 000km² permit, is exploited by Zaire Gulf.

Company GM Richard Hamer says drilling extra wells would allow production to rise to 24 000 bpd in 1991, a level that could be sustained for three or four years.

No successful wildcats have been drilled in recent years. Two exploration wells are scheduled to be spudded by Zaire Gulf after a seismic survey next year.

Since operations began in 1971 it has drilled 22 exploratory wells offshore, with a 38% commercial success rate.

The possibility of extending the offshore zone is limited by an ill-defined maritime frontier with Angola. A joint commission has been set up, but little progress has been made towards a solution.

Wildcats

Zairep, the local offshoot of Belgium's Petrofina, heads a consortium — including Royal/Dutch Shell — working five onshore fields producing at a rate of about 9 000 bpd.

Three dry wildcats were drilled last year. This year older seismic data are being reprocessed to locate new drilling sites. One field, Kinkasi, is described by Zairep sources as a "large but geologically difficult field". Advanced recovery techniques could be used to increase the low oil recuperation rate in this field.

Petrofina, in partnership with Petro-Zaire, is active on two concessions in the extreme east of this vast country. The zone is part of the Rift Valley, an area including Tanzania, Burundi, Uganda and Zambia, which oilmen say is highly promising but very difficult to operate in.

Petrofina sources said negotiations were continuing, in association with Esso, for two more blocks to the north, along Lake Mobutu, opposite Uganda, and Lake Edouard.

Prospects for discovering oil in the massive Cuvette basin, north-east of Kinshasa, were enhanced after a re-interpretation of geological data. — Financial Times.

Savimbi agrees to return to peace talks

WASHINGTON — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi said yesterday he was prepared to return to ceasefire talks under the mediation of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Savimbi responded "absolutely" when asked if he would go back to the negotiating table with Mobutu and Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos.

He also said he "accepted" Mobutu's mediation. *Biday 6/10/89*

Earlier this week Savimbi implicitly accused Mobutu of negotiating in bad faith by concluding secret deals with the Angolan government that changed the terms of a ceasefire hammered out at Gbadolite, Zaire, in June.

The US has been annoyed by Savimbi's

refusal to attend a recent round of talks designed to work out differences over the Gbadolite understanding.

While Savimbi has rejected assertions by some African leaders that he agreed to go into exile and integrate his forces with the government.

The US backs Savimbi's interpretation of the Gbadolite accord, but is unhappy with his recent tactics. *358*

US officials said Bush, who praised Mobutu's mediation efforts in a White House meeting with the Zairean leader on Wednesday, told Savimbi in a 30-minute meeting yesterday to get back to the bargaining table. — Sapa-Reuter.

Savimbi meets Mobutu to bolster peace accord

NICE — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi travelled to the French Riviera villa of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko on Saturday for a meeting designed to bolster a faltering accord between the rebels and the Angolan government.

The meeting yesterday was to include US Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs Herman Cohen and, possibly, a representative from the Soviet-backed Angolan government.

SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha was also on his way to France on Saturday to be "available to help" in talks between Mobutu and Savimbi, a statement from his office said.

Mobutu, who met US President George Bush in Washington in early October, has served as the major conduit of an estimated \$40m in US arms and other supplies each year to Unita.

He also played a key role in mediating a brief truce between Savimbi and Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos reached in Gbadolite, Zaire, in June.

Divergent interpretations of the accord have emerged.

Dos Santos's position is that Savimbi agreed to temporary exile and to integrating his forces into the Angolan

armed forces.

Savimbi, however, contends that the accord was to lead to free elections in which Unita might share power.

Savimbi refused to go to the last session of negotiations in Zaire, in spite of urgings from Cohen.

The Angolan government has asked for US recognition, arguing that it has fulfilled Washington's main demand by agreeing to the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops by 1991.

US officials say diplomatic recognition will be withheld until the government agrees to hold free elections.

The US is concerned that if talks do not resume soon, Cuba may disrupt the pull-out of its troops.

London's Sunday Telegraph reports that British Foreign Secretary John Major is to launch a British peace initiative in Africa to end the Angolan war after a meeting on Friday with Savimbi.

The two met for 40 minutes during the Conservative Party conference, marking the first official recognition of Unita by the British government since 1975.

Whitehall sources say the Foreign Office is to pressure Launda to accept face-to-face peace talks with Savimbi without preconditions. — Sapa-AP.

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AFRICA

Mobutu calls for African debt plan

358

NEW YORK — Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko has called for a "Marshall plan" for Africa which will include a 10-year debt moratorium with repayment in local currency earmarked for development projects.

In a speech this week to the General Assembly, which was interrupted by hecklers, Mobutu also said that he had set up a human rights department to correct abuses and that Zaire was no longer on a UN list of worst offenders.

UN security guards removed six protesters from the assembly hall. They were followers of the US-Congo Friendship Committee, which also held a demonstration in front of the UN castigating Mobutu for alleged human rights abuses and corruption.

Mobutu said that although several African countries had restructured their economies, the continent's debt of more than \$200bn was crippling and promoted instability.

He urged creditors to follow the example of Belgium in restructuring Zaire's debt and instituting a long grace period of about 10 years and an agreement for the money to be repaid in local currencies. The

financial resources released could then go to investment projects.

Commercial banks, multinational corporations and international organisations could then have a say in which projects were best for development, Mobutu added.

Mobutu spoke here after a trip to Washington where President George Bush urged him to revive the short-lived Angolan ceasefire negotiated in Zaire in June.

In his UN speech he said the ceasefire had failed "for psychological reasons compounded by foreign interference", although he had hoped the dialogue would continue.

Exile

Zaire, until recently, funnelled arms to Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi from the US, which has emerged as Savimbi's sole military aid supplier since SA withdrew its support last year.

In the latest negotiations, Mobutu has supported the Angolan government's claim that Savimbi had agreed to go into exile and to integrate his troops into the Angolan army, a position Savimbi denies.

Angolan government leaders as well as Savimbi are in Washington this week, seeking support for their positions. — Sapa-Reuters.

Black Africa spends less on arms survey

LONDON — Military spending is falling in black African states, and some of the conflicts are inching towards the International in its annu-

is increasing military spending.

Zimbabwe's expenditure is unchanged, but Mozambique is spending half the figure of three years ago, and Nigeria's defence budget is down 30% in dollar terms, says the report.

Uganda's spending is also lower, but information from other major countries is to form firm conclusions, it



University of Harare students carry their luggage to buses after the closure of the campus by police, in reaction to clashes on Tuesday between police and students. All students were ordered to be off the campus by midnight yesterday. Picture: REUTERS

NOW, MÉTHODE CHA
HER!

Grana

Mobutu hosts peace talks in grandiose villa

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ROQUEBRUNE — Even by the standards of the wealthy French Riviera, where residents are accustomed to lavish displays of opulence, Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko's villa is in a class of its own.

For the past week the secluded Mediterranean palace of pink and white marble has been a centre of attention as Mobutu received various parties involved in the latest bid to end 14 years of civil war in Angola.

Between the diplomatic contacts, limousines and crammed minibuses ferried Zairean officials dressed in well-pressed "Mobutu" suits to the villa to join musicians and relatives flown in for the Zaire leader's 59th birthday on October 14.

Mobutu's Villa del Mare complex, spread over nearly 10ha of some of Europe's most expensive real estate, was built in the 1960s.

Mobutu, reputedly the wealthiest black African leader, bought it from a Saudi millionaire three years ago, according to the villa's architects.

Standing on a beach-head hill in Roquebrune village, facing Monaco, the villa boasts its own helicopter pad, plus a tennis court and swimming pool. Mobutu's bodyguards occupy a two-storey building in the compound.

Sealed off

Neighbours say they can tell when Mobutu is in residence by the way the palace shimmers at night, lighting up the bay below.

For the past three days, French police sealed off the wooded road leading to the villa because of the Angola talks. The current negotiations follow meetings Mobutu has hosted at his palace in Gbadolite, his birth-place in Zaire.

Journalists trying to cover meetings involving SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, US special envoy Herman Cohen and Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem, were not allowed within 2km of the residence.

Apparently because of the tight security, municipal workers have yet to remove the rubbish left over from Mobutu's birthday bash.

Officially, it was supposed to be a subdued occasion because Zaire was in mourning after the death of its best-known musician, Franco.

But from the piles of empty champagne bottles awaiting the garbage collectors, it was clearly a party to be remembered. — Sapa-Reuter.

SA concerned over Angolan developments

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PRETORIA. — The South African government yesterday expressed concern about developments in Angola and appealed to the conflicting parties to support Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko in his efforts to bring about national reconciliation and a ceasefire.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said last night that President F W de Klerk had addressed a letter to Angolan President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos on December 22 expressing his concern about the imminent threat of a major military offensive by Fapla forces against Unita in south-east Angola.

He said any escalation in the military activity and violence from whatever quarter would be a severe setback for the peace process, which ought to be supported by all leaders of the region.

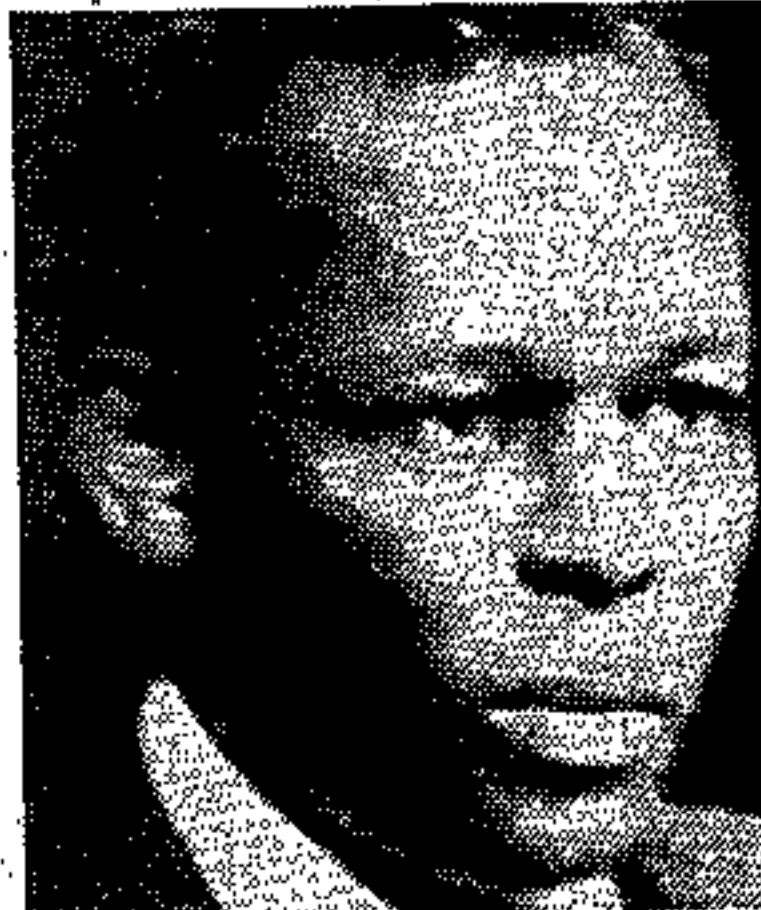
In response, Mr Dos Santos said his government was committed to achieving a peaceful resolution of the internal conflict in Angola, but blamed Unita for not observing measures aimed at bringing peace to that country.

President Sese Seko has postponed indefinitely an eight-nation summit of African leaders scheduled to discuss attempts to end Angola's 15-year civil war, the Angolan state news agency reported yesterday.

Government officials in Kinshasa, Zaire, said President Mobutu felt more time was needed to prepare the meeting after Mr Dos Santos presented an eight-point plan to end hostilities in a New Year's Day speech.

The US-backed Unita movement rejected Mr Dos Santos's proposals.

Angola is expected to feature strongly in talks today between American President George Bush and Portuguese Prime Minister Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva. — Sapa-AP



President Dos Santos



President Sese Seko

French-speakers visit SA

ROBERT GENTLE

(358)

FRENCH-speaking visitors from Zaire and Mauritius are flocking to SA in increasing numbers, if occupancy rates at Johannesburg's three-star Marlston Hotel are anything to go by.

According to the manageress in charge of the hotel's furnished apartments, there were about 30-40 French-speaking families registered at present. "And two more are coming tomorrow," she said in an interview. *Bidan 15/11/90*

She said most were either from Zaire or Mauritius and here on business.

A Zairean occupant said SA was the opposite of what newspapers had led him to believe.

He said he had no problems getting his daughter admitted to a Johannesburg private school.

Another Zairean said it was her first visit to Johannesburg. "I have already visited Brussels and Paris, so I decided to come here. Its closer."

Zairean nationals do not need a visa for stays of up to two weeks, they said. Formalities had "greatly improved" since President F W de Klerk's visit.

THE WORLD

Once-loved Ceausescu's African connections w/ Mail 19/1/90-25/1/90 358

The body of Romania's Nicolae Ceausescu lies beneath a bullet-ridden wall after his execution

IN 1987, human rights activists geared up for a drive in the United States Congress to cancel a brutal dictatorship's "most favoured nation" trade preference. President Ronald Reagan weighed in on the dictator's side, explaining "it is better to direct our efforts to improving conditions that arouse our concern than to abandon the principal means of influence and walk away".

Was this Chile? Guatemala? South Africa? No. The dictator Reagan defended on this occasion was Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania. While Reagan spoke up for Ceausescu, Romanian government lobbyist Edward van Kloborg warned that trade sanctions could force the Romanian government to withdraw from its \$60-million joint mining venture with Occidental Petroleum's Island Creek Coal subsidiary in economically depressed Buchanan County, Virginia, eliminating 350 American jobs.

Reagan's softness toward Eastern

The bankers' favourite communist

Europe's most brutal dictator, bizarre though it may seem for a man of his anti-communist principles, had firm roots in international economics and geo-politics.

On the economic front, Romania was the first Warsaw Pact member to join the two organisations which function as the central committee for international capitalism, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Unlike fellow World Bank member Poland — where working class militancy placed limits on the government's room for economic manoeuvre — Romania has been viewed

as a "responsible debtor". Ceausescu earned Western bankers' respect by starving workers and consumers to promptly pay \$21-billion in foreign debts.

On the politico-military front, as New York's *Business Week* magazine noted after his fall, "Romania has long pursued its own foreign policy and barred any Soviet military presence, with encouragement from the US and other Nato members".

It even seems to have developed some intriguing covert Western links: Iran-Contra operative Richard Secord used Saudi funds to buy ammunition for the Nicaraguan Contras in Romania, Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus report in their book *Landslide: The Unmaking of President Reagan*. And George Bush, as vice-president, made a point of visiting Romania in 1983 during an Eastern European tour which also took him to non-aligned Yugoslavia and independent-minded Hungary.

ZIMBABWE leader Robert Mugabe made him a "Freeman of the City" of Harare; Liberian President Samuel Doe granted him an honorary doctorate of law; Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko hailed his contributions to the anti-apartheid struggle; Queen Elizabeth II knighted him; America's Ronald Reagan treated his government to "most favoured" trading status and sent George Bush to visit him. Yet these leaders would today like to forget the man they once honoured: the late and seemingly unlamented dictator, Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania.

"Communist" though Ceausescu may have claimed to be, his status as the one Warsaw Pact leader who consistently resisted Soviet hegemony for a quarter of a century made him an important partner for the West. For the same reason, he was a friend to those African leaders — from Mobutu to Mugabe — who forged close links to Beijing while maintaining a wary distance from Moscow.

The solidarity of the super-greedy may have further cemented his ties to fellow dictators Mobutu and Doe, both widely reviled for their alleged corruption.

On at least one occasion, the South African government found itself in a *de facto* military alliance with Ceausescu. Conversely, though the African National Congress occasionally sent students to Romanian universities, Ceausescu's regime was long viewed by the ANC as the least helpful Warsaw Pact government.

Ceausescu's African adventures seem to have started in Zaire, where the fabulously wealthy, CIA-installed Sese Seko was his oldest and closest African ally. The Ceausescu-Mobutu connection began in the early 1970s and continued, through an odd American link, to Ceausescu's last gasp on Christmas Day. They shared the same Washington lobbyist, Edward van Kloborg, a specialist in representing unpopular dictatorships whose client-list included the ousted Gustav Husak of Czechoslovakia and Iraq's brutal Saddam Hussein.

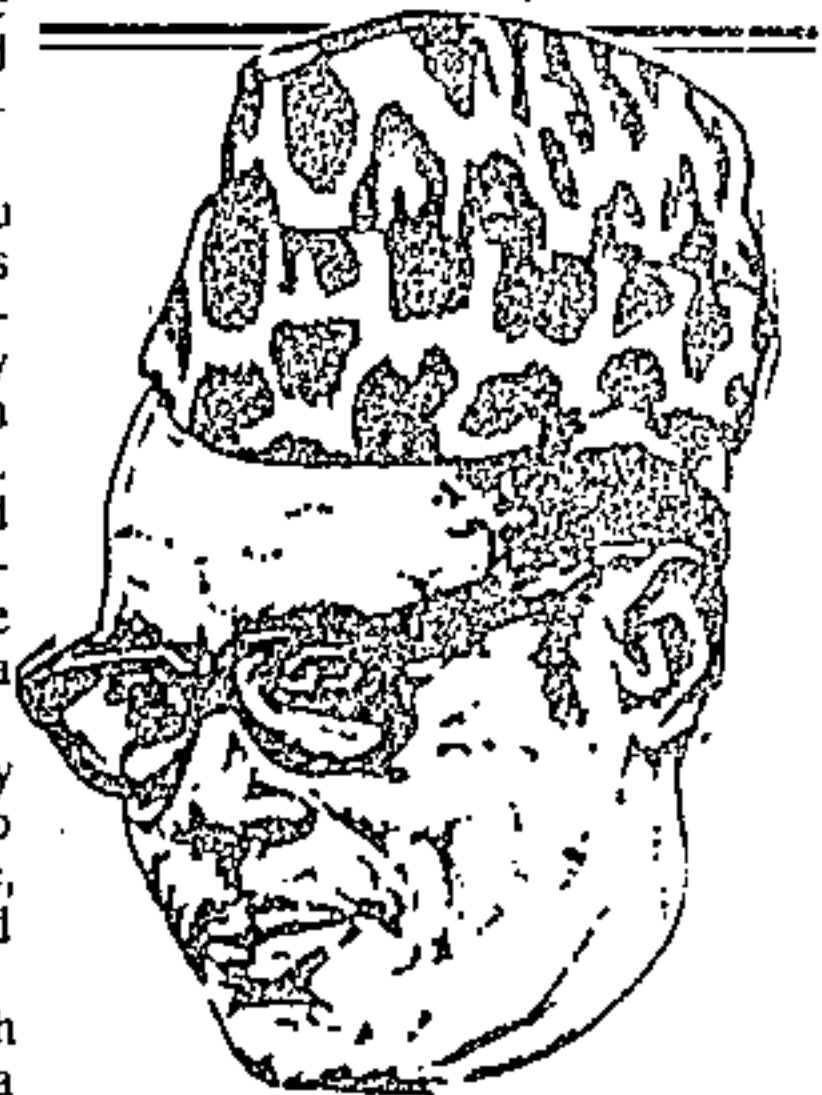
For Mobutu, the Ceausescu connection was part of a broader link with Romania's main ally in the communist world, China. Thus Ceausescu's first trip to Zaire in 1972, was a harbinger of Mobutu's visit the following year with Mao Tse Tung in China.

These flirtations matured into full-scale military collaboration two years later when Bucharest — weighing in alongside Washington, Beijing and Pretoria in the 1974-75 Angolan wars — started delivering weapons to the Zaire-based FNLA, headed by Mobutu's close friend and relative-by-marriage Holden Roberto.

In its role as China's European partner, Romania also joined the Chi-

Romania's deposed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu carved himself an influential role as a friend of Africa's friendless, and even ended up on the same side as the CIA and Pretoria during the Angolan war.

STEVE ASKIN and JANE HUNTER report



Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko

nese in arming and training Mugabe's Zanu, while the Soviets favored Joshua Nkomo's Zapu. Ceausescu was therefore hailed as a great hero when he and his wife visited Zimbabwe in 1983. The Ceausescus became the second and third persons — after Mugabe himself — to have the ancient honorific of "Freeman of the City" conveyed upon them in post-independence Harare. In explaining this honour, *The Herald* newspaper deemed it "important for our people never to forget the crucial role played by Cde Ceausescu and the people of Romania in assisting our armed struggle for freedom".

In the 1980s, Bucharest diversified its African ties, with Romanian state companies competing with Western capitalists to establish joint mining and agriculture ventures in African nations across the political spectrum — conservative, capitalist Liberia and Gabon to non-aligned socialist Mozambique.

In Mozambique, Romanians developed a prominent presence in the early 1980s in the northern province of Niassa, where they were active in agriculture, and especially in cotton production. But Maputo's relations with Bucharest seem to have had relatively little to do with global power politics, except insofar as they reflected the determination of Mozambique to actively develop its relations with both socialist camps, recognising neither as the epicenter of Marxism.

Doe, a dictator who, though right-wing, has fallen out of favour with the United States, probably because his government's corrupt practices hurt US economic interests — signed a wide-ranging co-operation agreement with Romania in 1986, trading the National Iron Ore Company, fishing and mining rights for technical and military training and weapons.

According to *West Africa* magazine, when visiting Secretary of State George Shultz reproached him in 1987, Doe told Shultz that Liberia needed a protector that would provide military aid — as Washington had failed to do in 1985 when Doe was almost overthrown by a well-organised *coup d'état*.

Yet Zaire remained Romania's most important black African connection. Ceausescu signed a major bilateral economic agreement with Zaire when he visited Mobutu in Kinshasa in 1987. After Ceausescu welcomed Mobutu and his wife to Bucharest in April 1988, there was talk of yet another Zaire trip by the Romanian head of state. The two leaders mapped out a broad agenda for Romanian involvement in Zairean railway modernisation, minerals processing and development of oil pipelines, maize milling plants and a paper mill.

A few early rumbles of an African perestroika w/ Mail 19/1/90-25/1/90

AN African version of *perestroika* is under way across the continent, with the tiny West African state of Benin recently following Mozambique's lead in striking Marxism-Leninism from its official ideology. Algeria, among the most influential African states, ended one-party rule last year, and was followed by San Tomé opting for a multi-party system.

But in Zimbabwe at the recent congress called to cement the merger between President Robert Mugabe's Zanu-PF party and Joshua Nkomo's Zapu and to revise the 10-year-old constitution imposed at Lancaster House, there were indications that Africa is not going wholesale down the East European road.

The two separate questions of a Marxist-Leninist party in Africa, and of enshrining a one-party state in the constitution, were bitterly debated.

Discussing his congress, Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister, Nathan Shamuyarira, said "capitalism cannot develop Africa — there is not capital here, or coming in".

Perestroika has trickled down to Africa. Several African states have abandoned Marxist Leninism. But Africa's one-party state is far from dead, reports VICTORIA BRITAIN

And Professor Armando Enraigo, head of Cuba's research institute on Africa put it similarly: "The failures of building socialism in Africa have been very clear for some time but, equally clearly, the capitalist route is not a viable alternative."

One of the by-products of the political upheavals which are opening Eastern Europe to Western aid and private investment is that — despite the official declarations to the contrary from Washington — there is going to be even less capital for Africa.

The Marxist-Leninist ruling parties left in Africa, besides Zimbabwe, are those of Angola, Ethiopia and Congo

(widely expected to be the next to change). They are not, of course, the only one-party states. Across the political spectrum from these on the left, to rampant capitalist states like Kenya, the one-party state is the norm in Africa. The rationale is that in countries still new enough to have uncertain national identities, and with large illiterate populations, a multi-party state invites divisions on ethnic grounds, and spawns corruption. (Less publicly those in power would agree that they are easier to keep order in.)

Multi-party systems as, for instance, in the former British colonies of Uganda, Ghana and Nigeria in the years after independence, were a failure. They created a mockery of democracy, encouraged a corrupt elite, perpetuated gross inequalities between regions and between urban and rural areas.

Mugabe's own experience of South Africa's involvement in Zimbabwe's recently launched Zimbabwe Unity

Movement, and the launch during the congress of a previously unheard of Zimbabwe Active People's Unity Party, may explain his passionate defence of the one-party state. Mugabe's view runs against the judgement of many of Zimbabwe's most distinguished intellectuals, a judgement which has been freely aired in the local press.

The current ideological change in Africa has been sparked by Eastern Europe's upheaval, and there are plenty of parallels in the African parties' loss of touch with the grassroots, their lack of internal democracy and their incapacity to confront chronic social and economic crises — and not only among the parties of the left.

The dissenting voices of intellectuals in Harare against Mugabe's link between a socialist option and a one-party state for Zimbabwe are the best pointer yet to a fresh wind of democracy blowing in Africa. — The Guardian, London

Court action over Zairean copper exports

AN URGENT application was brought before the Rand Supreme Court by a senior Zairean police officer yesterday to "freeze" about R1.5m worth of illegally exported copper hidden in nine Sats railway carriages now lodged at a Sats goods yard. *358 23/11/90*

The application follows the recent arrival in SA of Zaire's Industrial Security Police Inspector-General Mola-M'Bunza Ekekya to conduct investigations into large-scale illegal exports of Zairean minerals to SA.

Advocate Chris Eloff, who acted for Zairean state company Gecamines, which

DANIEL SIMON

owns Zaire's copper resources, said the matter had been postponed to February 13.

"The respondents have been given until next Monday to file affidavits. We will then bring in a replying affidavit by February 8," he said.

In a letter included in court papers, Ekekya also appealed to Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha to help his country, which faced serious economic problems, including frequent mineral thefts.

"The latest occurrence has been exposed by the impoundment of 33 railway car-

loads of minerals by the SA Police," Ekekya said in the letter.

He told Botha that the frauds had been committed through Zaire's state railways and customs department through the falsified invoicing of railway bills and the non-payment of tariffs.

Ekekya told the court the respondents in the matter were Sats, Eufasia Trading, Universal Wholesalers, Joannides Agencies and Zairean national Bintu Kasongo.

He said Eufasia Trading was a sole proprietorship based in Kinshasa and owned by one Kungulu Gbemani whose

□ To Page 2

Zairean copper

358 23/11/90
interests were represented in SA by B T Hillary of Universal Trading Incorporated. Ekekya said Kasongo was represented in SA by Germiston export agents Joannides Agencies. Another SA firm mentioned in papers is Universal Wholesalers CC.

He said Eufasia Trading was the holder of a Zaire Department of National Economy and Industry permit entitling it to trade and carry out marketing operations in copper scrap only inside Zaire.

He said all copper exports to SA were carried by Sats and handled by Renfreight Forwarding.

He said that on January 11 Renfreight Forwarding export manager Fernando Boloto told a Gecamines official that railway

□ From Page 1

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carriages, which had not been consigned to Renfreight, had been recently shunted into a private siding. The doors were welded shut and the contents said to be timber.

The carriages were opened on January 15 and copper slag found which, said Ekekya, was identifiable as the property of Gecamines.

Ekekya said that a further seven carriages found at Sats's Kaserne depot, also contained copper in various forms.

Ekekya said the carriages were consigned to a person known variously as Mr John and Mr Joannides, care of Magnew Transport, Railway Siding, Rooikop.

He said that on being notified, the SA Police launched an investigation.

METRO Group is investing R7-million in a cash-and-carry outlet in Zaire's capital Kinshasa. It has as a partner a family of traders which will put up 40% of the capital. Metro is also considering trading with Mozambique, but the question of rand repatriation has yet to be sorted out.

Stines 11/2/90
About 70% of all merchandise in the Kinshasa Cash &

Metro in Zaire ³⁵⁸

Carry will be South African, about 10% domestic and the balance from Europe.

Greg Ball, manager until recently of a Cape Town branch of Metro Cash & Carry, will be general manager of the new outlet.

FW for summit

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Cape Times 20/2/90

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA appears set for a breakthrough in its relations with Africa following the announced summit between President F W de Klerk and African heads of state.

The summit is due to take place at Goma in Zaïre on Saturday.

A Tugthuis spokesman said yesterday that Mr De Klerk had accepted an invitation from Zaïre's President Mobutu Sese Seko to attend a one-day meeting for the purpose of meeting "a number of African heads of state".

No names were given but it is not unlikely that Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano will be present.

It was also learnt that Mr De Klerk will meet the leaders of at least five other African countries.

Chad, Rwanda, Burundi, and the Central African Republic have apparently confirmed their attendance, to President Mobutu. It is understood that Togo and Gabon are still considering their attendance.

This is the first time African heads of state have initiated a multi-lateral meeting with a South African head of state.

The announcement of Mr De Klerk's meeting came as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) began sitting yesterday in Addis Ababa.

Sources said that several African heads of state, including Zaïre, the Ivory Coast, Congo and Gabon are expected to suggest a policy review towards SA.

It was unlikely the Congo head of state would attend Saturday's meeting, but overtures to SA on a one-to-one basis were in the pipeline, it was learnt.

A senior government source told the

Cape Times that the summit would deal with more than attempts to resolve the Angolan civil war and could pave the way for new trade and diplomatic links with sub-Saharan Africa.

"It looks as if it could be a political demonstration of support for President De Klerk."

According to government sources SA expected to establish diplomatic relations with some African countries before the end of the year.

SA has established projects in a number of African countries over the past 20 years and Saturday's meeting in Zaïre could see a pay-off for SA's efforts, the sources said.

But SA membership of the OAU and the relaxation of sanctions are unlikely to materialise until the ANC gives its blessing.

Feedback

The meeting comes at a time when there has been a great deal of positive feedback from African countries to Mr De Klerk's opening of Parliament speech — but more particularly to his decision to release Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela pointed out shortly after his release that "South Africa is a very important country and if there is an internal solution, South Africa can play a major role in promoting developments in various fields".

Mr Paul Runge, managing director of the SA Foreign Trade Organisation said the business implications of establishing diplomatic links with sub-Saharan African countries were "phenomenal".

The need for off-shore companies representing SA interests in Africa and the laundering of documents could be abolished, realising a major cost saving.

He said acceptance of SA in Africa would allow business to become involved more easily in World Bank aid projects where payment was certain, and possibly African Bank development projects at a later stage.

is clash while awaiting Mr Mandela's arrival in Cape Town yesterday. stop violence in central Cape Town as a policeman fires his shotgun.

F W expected to visit Zaire again ³⁵⁶

^{SMC 12/2/90}
KINSHASA — Mr F W de Klerk is expected to meet Zairese President Mobutu Sese Seko in Kinshasa shortly for talks made possible by Mr Nelson Mandela's release, Zairese officials said yesterday.

The talks could go beyond political issues to cover trade and security, the sources said.

They did not say when Mr de Klerk would arrive.

Mr de Klerk visited Zaire last August shortly after becoming acting president.

The visit was part of a drive to end Pretoria's diplomatic isolation in Africa.

Mr Mandela's release has been the main obstacle to diplomatic links with South Africa

for Zaire and other moderate African states such as Ivory Coast and Gabon.

Zairean officials said the freeing of Mr Mandela had opened the way for a wider dialogue.

Gabonese President Omar Bongo yesterday urged black African countries to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa because of Mr Mandela's release.

"African countries ... should review their relations with South Africa ... through the restoration of diplomatic ties," he said in a radio broadcast.

Zaire, like many other African states, trades with Pretoria despite an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) ban. — Sapa



Dialogue must continue, says Swiss ministry ^{12/2/90}

BERNE — Switzerland invited Mr Nelson Mandela on an official visit hours after the South African black nationalist leader was released.

The World Gold Commission, an anti-apartheid group that lobbies for an end to gold trading with South Africa, estimates that Swiss banks buy more than half of the 600 tons of gold South Africa produces each year.

"The Foreign Ministry would like to receive Mandela to continue the dialogue it has been having in recent years with the South African Government and representatives of other interested parties," a ministry statement said.

"By his example and the long sacrifice of his freedom, Mandela has made a substantial contribution to the fight against apartheid in South Africa," the ministry said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Man shot dead in Ciskei march ^{12/2/90}

MDANTSANE (Ciskei) — A celebration march for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, by thousands of people in Mdantsane, Ciskei, was marred when a man was reportedly shot dead and several others wounded yesterday afternoon.

The head of the Ciskei Police Community relations, Brigadier Avery Ngaki, said he had no information and would comment when he obtained details today.

COMMOTION

The medical superintendent of the Cecilia Makiwane hospital, Dr I Harris, said he was aware of a commotion which caused people to be admitted, but he was not permitted to give information before he reported to the

Ciskei deputy director general of foreign affairs and information, Mr Headman Somtunzi.

Before the alleged incident, thousands of people marched peacefully through the town's main streets with the police at first maintaining a low profile.

Then a disturbance was reported in Zone 14 where a man was allegedly shot dead, several people wounded and teargas used to disperse the large crowd.

Marches in Dimbaza, Zwelitsha and other parts of the Ciskei were reported to have taken place without incident.

During the marches, flags of the ANC, which is still a banned organisation in the homeland, were hoisted aloft. — Sapa.

Dogs set on airport crowd, says witness ^{12/2/90}

Staff Reporter ^{SMC}
Several people waiting for Mr Nelson Mandela to arrive at Jan Smuts Airport last night were injured when police used dogs to disperse a crowd of about 300, an eyewitness told The Star.

A young woman waiting at the airport said police set dogs on the crowd and several people were injured.

She said the crowd was peacefully toying outside the airport when the dogs attacked.

Passport application to get swift attention ^{12/2/90}

^{SMC} Own Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — An application by Mr Nelson Mandela for a South African passport would be given "immediate attention", said Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw.

Mr Louw said he had not yet had such an application. Passports were issued to Mr Walter Sisulu and his former prison colleagues "within 24 hours".

Reception for FW in Zaire

If the proposed mini-summit in Zaire comes off as planned on Saturday it will be the biggest step South Africa has yet made towards redemption in black Africa.

It will still be a long way short of general acceptance in the continent, however.

The importance of the meeting with President de Klerk is not so much in the status of the participants as in the symbolism attached to what will be the first summit meeting between heads of state from South Africa and a group of African countries.

Some of the leaders who are reported to have accepted invitations to attend the meeting can hardly be considered to be among the more influential states in Africa.

Poorest

Rwanda and Burundi are among the continent's smallest and poorest countries. Like the Central African Republic, they border on Zaire, which is promoting the summit, and to some extent can be considered to come under Kinshasa's influence.

The CAR is also desperately impoverished.

It has, however, received much international attention because of President Hisse Habre's stubborn fight against being swallowed by Muammar Gaddafi's Libya.

For this reason alone President Habre's presence across a meeting table from De Klerk would attract notice in Africa, especially among the Saharan Arabic states that have long been firmly closed to South Africa.

Confirmed

Neither of these countries nor the host, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, have so far confirmed their attendance.

There is even less certainty about whether those attending will include the Congo, which also borders on Zaire, and Gabon.

Gabon has been mentioned as a possible participant because it is known to be somewhat more amenable to dealing with South Africa than most African states.

Speculation about Congolese participation stems in part from the belief that President Denis Sassou-Nguesso was impressed with the way South Africa cooperated in the Angola-Namibia peace negotia-

Seychelles government to get a friendlier government in its place and indirectly supporting the mercenaries running the Comoros.

It was a time when some African states' need for South African trade made them swallow their loathing of apartheid and deal with the Republic, but then only secretly.

The summit is still a long way from the acceptance that would be denoted by membership in the Organisation of African Unity and the obstacle to attaining that

status remains apartheid.

But the fact that four African heads of state, no matter how insignificant some may be, are now prepared to meet openly with the South African president demonstrates the increasing acceptance that Pretoria is gaining, mainly through four factors:

* The good faith it has shown in allowing Namibia to become independent.

* The reforms implemented by the Government.

* The mounting evi-

dence that it has stopped trying to destabilise neighbouring countries.

* The growing need of African countries for South African goods and services.

There are hopes in South African government circles that these factors will lead not only to open meetings of the Zaire kind but also to formal diplomatic relations that would allow all dealings, including trade, to be done in the open.

During the regime of former president Bokassa, whose brutality was legendary even in Africa, the CAR had some informal relations with South Africa but given Bokassa's reputation this is something Pretoria might rather forget.

Chad, whose president is also expected to attend, is another of Africa's basket cases, with a per capita gross national product of only 150 dollars compared to South Africa's 1 875.

tions that were held in capital, Brazzaville, in 1988.

The Zaire summit demonstrates that South Africa is moving out of the era when it was forced to seek entry into the countries of Africa through the back door and when it had to grab any relationship it could get, no matter how distasteful.

This was the era when Pretoria found itself befriending the monstrous Bokassa, secretly trying to overthrow the

Zaire meeting will go ahead

(358) Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk's meeting with African leaders in Zaire on Saturday will go ahead despite ANC efforts to sabotage it, Department of Foreign Affairs sources said today.

However, it was still not clear today who would attend the meeting, apart from Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko, who arranged it.

Associated Press reported that the ANC said it had lobbied African governments to boycott the summit.

ANC international affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki told reporters in Lusaka: "We see no reason for Mr de Klerk to be received. OAU policy is to isolate apartheid. Nothing has changed. Apartheid is still there (in South Africa) every day."

Appeal to OAU to overrule Mobutu

Urgent ANC bid to block Zaire summit

THE ANC has urgently appealed to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to prevent this weekend's planned summit between President F W de Klerk and five African leaders in Zaire, the ANC said in a statement issued in Lusaka yesterday.

Senior members of the ANC yesterday contacted the OAU which is meeting in Addis Ababa for a ruling on the matter.

In the statement the ANC said the national executive committee was very disturbed at the news of the Zaire meeting.

The meeting, which was hailed by SA government sources as an important diplomatic breakthrough, will see presidents Hissen Habre of Chad, Maj Gen Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda, Pierre Buyoya of Burundi and Gen Andre Kolingba of the Central African Republic meeting De Klerk at a summit hosted by Zairean president Mobutu Sese Seko.

However, the Chadian Embassy in France last night denied Chad had received an invitation to the summit.

The meeting would be the first time African heads of state have initiated a multi-lateral meeting with an SA head of state. However, the ANC said the OAU had a well-known policy to "isolate the apartheid regime".

It said the ANC's negotiation document, the Harare Declaration, which had been endorsed by the UN and OAU, reaffirmed this position.

"The steps taken by President Mobutu Sese Seko are premature. The African states concerned have not consulted the ANC, Nelson Mandela or other leaders. Their action is contrary to positions publicly stated by all our leaders", the statement said.

CHARLENE SMITH

ANC officials in Lusaka seemed confident that the OAU would rule against the summit which apparently does not have the backing of key African leaders, including some of the Frontline presidents.

The ANC is concerned that euphoria about De Klerk's unbanning of organisations and release of Mandela has led to a more amenable disposition towards SA by African leaders and some Western leaders, who are reconsidering the political and economic isolation of SA.

The ANC has repeatedly stated it is concerned that this isolation should continue until a new apartheid free constitution for a unitary SA has been negotiated, a senior ANC official said.

Although the ANC has said it may be prepared to consider the lifting of cultural and sports boycotts if positive moves continue to be made by government, it wants to control this momentum and ensure that Western and African leaders "do not jump the gun", one official said.

The Saturday summit is expected to deal with economic co-operation between SA and other countries in the region.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the SA government is moving ahead with plans for the summit at the town of Goma, despite moves by the ANC to block the the meeting.

A spokesman for the State President's office in Cape Town did not wish to comment on whether the Africa trip would go ahead and referred all inquiries to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the meeting was still on course and arrange-

□ To Page 2

ANC bid

ments were being finalised for the one-day summit.

□ Meanwhile, Sapa-AP reports from Luanda that Angolan government sources said yesterday a visit to Luanda by Foreign Minister Pik Botha originally expected today had been postponed for a week.

Sources at the Angolan Foreign Ministry, who requested customary anonymity, said they had been informed of the postponement by a telex from SA's Department of Foreign Affairs.

Botha's aide at the Foreign Affairs Department Pieter Swanepoel also denied the

minister would make the trip today.

The Luanda sources originally said Botha would arrive today for talks with his Angolan counterpart Pedro de Castro van Dunem, as bitter fighting continued between government troops and Unita rebels around the strategic Mavinga airstrip in southeastern Angola.

Botha was also to have met President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the sources said.

They added the ministers would try to set a possible date for a meeting of Angolan, Cuban and SA officials here to discuss the military situation around Mavinga — Sapa-AP.

● Comment: Page 10

Zaire summit could pose new area of conflict

Star 23/4/90 (358)

The postponement of the mini-summit between South Africa and some African states in Zaire this weekend will be hailed by opponents of apartheid as a victory for the African National Congress, especially if the meeting does not take place soon.

The SA Government will naturally take an opposite view.

If the summit goes ahead within the next few days those claiming victory for the ANC will be confounded.

What does now appear clear, however, is that the ANC will attempt to block every move the Government makes in trying to gain diplomatic advantage in Africa from the reforms instituted by President de Klerk.

Thus a new area of conflict between the two adversaries could be opened up.

Even if they engage in talks about negotiations, the battle will continue to be fought on the diplomatic front, especially where Pretoria seeks to make advances on the strength of the reforms.

And Africa is the one area where Pretoria's efforts are likely to be concentrated, given the stated Government view that the road to international reacceptance is through Africa.

A determined effort appears to have been made by the ANC to block the mini-summit set for tomorrow at Goma in

A new area of potential conflict between the South African Government and the African National Congress has been disclosed by the controversy over the proposed mini-summit in Zaire. **GERALD L'ANGE**, the Editor of the Star's Africa News Service, examines the issues at stake.

Zaire, at which Mr de Klerk was to have met the presidents of Chad, the Central African Republic, Rwanda and Burundi, with the Zairean president acting as host and convenor.

This move was in contrast to the ANC's attitude in the past to the bilateral meetings held between the South African president and individual African leaders.

No effort appears to have been made for instance, to block former president P W Botha's meetings with the presidents of Mozambique, the Ivory Coast and Zaire.

This time, however, the ANC appealed to the foreign ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, who happened to be meeting in Addis Ababa, to use their influence to stop the Goma mini-summit.

The ANC reasoning is clear: there is more at stake in such meetings now than there was in Mr P W Botha's day because Mr de Klerk's initiatives have opened up new prospects of reacceptance in black Africa. This does not suit the ANC's

book because the more acceptance Pretoria gains in Africa the stronger its bargaining position will be in negotiations with the ANC and the weaker, conversely, will be the ANC's.

The Goma summit would have had a much greater symbolic impact in Africa than the earlier bilateral meetings, for it would have been the first meeting between a South African president and the heads of a group of African states.

What the ANC obviously wanted from the OAU foreign ministers was for them to put pressure on the governments of the countries attending the Goma summit and persuade them to pull out of it.

The South African Government has emphasised that as far as it is concerned the summit has not been cancelled, only postponed. The effect however, will be to strengthen the ANC's claim to the credit if the meeting does not eventually take place.

However, if the meeting eventually does take place it will be seen as a victory for Pretoria and a defeat for the ANC. And the Government's ability to break new diplomatic ground in black Africa will be enormously strengthened.

It would then be much more difficult for the ANC to stop other African countries from engaging in open dealings with South Africa.

Much hinges, therefore, on whether the Goma summit is cancelled or goes ahead.

Back into Africa

Three days after President F W de Klerk opened parliament on February 2, Rusty Evans, the new Foreign Affairs deputy Director General, boarded a chartered six-seater jet for a whirlwind four-nation African visit. *FM 23/2/90*

Armed with De Klerk's announcement that the ANC, the SA Communist Party and other organisations had been unbanned, Evans's visit to the Ivory Coast, Zaire, Gabon and Togo was the frontrunner to De Klerk's historic meeting with several African leaders scheduled for Saturday.

Accompanying Evans to Zaire was former Zairean Foreign Minister Bula Nyati Mandungu, now a member of the central committee of that country and a personal envoy of President Mobutu Sese Seko. Mandungu, who attended the opening of parliament in Cape Town, personally reported back to Mobutu.

On Saturday, De Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and DG Neil van Heerden will hold talks with Mobutu, Chad's Hissene Habre, Rwanda's Juvenal Habyarimana, Burundi's Pierre Buyoya and the Central African Republic's Andre Kolingba. At the time of going to press, Togo's President Gnassingbe Eyadema and Gabon's Omar Bongo were still considering the invitations.

Foreign Affairs sources say that sanctions and the Organisation of African Unity's position on the matter will feature high on the agenda. De Klerk will use the opportunity to inform Mobutu and his guests on recent reform initiatives and the progress made towards negotiations with the ANC. It is hoped that a less rigid stand on sanctions by OAU members will open the door to the

eventual lifting of sanctions by European countries, which might take their cue on the matter from Africa.

It is also to be expected that Mobutu, who has been appointed peace negotiator by the Frontline States in an effort to end the Angolan civil war, will report on the latest developments. Since the Gbadolite accord, reached in June and almost immediately broken, the situation has deteriorated.

Ruling MPLA forces have made more attacks on the strategically important town of Mavinga. While a settlement between Unita's Jonas Savimbi and Eduardo Dos Santos's MPLA government appears to be remote, Saturday's meeting would undoubtedly give im-



Evans

petus to one. Angola-watcher Andre du Pisani, of the SA Institute for International Affairs, believes the process should not be written off and that the role of SA and the superpowers will ultimately produce a Unita-MPLA deal.

De Klerk's visit to Zaire — his first as President — will be preceded by a much-played-down trip by Pik Botha into Africa this week. Radio RSA (the SABC's external service) reported that Botha would visit Kenya on Wednesday. Foreign Affairs spokesman Pieter Swanepoel did not want to confirm this, nor any other rumoured visit Botha may undertake.

Sources in the department, however, tell the *FM* the visit to Kenya has no bearing on Saturday's meeting and that other topics are to be discussed. It can be expected, though, that Botha will strongly advocate his version of a Marshall Plan — an aid programme — for southern Africa.

De Klerk's proposed visit also sparked renewed speculation that SA may establish diplomatic relations with several African countries this year. Foreign Affairs officials are already acting as trade representatives in both Zaire and the Ivory Coast.

□ Zaire's Mandungu will be a guest speaker at an international conference on eastern Europe: Implications for southern Africa. It has been organised by former SABC Director General Riaan Eksteen and is scheduled for March 26 in Johannesburg. ■

Diplomatic battles continue

Africa is a bargaining chip

The controversy over the proposed mini-summit in Zaire has opened a new area of potential conflict between the South African Government and the ANC. GERALD L'ANGE, Editor of the Sowetan Africa News Service, reports.

THE postponement of last weekend's mini-summit between South Africa and African states in Zaire will be hailed by opponents of apartheid as a victory for the ANC.

The South African Government will naturally take an opposite view.

If the summit goes ahead within the next few days, those claiming victory for the ANC will be confounded.

What does now appear clear, however, is that the ANC will attempt to block every move the Government makes in trying to gain diplomatic advantage in black Africa from the reforms instituted by President F W de Klerk.

Thus a new area of conflict between the two adversaries will be opened up.

Africa

Even if they engage in talks about negotiations the battle will continue on the diplomatic front, especially where Pretoria seeks to make advances on the strength of the reforms.

And Africa is the one area where Pretoria's efforts are likely to be concentrated, given the stated Government view that the road to international reacceptance is through Africa.

A determined effort appears to have been made by the ANC to block the mini-summit originally set for Saturday past at Goma, in Zaire, at which De Klerk was to have met the presidents of Chad, the Central African Republic,

Rwanda and Burundi, with the Zairean president, General Mobuto Sese-Seko, acting as host and convenor.

This move was in contrast to the ANC's attitude in the past to the bilateral meetings held between the South African president and individual African leaders. No effort appears to have been made, for instance, to block former president P W Botha's meetings with the presidents of Mozambique, the Ivory Coast and Zaire.

Bargaining

This time, however, the ANC appealed to the foreign ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, who happened to be meeting in Addis Ababa, to use their influence to stop the Goma mini-summit.

The ANC reasoning is clear: there is more at stake in such meetings now than there was in Botha's day because De Klerk's initiatives have opened up new prospects of reacceptance in black Africa.

This does not suit the ANC's book because the more acceptance Pretoria gains in Africa the stronger its bargaining position will be in negotiations with the ANC and the weaker, conversely, will be the ANC's.

The Goma summit would have had a much greater symbolic impact in Africa than the earlier bilateral meetings, for it would have been the first meeting between a South African president and the heads of a group of African states.



Zairean president General Mobuto Sese-Seko ... was to have hosted Goma mini-summit

What the ANC obviously wanted from the OAU foreign ministers was for them to put pressure on the governments of the countries attending the Goma summit and persuade them to pull out of it.

Whether such efforts were made and whether they were successful and were the reason for the postponement of the summit will probably remain a secret outside the inner circles of the governments concerned.

Default

The South African Government has emphasised that as far as it is concerned the summit has not been cancelled, only postponed. The effect, however, will be to strengthen the ANC's claim to the

credit if the meeting does not eventually take place.

The fact that no other reason was given immediately for the postponement means that the ANC's claim could be accepted by default.

However, if the meeting eventually does take place, it will be seen as a victory for Pretoria and a defeat for the ANC. And the South African Government's ability to break new diplomatic ground in black Africa will be enormously strengthened.

It would then be much more difficult for the ANC to stop other African countries from engaging in open dealings with South Africa.

Much hinges, therefore, on whether the Goma summit is cancelled or goes ahead.

Zaire gloomy as its copper mines falter

7/3/90
LUBUMBASHI — Huge digging machines rip through Zaire's Shaba province, one of the world's richest mining areas, but a gaping hole is appearing in government's coffers.

12/Jan
The open-cast mines around the "copper capital" of Lubumbashi, 1500km south-east of Kinshasa, yielded less of the so-called red metal last year than they had in a decade. Zinc and cobalt production also declined.

The government-owned Gecamines mining company is the engine of the Zairean economy, but it faces severe financial difficulties due to the drop in production.

Industry sources say the company is worried about the level of investment required for it to reverse the output slide and remain competitive.

Unofficial figures show that Gecamines, or Generale des Carrieres des Mines, produced only 425 200 tons of copper in 1989, its lowest figure in a decade.

The former Belgian company, which provides 70% of Zaire's foreign exchange revenue, produced 439 500 tons of copper in 1988 and 473 700 tons in 1987.

Zaire vies with neighbouring Zambia for the position of the fourth largest copper producer in the Western world.

It is foreign exchange the vast country needs to shake off the trap of endless poverty. Zaire has an abundance of minerals and crops like coffee, but low world prices have consigned it to economic mediocrity.

It is also caught in a Third World trap: its transport and infrastructure is creaking and there is war in neighbouring Angola, just when the mines need to be bringing in money to modernise.

"It all looks bad for Zaire. It enjoyed a windfall in the past year or two when copper prices were at record levels, but they have become a fairly high-cost producer and the long-term-price outlook is not that good now," one industry source said. — Reuter.

disincentives to labour and production: the taxation of married women is an example. At a wider remove are the substantial budget allocations to education and to the provision of physical and social infrastructure, while small business promotion, deregulation and the scrapping of outmoded legislation are opening up opportunity on an increasing scale. Various steps have also been taken to improve efficiency in the public sector, eg the introduction of value-for-money auditing. ~~13/3/90~~

As far as the actual process of price formation is concerned, the government is committed to the free play of competitive market forces—hence the Competition Board, reinforced by the Consumer Council and the Harmful Business Practices Committee. Moreover, the Committee on Economic Affairs of the President's Council recently initiated an investigation into what it termed "price exploitation".

Inflation in South Africa over the past few years can however not be regarded as a problem in isolation and with a solution of its own. It was and is an integral part of the whole adjustment problem with which the South African economy has grappled since 1984. In this sense inflation will not be successfully combated unless structural adjustments are made that will improve the economic growth potential. The various elements of economic restructuring announced by the State President in his parliamentary opening address on 2 February 1990, which will be referred to during tomorrow's Budget Speech, are therefore very important in combating inflation.

Walvis Bay: representations

*6. Mr J H HOON asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs: ~~13/3/90~~

- (1) Whether the Government has received any representations for Walvis Bay to be handed over to the new government of an independent Namibia; if so, from whom;
- (2) whether the Government has taken any decision in this regard; if not, why not; if so, what decision;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B404E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) During informal talks with designated members of the independence government of Namibia, they indicated that the people of Namibia would welcome it as a deed of great goodwill if Walvis Bay could be handed over to Namibia. ~~13/3/90~~
- (2) The South African Government's position is that Walvis Bay forms part of South African territory. However, it is also realised that Walvis Bay is presently the only deep sea harbour available to Namibia. It is expected that discussions will be conducted between the South African Government and the future Government of Namibia about the use of Walvis Bay. ~~13/3/90~~
- (3) Falls away.

Komatipoort/Maputo road: assistance

*7. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs: ~~13/3/90~~

- (1) Whether the Government (a) has decided to make available or (b) is considering making available financial and/or other assistance to Mozambique for the building of a road from Komatipoort to Maputo; if so, what amount has the Government contributed or does it envisage contributing;
- (2) whether the Government intends contributing financially on an annual or any other basis, towards the maintenance of this road; if so, (a) on what basis and (b) what amount is involved;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B410E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes, but for the present only an amount of R300 000 has been made available for a feasibility study. Afterwards attention will be given to the financing of the road. It may be that only part of the road needs to be rebuilt and that the remaining parts of the road will have to be renovated. The possibility of trying to procure overseas funding is also being considered.
- (2) It will depend on the terms of any loan agreement which may be concluded between the two countries for the financing of the road. This does, however, not mean that a loan agreement will be concluded. ~~13/3/90~~
- (3) Yes, when greater clarity with regard to all the facets of this matter has been obtained.

Zaire: road building programme

*8. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs: ~~13/3/90~~

- (1) Whether the Government (a) is supporting or (b) intends supporting a road building programme in Zaire; if so, what amount has the Government contributed or does it intend to contribute towards it;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? ~~358~~

B411E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) (a) No.
- (b) No.
- (2) Falls away.

Reserve Police Force: political activities

*9. Mr A P OOSTHUIZEN asked the Minister of Law and Order: ~~13/3/90~~

Whether any instructions to refrain from political activities were issued to members of the Reserve Police Force during the latest specified period of three years for which information is available; if so, (a) on how many occasions, (b) for what reasons and (c) who issued these instructions? ~~358~~

B413E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

I refer the honourable member to interpellation number 1 of 18 April 1989 (Hansard Column 677) during which this matter was debated. I regard the information which was furnished during this interpellation to also be an adequate reply to this question.

RSA/Lesotho: inter-state border fence

*10. Mr A P OOSTHUIZEN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs: ~~13/3/90~~

- (1) Whether there is any dispute between the Republic of South Africa and Lesotho over the inter-stage border fence erected ~~13/3/90~~

or to be erected between Wepener and Zastron; if so, (a) what are the points in dispute, (b) when is it expected that the dispute will be settled and (c) what steps have been taken or are proposed to be taken in this regard; if not—

- (2) whether there is any delay in erecting the border fence concerned; if so, what is the reason for the delay? ~~13/3/90~~

~~13/3/90~~ B415E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes.
 - (a) There is a difference of opinion between the Republic of South Africa and the Kingdom of Lesotho in connection with the location of the international boundary between Wepener and Zastron.

Two portions of the border are being questioned by the Kingdom of Lesotho, namely the Cornetspruit/Liphiring area and the Langeberg area.

- (i) The Cornetspruit/Liphiring area lies north east of Zastron to the west of Mophales Hoek. The original border was indicated by beacons according to the coordinates and stipulations of the Second Treaty of Aliwal North (1869). In this area the border fence partially does not follow the border beacons and the fence is situated within the RSA. The fence was erected within the RSA for practical reasons because the beacons are on a mountain ridge which is extremely inaccessible. The positioning of the fence was a unilateral decision of the RSA for the practical reasons mentioned.
- (ii) The Langeberg area east of Vanstdensrus. Here also the border is determined according to the stipulations and coordinates of the Second Treaty of Aliwal North (1869). The thus determined border results, however, in a triangle of about 80 hectares RSA territory "projecting" into Lesotho which



Mobutu hints at political reforms in Zaire

ARCUS 29/3/90 358

BRUSSELS. — Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko has hinted at political reforms in the country he has ruled as a one-party state for nearly 25 years, saying there would be changes.

"You know what's happening across the world," he said in an interview broadcast on Belgian radio.

"After thinking about it, I decided to consult my people so that everybody can tell me what he thinks... about the functioning of our institutions," he said.

"There will be changes," he added, giving no time scale.

The Zairean leader was speaking to a group of Belgian journalists in Kinshasa to cover the signing this week of new debt relief and co-operation accords between Zaire and Belgium.

But he declined to spell out whether he planned a multi-party system. "Don't put in my mouth words I do not intend to say," he said in reply to a question.

He also said he would step down if Zaireans wanted him to, but he quickly added that consultations already under way suggested they wanted to keep him as their leader.

The former Belgian colony became independent in 1960. President Mobutu became prime minister in 1966 after a coup which toppled the government of Joseph Kasavubu. He installed a presidential system in 1971, with one party. — Sapa-Reuter.



DIANE CASSERE

interviews people from all walks of life, people who are making headlines or quietly benefiting the lives of others.

KALEIDOSCOPE

Peter treats Africa to our SA wines

CHM Tm's
31/3/90
358

SMOOTH, travelled and fluent in an alarming number of languages, Peter Frank settles down on the terrace of a city hotel to discuss the delights of the Cape winelands.

He is able to do so in French, German, Russian, English, German and five African languages (including his native Lingala) but we settle on just the one, as I am proficient only in English.

Peter, an international wine and trade consultant who specialises in, among other things, marketing South African wines to the rest of Africa, is in the Cape (Boland specifically) with a group of 15 people from the Transvaal who have been brought here by the wine industry to gain in-depth information on the subject.

He orders a soda water and at my raised eyebrow he says — in an accent redolent of both France and Africa — “we have been drinking so much wine, I need a rest”.

Peter's home is Lubumbashi (formerly Elizabethville) in Zaire. His father was an official in provincial administration in colonial times and Peter was educated in Europe, going on to graduate as a lawyer from Antwerp and Moscow universities and finishing with a doctorate in international law at Frie University, Germany, where he also lectured for a time.



Peter Frank

“In 1974, a group of businessmen approached me to ask if I would be interested in trade consultancy in Africa. I found it fascinating — but then I had to learn the African way of doing business,” he says wryly.

He is also frank about the fact that there is a lot more money in export and import than in lecturing. He now has homes in a number of countries with a “pied-à-terre” in Berea, Johannesburg.

He explains that Zaire did business with South Africa to the tune of R6 billion last year (the most in Africa, with Ivory Coast second). “Everything from a needle to an aircraft. We are still on ‘honeymoon’ with South Africa.”

Zaire, being French in colonial flavour, is sophisticated in its wine tastes and especially appreciates our “carafino” (which is not sold here any more) and our sparkling wines.

“You correctly call your champagne sparkling wine, as real champagne is that made in the province in France. But in Zaire, champagne is a prestige thing, for parties, occasions and so on. Your sparkling wine is relatively cheap.”

The only industry Zaire does not look to South Africa for is our fashion industry. “They prefer the quality and finish of French clothes.”

Peter likens the winelands here to the Rhine wine-producing lands in Germany. The scenery, he says, is “amazing” and our wines are world-class. “Being French in culture, the people of Zaire know which wines to take, and they appreciate South African wine.”

His “working hours” revolve around the incoming flights from Zaire and other African countries, when he is called upon to act as consultant and interpreter for businessmen.

When Peter relaxes, it is in the gym — he goes seven days a week — or over cooking, entertaining and jazz.

Mobutu legalises opposition parties in Zaïre

CHE TINT
25/4/90 (38)

KINSHASA. — Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, under pressure from all sectors of society and his Western supporters, announced the legalisation of opposition parties yesterday.

The 59-year-old former journalist and army sergeant also said his Popular Movement for the Revolution, which under Zaire law is the country's government, no longer will hold any special status. Initially three parties will be allowed, he said.

He said the country's constitution will be rewritten and a government of transition set up to run the country until elections can be held. The new government should be in place by April 24, 1991, he said.

Corruption

In recent weeks Mr Mobutu had been battered by a wave of unprecedented criticism, the culmination of his own campaign to gauge popular opinion.

He began a tour of the nation in January, seeking public comments on his rule. Thousands of replies were sent in from business groups, churches, unions, students and individuals. Many bitterly criticised the government and Mr Mobutu himself, accusing the president and his cronies of corruption and monopolizing power.

The country's Roman Catholic bishops compared his rule to a monarchy.

Mr Mobutu did not reply directly to the criticisms but promised "the will of the majority will be respected. We will proceed together on the changes wanted by the majority". — Sapa-AP

AFRICA

Mobutu resolute on orderly transition

KINSHASA — Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko said yesterday a planned return to multi-party politics could take place only in an atmosphere of calm and order.

Mobutu was speaking two days after witnesses said police fired on an op-

position rally, wounding several people and, according to some reports, killing two.

Addressing the national assembly Mobutu said no new political parties had yet been authorised and rallies or marches would not yet be permitted.

"Political parties do not yet exist in Zaire.

"The authorities will not permit the organisation of marches, rallies or meetings ... by groups already calling themselves political parties," said Mobutu.

"This transition must be carried out in a spirit of calm, serenity and with order and legality," he said.

Witnesses said paramilitary police on Tuesday opened fire on a rally outside the home of Etienne Tshisekedi, a prominent Mobutu opponent and member of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UPDS).

In Paris on Wednesday, UPDS president Marcel Lihau told a news conference

that party officials in Kinshasa said that two people died in the incident.

The 60-year-old Zairean leader, in power for 25 years, said misunderstandings had arisen from his speech last Tuesday in which he said he would permit two new parties to contest elections with the ruling People's Revolutionary Movement.

Election

He said the new parties, including the UPDS, would have to go through a six-step authorisation process before they could function legally.

Mobutu said a new government to lead a one-year transition to multi-party politics would be announced on Friday and a second phase would lead to a general election by December 4 1991.

Former central banker Lunda Bululu has already been named prime minister. — Sapa-Reuter.



● MOBUTU

Zimbabwe industry gets \$125m boost

8/Jan 25/4/90 (358)

HARARE — The African Development Bank is to lend Zimbabwe \$125m to upgrade manufacturing.

The loan would be used to import machinery, equipment and spares to expand and modernise the sector, the bank said yesterday.

"It is envisaged that this loan will prepare the industrial sector to meet challenges for enhanced competition in both domestic and export markets by improving the installed industrial capacity, output and productivity and as well as upgrade product quality and technology," the bank said.

It would be repaid over 12 years, including a three-year period of grace, at an annual interest rate of 7.50%.

An official at the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries said the loan was initially intended for the metals, chemicals, leather and footwear, and paper and packaging sub-sectors. But it had now been extended to all sectors.

Zimbabwe has a diversified industrial sector manufacturing around 6 000 different products.

But most of the plant and equipment is obsolete and many firms are operating at half their installed capacity due to frequent breakdowns and a shortage of spares.

"This pushes up production costs rendering the sector uncompetitive on export markets," an economist said.

The bank said the loan would support government's economic reforms, including the proposed liberalisation of trade.

The International Finance Corporation, the private sector arm of the World Bank, was also expected to support the programme with a \$300m loan currently being negotiated.

The loan would finance imports of capital plant and equipment and provide working capital for exporters of manufactured goods.

Zimbabwe published easier investment regulations last year to try and attract foreign capital into its economy to deal with soaring unemployment.

It is expected to move from import licensing to an open import system in the middle of this year as part of a phased programme to free the economy, which has grown unevenly since independence a decade ago due to an acute shortage of foreign exchange and drought.

Economists expect government to first ease import curbs on essential goods, such as plant and equipment and raw materials, before relaxing those for consumer goods.

"The government will continue restricting some imports for a period of up to four years to allow local manufacturers to modernise their plants and make products that can stand up to competition from imported goods. At the end of that period the floodgates (for imports) will open," an economist said. — Reuter.

Mobutu pledges multi-party system

KINSHASA — Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, faced with rising demands for social and political reform, announced yesterday he would reinstate a multi-party system. 8/Jan 25/4/90 (358)

In a nationally televised speech, he said he would permit three parties in Zaire, which has been ruled by one party since 1966.

Mobutu said he would remain head of state because the Zairean people "want me to continue overseeing the destiny of the country".

The announcement follows the worst political and social unrest of Mobutu's 25-year rule.

Zaire has enormous resources of copper and timber, but its people are among the poorest on the continent.

The country has been hard hit by falling world prices for its main commodity, copper.

Earlier this month Mobutu ordered huge rises in civil service pay and student grants after demonstrations in which students burned 25 buses.

Mobutu, who rules through the People's Revolutionary Movement (PRM), said in a 40-minute speech from his presidential estate just outside Kinshasa that he was founding Zaire's "third republic".

There would be a one-year transition to a multi-party system and steps would be taken to avoid a return to tribal factionalism which triggered civil war and rebellion in the 1960s, he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Swiss horror at Zairean massacre

GENEVA. — An Swiss political parties, unions and human-rights groups joined university students yesterday in organising a two-day protest against the reported massacre of students in Zaire on May 11 and 12.

Reports from Zaire last week said that President Mobutu Sese Seko sent troops to put down a freedom and democracy demonstration by students at Lubumbashi in the south-east. The soldiers killed at least 60 students by slitting their throats, the reports said.

The Zairean government at first denied the reports, but the Geneva-based Conference of University Student Associations said it had confirmation from various Zaire diplomats abroad of the "barbaric" killings.

It said the president gave his troops express orders to kill. — UPI

Massacre of students 'last straw' in Mobutu's Zaire

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ZAIRE'S internal crisis is making the survival of the long-lasting Mobutu presidency look increasingly unlikely.

Despite tentative moves toward a more democratic set-up — with the passing this month of a bill permitting a three-party system — a recent massacre of students at Lubumbashi university may have proved the last straw for Mobutu's internal backers.

The bloody incident was sparked on May 11 after students and faculty had protested against lack of food and books, and lecturers' salaries had been unpaid for months.

The governor of Shaba province ordered the cutting of electricity to the university and sent in troops, who surrounded the campus and stormed dormitories, attacking students indiscriminately.

Rebuffed

Between 50 and 150 died, according to Amnesty International.

The incident fueled massive protests, leading to demands from Belgium — Zaire's major link with international finance — for an independent investigation.

When Belgium was re-

buffed, it froze all official relations.

Mobutu retaliated on June 22. He severed all cooperation agreements with Belgium, barred Belgian airline flights to Kinshasa, closed several Belgian consulates and ordered all development workers and their families out of the country.

Belgium's left-centre coalition, stood its ground — with support from the conservative opposition and important financial groups.

Evacuation

The Belgian airforce and several special units were put on stand-by for evacuation operations.

Official statements made it clear that Brussels had the support of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the European Community.

Other long-standing Mobutu backers fell in line with Belgium.

France pushed through a decision at the Franco-African summit in southern France that the next such meeting, planned for Kinshasa in 1991, would be held elsewhere.

Democrat Stephen Solarz of the foreign policy committee compared Mobutu to Ceausescu, Marcos and Somoza and said the US

could no longer appear to support "this discredited dictator".

Mobutu has in the past responded by inviting the Chinese and even the North Koreans into the country to scare reluctant Western supporters.

The trick has worked well on several occasions but seems spent these days.

At the same time, Mobutu's role as an irreplaceable strongman to keep the nation together against tribal strife and general chaos has become less and less credible.

Chaos

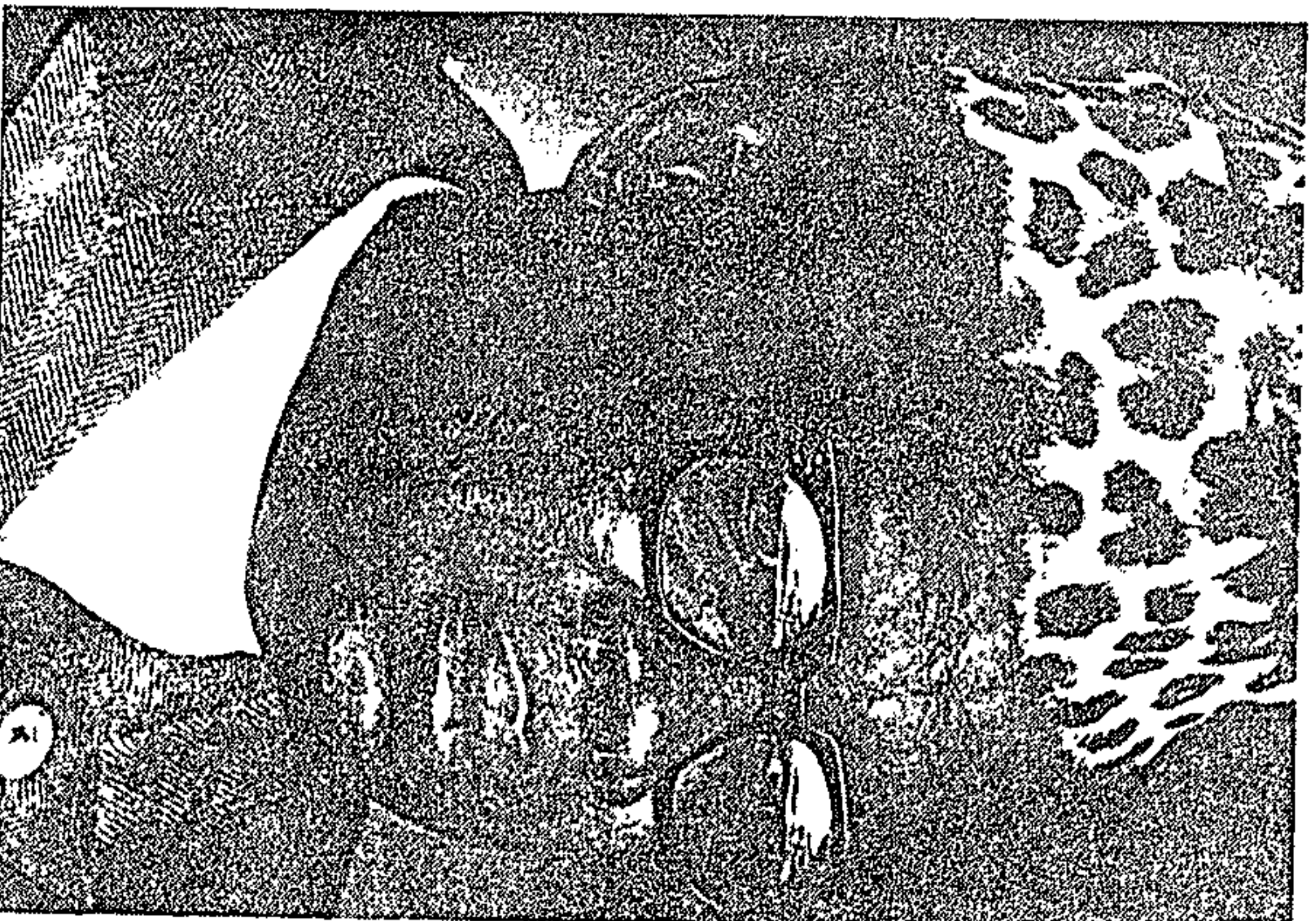
To his Western backers, Mobutu seems now to have created exactly the chaos and disorder he was supposed to ward off.

Inside Zaire, national "unity" is in tatters.

If Mobutu's guards were involved in the student massacre, it could be the opportunity Western powers are looking for to legitimise ousting the president.

They had many opportunities to do this in the past decade — but it never happened.

Virtually unconditional US aid, military and civilian, directly financed the Zaire security services and filled



PRESIDENT MOBUTU: Creating chaos

the bank accounts of the Mobutu clique.

Mobutu was kept throughout the Reagan years and received donations, both overt and covert, from the US taxpayer approaching R256-million a year.

Military

The Bush administration has not openly revised its policy towards Zaire, though streamlining in terms of budget efficiency could have that effect.

South 2613 — 118/90

Belgium is the only other foreign power with a substantial presence in Zaire, and it has progressively pulled back over the past decade.

"Societe Generale", the biggest Belgian financial and industrial holding company, last year closed down or sold its remaining commercial and industrial interests in Zaire.

Besides Sabena airline which makes more than half its profits on fares to or via Kinshasa, there is only one major Belgian business interest left in Zaire, a brewery and textiles conglomerate owned by an industrialist close to the rightist liberal party presently in opposition in Belgium.

Safety

In the view of local analysts, it is not professed concern about human rights but an economic cost-benefit analysis which is determining Belgium's attitude to Zaire.

What also interests the Belgian government is the safety of the 13 000 Belgians residing in Zaire.

Meanwhile Zaire becomes steadily more ungovernable.

Attempts to re-establish control have regularly led to violent clashes. The Lubumbashi attack has been but one of several similar incidents.

Mobutu has tried to stem the tide by his own brand of "democratisation".

From January, his state party was ordered to hold nationwide, local consultations with the population.

Even if the "national referendum" idea then mooted was generally considered ridiculous, it gathered about 6 000 local memoranda — every one uncritical.

Revision

On April 24, Mobutu promised a revision of his constitution, providing separation of government and courts from his state party, and a limited political pluralism with his own MPTI down-graded to only one of three parties.

But the next day he said that foreign policy and "security matters" would remain his "by natural right".

At the beginning of July the first-ever opinion poll in Zaire gave a broad majority to the vaguely social-democratic UDPS, and hardly eight percent to what is left of Mobutu's MPTI.

Throne

But Mobutu is still on the throne, and certainly no keen to leave it, even if the estimated R13-billion which he has amassed in Swiss bank accounts and in form of chateau properties in France could give him a more peaceful and prosperous old age than is likely if he stays at home. — SOUTHERN AFRICA FEATURES

Democracy a thorny issue in Africa?

Using dirty tricks to hold on to power

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Soul
27/11/90

PROMISES have been made a year after Africans braved teargas and gunfire to shout for democracy in more than a dozen capitals, but not a single one-party government has been unseated.

Fifteen regimes have said they would accept multiparty rule, but there is no sign that democratically elected administrations will replace any of them soon.

Leaders who could not crush protest movements with troops and arrests have turned to delaying tactics. While paying lip service to democracy with promises of free elections, they use a bag of dirty tricks to stay in power, critics say.

Collapse

Those who mimicked the Communist system and told their people to look there for inspiration were taken at their word when East Europeans started demanding freedom.

After the collapse of Communist parties in the Soviet bloc, the writing was on the wall for Africa's one-party governments. Western nations that helped corrupt leaders, in order to keep them from the Soviet orbit, found it difficult to justify more support.

"There is no true development without genuine democracy," Jacques Pelletier, the French minister in charge of relations with Africa, said recently.

France is a staunch advocate of aid to Third World countries, but Pelletier's comments echoed

FOCUS

those of African opposition leaders, not governments.

At a conference on Africa, Herman Cohen, US assistant secretary of state for African affairs, said governments that resisted their people's demands for democracy would find themselves in an increasingly disadvantageous position in the competition for aid.

Bans on opposition parties have been lifted in six countries: Benin, Cape Verde, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Sao Tome and Zaire.

Nine have agreed to move toward ending one-party government, but opposition parties are not yet operating. They are Angola, Cameroon, Congo, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Somalia and Zambia.

The first show of unrest came from Benin, where protesters stoned a statue of Lenin. They blamed the nation's bankruptcy on the Marxist-Leninist ideology adopted by President Mathieu Kerekou, who gained power in a coup, and demanded his resignation.

Kerekou renounced communism in response and said his government was writing a new constitution to liberalise the

economy and guarantee human rights. In a move later copied by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, he appointed a transitional government but set no date for himself to step down.

Mobutu shocked Zaire in April when, under intense pressure from the United States and other Western backers, he said he would give in to demands for multiparty democracy.

Unrest

Student unrest continued and Belgium, the former colonial power, accused Zairean comandos in May of killing more than 100 at Lubumbashi University. Mobutu's government claimed only one student was killed and blamed local government officials.

In November, six months after Mobutu legalised opposition parties, soldiers still were breaking up their meetings.

On November 6, opposition leader Etienne Tshisekedi said Mobutu had ordered that he be prevented from leaving the country to meet with US Secretary of State James A Baker.

Other leaders, like President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo and



President Mobutu Sese Seko . . . clinging on to power.

Joseph Momoh of Sierra Leone, have said no to change and often have called out soldiers to enforce the decision.

Gabon moved closer to democracy than the others when President Omar Bongo was forced to conduct the first multiparty general election in 22 years.

Several rounds of voting had to be held because voters smashed ballot boxes, burned government cars and attacked officials they claimed were rigging the election.

Bongo emerged with a bare majority in the National Assembly, but his term as president does not expire for three years.

Ivory Coast held its first contested presidential election in October. Police dispersed opposition campaign rallies with teargas and clubs. On election day, voters

smashed ballot boxes and claimed fraud.

Government-controlled television and radio denied the opposition access until the campaign was nearly over, then censored their statements.

No bonds

Laurent Gbagbo, a history professor, was the only opposition candidate. Two others could not raise bonds equivalent to 80 000 dollars each, which the government announced as a requirement one week before the 10-day campaign began.

Everyone expected the victory of President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the octogenarian who has ruled since independence from France in 1960, but many doubt he got the 81.67 percent of the vote his government claims. - Sapa-AP.

Mercenaries Star 12/12/90 'propping up Zaire's govt'

By Chris Whittfield
 Star Bureau

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LONDON — South African mercenaries are helping to prop up the beleaguered government of Zaire, according to a report.

Africa Confidential, a respected bi-weekly journal published in London, claims in its latest edition that the mercenaries are based at the Joli Site hotel near Binza, Kinshasa.

The mercenaries were shipped to the country, arriving at the port town of Boma at the mouth of the Zaire River.

Africa Confidential's editor, Stephen Ellis, said yesterday he was confident that his two sources, "both eye-witnesses" to the story, were reliable.

"One saw them arriving at Boma," he said. The informant told Mr Ellis the men were "drinking heavily and womanising" and had been indiscreet when talking about their mission.

Mr Ellis said he understood the area around the Joli Site, a colonial hotel, had been closed off to the public since the mercenaries' arrival.

He had not yet established the date of their

arrival, but thought it could have been two to three months ago.

The political situation has deteriorated markedly in Zaire recently, the clearest evidence being food riots on December 3 in the Matonge district of Kinshasa which left four dead and followed similar outbreaks of violence in Lubumbashi, Bakavu and Mbuji-Mayi.

Purchasing power is also dropping by the hour, leading to intense black market activity.

President Mobutu Sese Seko has been under intense pressure over his handling of sensitive military issues and foreign debt.

According to Africa Confidential, the arrival of the South African mercenaries has done little to calm government nerves.

It concludes: "Government offices are virtually abandoned. Though civil servants are no longer officially on strike, having obtained a doubling of their salaries, they no longer bother to go to work."

"Hyper-inflation has swallowed their pay rises, and so they devote their days to income-generating activities. The power of the state is generally crumbling, not just that of Mobutu."

Zaire's 1991 budget deficit double that of this year's

KINSHASA — Zaire's Prime Minister Lunda Bululu presented the 1991 budget on Tuesday with a deficit twice as high as this year's, and warned that no end was in sight to an economic crisis compounded by cuts in Western aid.

Bululu told the national assembly Zaire stood a better chance of riding out the crisis by concluding a new agreement with the IMF.

The budget estimated 1991 revenue

at \$4,265bn and expenditure at \$4,462bn, leaving a deficit of \$197m — twice this year's deficit.

Extensive deficit spending in the 1970s followed by slumping prices for minerals that provide more than 60% of export earnings emptied Zaire's coffers. Inflation ran at almost 100% in the 1980s, but now is down to 60%.

Since 1983 Zaire has introduced stringent economic measures recommended by the World Bank and IMF,

but has interspersed this with threats to restrict and in some cases freeze debt servicing that required almost half its export earnings.

The US and Belgium, two of Zaire's biggest aid donors during the Cold War years when President Mobutu Sese Seko's Western stance was appreciated, cut off aid this year, citing human rights abuses and allegations that Mobutu acquired his massive fortune from state funds. — AP-DJ.

Target Exploration Company Limited

(Reg No 90/07025/06)
("Target")

Lorraine Gold Mines, Limited

(Reg No 05/39138/06)
("Lorraine")

Debt weighs down Zaire

BRAZZAVILLE — Zaire, staggering under huge foreign debt, rampant inflation and growing social unrest, has said it faces a budget deficit of \$50m in the 1991 fiscal year.

The budget, presented to parliament by Prime Minister Lunda Bululu last week and reported by Zaire television on Monday, provides for state expenditure of \$1.1bn against receipts of \$1.05bn. *B [Day 27/12/90]*

Service payments of about \$541m on Zaire's \$8bn foreign debt — half of it owed to the US — will soak up 62% of the budget next year unless the debt is rescheduled, Bululu said.

The vast Central African country must also grapple with a 60% increase in its fuel bills because of the Gulf crisis, and meet a 1% rise in official salaries in an attempt to stave off anti-government protest. *358*

President Mobutu Sese Seko, who has ruled with an iron grip for 25 years, has faced increasingly bold opposition since announcing in April he would allow multiparty politics.

Bululu said the government was counting on broadening its fiscal base. — Sapa-Reuter.

KwaZulu in drive to stimulate exports

B [Day 27/12/90]

MARIETTE DU PLESSIS *(Signature)*

THE KwaZulu government's drive to establish export-processing zones (EPZ) in Natal/KwaZulu will stimulate exports and more effectively control leakages of duty free imports, says Kwazulu Finance and Investment Corporation (KFC) executive director Marius Spies.

In such a zone both imported goods and exports would be duty free, but duty would have to be paid on imported components by purchasers when sold in the local SA market, he said in a recent interview.

Unlike a free port, an EPZ could be regulated by a central authority, said Spies. He believed it was in the interests of the country as a whole to allow the form of zone to emerge that was best suited to its location.

Earlier this month KwaZulu Finance Minister Dennis Madide requested that the government investigate the role of EPZ in industrial development, together with the revision of the Regional Industrial Development Policy (RIDP).

Madide said since the establishment of a number of geographically based EPZs could be construed to be in direct conflict with such a policy directive, the issues could not be considered properly in isolation.

He said an investigation and evaluation of the RIDP by a KwaZulu panel of experts had identified a number of matters that should be reviewed, one being the fact that there were too many industrial development points. Serious consideration should be given to a reduction in their number.

Government should give priority to the establishment of an EPZ facility in the Natal/KwaZulu area, as well as in the northern part of Transkei, Madidi said.

Commenting on the KwaZulu government's request, an Administration and Economic Co-ordination Department spokesman said the issue was receiving attention, but added that any statement would be premature because of current economic restructuring.